

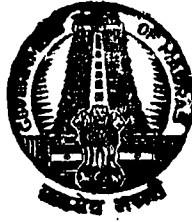
GAZETTEER OF INDIA

MADRAS

SOUTH ARCOT

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MADRAS DISTRICT GAZETTEERS



SOUTH ARCOT

BY

Dr. B. S. BALIGA, B.A. (Hons.), Ph.D. (Lond.)
Late Curator, Madras Record Office.



GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS
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PREFACE.

The original South Arcot District Gazetteer edited by W. Francis in 1906 is a monumental work. It is difficult to surpass its portrayal of the social and economic conditions of the district as they were then existing. But the rapid social, economic and political developments in India with their impact on the district brought forth clearly its many inadequacies. Though a statistical supplement to the Gazetteer was issued in 1932, nothing was done to remedy the structural inadequacies in the original gazetteer or for a reappraisal of the facts in the light of new information made available.

With the attainment of independence, the Government of Madras took up the question of completely rewriting the gazetteers with a view to depicting accurately the changing face of the districts as a result of many developmental measures. With that, the odium attached to the old gazetteers, that they supplied information mainly to the alien administrator, was sought to be remedied by making the new gazetteers fully enlarged and popular. In 1954, orders were issued by the Madras Government for the preparation of District Handbooks to replace the old gazetteers. The late Dr. B. S. Baliga, the Curator of the Madras Record Office, took up the task of rewriting the gazetteers and before his death in 1958, succeeded in rewriting four of the gazetteers, viz., Tanjore, Madurai, South Arcot and Coimbatore. The Tanjore District Handbook (Gazetteer) and the Madurai District Gazetteer were published in 1957 and 1960 respectively. The present volume is the third in the series of the district gazetteers prepared by the late Dr. B. S. Baliga according to a plan which was entirely his own.

The Central Gazetteer Unit set up in 1957 by the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Government of India for co-ordinating the work of

the various State Gazetteer Units has supplied a new pattern for the Gazetteers. The Gazetteer Unit of this State has taken up the new pattern for its general guidance in the preparation of the subsequent gazetteers.

Generally, the four gazetteers edited by the late Dr. B. S. Baliga followed the familiar pattern of the old gazetteers. Much of the useful material found in the old gazetteers have been suitably incorporated in the new edition with the addition of all worthwhile new information. All facts and developments up to 1955 have found mention in the relevant sections of the volume. One salient feature in the volume is the chapter on "Nationalism and Independence" the distinct contribution of which was appreciated with reference to the previous volumes.

In the preparation of this Gazetteer, the available sources in the Madras Record Office have been completely exhausted. Information and data on various topics have also been collected from several Heads of Departments and Offices. Finally, the draft chapters have been approved by the Heads of Departments concerned. The Central Gazetteer Unit have also perused the draft volume and suitable improvements have been effected in the light of their criticism.

This scheme of revision of the district gazetteers carried out simultaneously in all States receives financial assistance from the Government of India. A part of the expenses incurred on this volume has, therefore, been met by them.

Many persons were actively associated with the preparation of this Gazetteer. Sri M. C. Subramanian, M.A., and Sri M. Natesan, B.A., Assistant Curators, Sri P. S. Ramachandra Ayyar, Sri G. Jeyapalsamy, Sri N. S. Natarajan, Sri K. Govinda Rao, Sri V. Kunhikannan Nair and Kumari V. Lalitha, all of them of the Madras Record Office,

assisted Dr. B. S. Baliga in compiling the volume and in the preparation of the index. The Heads of Departments and the Collector of South Arcot scrutinized with care the chapters on the subjects with which they were concerned. While we are thankful to all of them for their contribution, we hold ourselves responsible for its many shortcomings. Our constant endeavour will be to improve the succeeding volumes emulating the great artists who have done the earlier gazetteers.

This volume is entirely the handiwork of the late Dr. B. S. Baliga. As State Editor, District Gazetteers, it is my proud privilege to see it through the press.

GAZETTEER UNIT,
MADRAS RECORD OFFICE,
EGMORE, MADRAS-8,
6th December 1961.

A. RAMASWAMI,

State Editor, District Gazetteers.



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SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT GAZETTEER

CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL AND GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The South Arcot district is bounded on the north by the Chingleput and North Arcot districts, on the west by the North Arcot and Salem districts, on the south by the Tiruchirappalli and Tanjore districts and on the east by the Bay of Bengal. It lies between $15^{\circ} 5'$ and $12^{\circ} 30'$ of the North Latitude and $78^{\circ} 37'$ and 80° of the East Longitude. It comprises eight taluks, namely, the Gingee (Senji), Tindivanam, Villupuram, Tirukkoyilur, Kallakkurichchi, Vriddhachalam, Chidambaram and Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluks and covers, on the whole, an area of 4,208 square miles. East of the Villupuram taluk on the sea coast and north of the Ponnaiyar river lies the former French Settlement of Pondicherry (Puducherry) which is now administered by the Government of India. The boundary of this centrally administered area winds in and out of the State Government area and produces a complicated pattern which leaves several tracts of the former entirely surrounded by the latter¹

The district derives its name from the fact that originally from its cession to the British in 1801 until 1808, it consisted of that part of the Mughal Soubah of Arcot which lay to the south of the river Palar. In the records of the early period it is usually called "the southern division of Arcot" to distinguish it from "the northern division of Arcot"; and the word Arcot itself is said to be derived from the Tamil 'aru kadu', tradition declaring that the country round about the Palar was in olden days covered by six forests which were the abodes of six rishis².

The district is, for the most part, a flat plain sloping gently from north to south, and from west to east, towards the sea. The only hills in it are the Kalrayans on the south-west border, the Gingee (Senji) hills to the south-west of Gingee (Senji), the Mount Capper hill near Cuddalore (Gudalur) and the Red hills to the west of Pondicherry (Puducherry)

The Kalrayans which divide this district from the Salem district stand on the extreme west of the Kallakkurichchi taluk. A great part of them is actually situated within the Salem district and the boundary line between that district and the South Arcot district passes along the top of them. They are of moderate

¹ 1951 Census Handbook, South Arcot District, 1953, page 1.

² Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis. Vol. I, 1906, page 2.

height, the two tallest of their peaks--Aviaramanmalai and Navalur--both situated in the Salem district, being 4,259 feet and 4,112 feet respectively above the sea-level. Their general level is only 2,000 to 3,000 feet but they rise abruptly from the surrounding country and heights of over 2,500 feet are in several places only a couple of miles in a direct line from the points at the foot of the range which are only 550 to 650 feet above the sea. The portion of the range lying in this district and the adjoining taluk of Tiruvannamalai of the North Arcot district is some 25 miles in length and from 8 to 12 miles in breadth. Its level is very uniform and from a distance the hills appear like a great wall shutting off the country from the west. At either end of the hills are the two historic passes, the Attur pass in the south and the Chengam pass in the north, leading into Salem, through which Hyder poured his troops into this part of the country from the plateau of Mysore. Strong cool breezes always blow through them during the south-west monsoon.

Though the range looks level from below, it contains no true plateaus. Its valleys are corroded into basin-shaped depressions. Its general slope is towards the eastern, or South Arcot side and it is in this direction therefore that its chief streams, the Manimuktanadi, the Gomukhanadi and the Mayuranadi flow. The valleys of these streams, notably the Tumbe valley down which flows the Manimuktanadi, are deep clefts with often precipitous sides.

The word Kalrayan is said to be a corruption of Kalvi Rayan. There is a story which says that once five brothers named Periya (big) Kalvi Rayan, Chinna (little) Kalvi Rayan, Kurumba Goundan, Jadaya Goundan and Ariya Goundan, came from Kancheepuram and settled on the range, dividing it among themselves. The south and the south-western parts which happen to be the highest were taken by Periya Kalvi Rayan and were called, after him, the Periya Kalvi Rayan or the Periya Kalrayan hills; the lower slopes to the west in Salem, which happen to be the least elevated parts, similarly became the Chinna Kalrayan hills; and the part now situated in the Kallakkurichchi taluk was divided among the other three brothers, Jadaya Goundan giving his name to the southernmost portion, Kurumba Goundan giving his name to the stretch in the centre and Ariya Goundan giving his name to the northern part of the range. These appellations are still in use and hence the three sections of the range which lie in the Kallakkurichchi taluk are called the Jadaya Goundan Malai, the Kurumba Goundan Malai and the Ariya Goundan Malai. The forests on these hills will be referred to in the chapter on Forests.

The next range, the Gingee (Senji) hills, differ widely in appearance from the Kalrayans. While the summits of the Kalrayans are fairly level, and their sides are comparatively smooth and covered with soil, grass and some forest, those of the Gingee

(Senji) hills present a jagged sky-line consisting as they do, for the most part, of a central core of gneiss surrounded on all sides by great impassable screes of huge rounded boulders bare of any sort of soil or vegetation. All these boulders have been tossed about by earthquakes in pre-historic times into the wildest confusion. Some of them weighing thousands of tons have fallen into the oddest of positions, lying perched one upon the other in fantastic attitudes, standing on end as vast tors or leaning against one another forming great chambers, walled, floored and roofed with solid rock and having ramifications extending far into the bowels of the hills. Some of the heights are less thickly covered with boulders and up the sides of these, in soil which to all outward appearance consists mostly of rock, clammers a thick growth of some trees and many thorny plants and creepers. The hills run from near Gingee (Senji) south-westwards for some fourteen miles. Much of them is reserved forest and the largest block of them is about five miles wide. Near Pakkam, on the western side, there is a kind of rough plateau upon which, it is said, float down from a neighbouring hill, after nightfall weird strains of music. The people believe that the hill must be the abode of the Gandharvas.

The third range of hills, the Mount Capper plateau, just west of Cuddalore (Gudalur), is part of a belt of red lateritic ground, formed by the "Cuddalore (Gudalur) sandstones", which runs from a point about ten miles north of Pondicherry south-south-westwards to near Srimushnam. Mount Capper and the Red hills which rise just west of Pondicherry are the only parts of it which can be called prominent features in the landscape and even these are only about a hundred feet above the sea. For the rest, the course of the formation, where it has not been cut away by the rivers which pass through it, may be traced by the red soil to which it gives rise and which is some of the most infertile in the district. Mount Capper derives its name from Captain (afterwards Colonel) Francis Capper of the 'Native Infantry'. In 1796 he obtained permission to enclose upon it a piece of land and to build a house. In 1805 the property was transferred by him to Captain (afterwards General) Fraser, to whom a grant of it was made by the Government in 1815, and, later on, by the terms of the grant, it reverted to the Government. Orme calls the hill, which figured more than once in the wars of the eighteenth century, the "Bandapollam hill" from the village of Bandipalayam which lies at the foot of it.

Besides these, more or less continuous ranges of hills, there are a number of smaller isolated elevations in the district. These are most common in the Kallakkurichchi and Gingee (Senji) taluks. Some of them such as Tiyaga Durg and Perumukkal which became famous from the forts built upon their summits have been mentioned in the chapter on the Gazetteer.

The eastern part of the district presents no striking natural scenery, but the country is here by the handiwork of man diversified with broad tanks, green fields and pleasant groves of trees. The contrast between the red soil and green crops has a charm of its own, especially in the rich lands of the Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Villupuram taluks. The most uninviting parts are the barren lands covered with dwarfed date palms and stunted thorn bushes which stretch to the north of Tindivanam.

The western part of the district, however, presents a landscape which can by no means be called tame. All along that side of the Kallakurichchi taluk the Kalrayans provide an effective background to the scene which is studded with trees, scrub jungle and undulating country.

But the most beautiful part of the district is the tract round about the Gingee (Senji) hills. Here the eye rests upon a wild profusion of hills of fantastic shapes and wonderful blotches of colour. Upon their grim sides climb patches of a dark green jungle; below them is spread an emerald or golden expanse of waving crop; on either side the fields are dotted with irregular clumps of sombre tamarinds or are marked out by orderly rows of glossy palmyras marshalled stiffly along their boundaries; and at frequent intervals are tanks whose waters reflect every hue of the skies above them and whose foreshores are clothed with neutral tinted belts of tall flowering grasses. The colouring of these hills changes almost every hour. At sunrise, if the sky is clear, they are a dull carmine; as the morning light grows brighter they become a soft violet, at noon they pass into a rich golden brown; and in the evening such of them as face the setting sun assume a brilliant flame colour, while such of them as look eastwards turn into a deep and regal purple. On misty days the cycle of tints is more subdued and the greys and the browns take the place of the brighter hues¹.

The rivers of the district, almost all of them, flow to the east into the Bay of Bengal. The irrigation system of these rivers will be fully dealt with in the chapter on Agriculture and Irrigation. Here we shall generally describe the rivers.

Going from the north to the south, the Ongur and the Kodamu are two small streams formed by the surplus waters of two chains of tanks in the Tindivanam taluk. Both of them fall into the Kaliveli swamp in the same taluk. The Gingee (Senji) river, called also the Sankarabharani or the Varahanadi, rises in the Gingee (Senji) taluk and flows past Gingee (Senji) in a southerly course into the Villupuram taluk. Just as it enters the Villupuram taluk it receives on the left the Tondaiyar which also rises in the Gingee (Senji) taluk and flows for a part of its course in the Tindivanam taluk. It then receives in the Villupuram taluk

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906 pages 2-7.

the Kallar and the Pambaiyar (or the Pombai) on the right, enters the former French territory and falls into the Bay of Bengal with two mouths near Pondicherry. The northern of these outlets is called the Ariyankuppam river, while the southern which passes through the village Kilinjikuppam in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk is known as the Kilinjiyar or the Chunambar. The Gingee (Senji) river depends on local rainfall and does not carry any considerable body of water. It is nowhere navigable and there are a series of anicuts across it.

The Prambaiyar rises in the Villupuram taluk, flows in an easterly direction and falls into the Gingee (Senji) just as it is about to leave the taluk. Part of the course of this jungle stream is utilised for the Pambai channel of the Ponnaiyar. A regulator put across it helps not a little to supply the tanks on either side for irrigation purposes.

The Ponnaiyar or the Pennar is the principal river of the district. It rises in the Chenna Kesava hill, east of Nandidurg in Mysore, where it is known as the Southern Pinakini, in contradistinction to the Northern Pinakini which also has its source close by. The name Pinakini is said to have been derived from 'pinaka', the bow of Siva; and as the curve of the two rivers resembles that of a bow, the name is said to have been given to the two rivers. The name Ponnaiyar, by which the Southern Pinakini is usually known in the Madras State, is said to be a corruption of the word Pennaiyar, the appellation by which it is described in ancient Tamil literature, but it is not known why the river was called Pennai which means a palmyra tree.

The Ponnaiyar flows southward for the most part of its course in Mysore and turning then slightly to the east makes its way through the Eastern Ghats and enters the Hosur taluk of the Salem district. After traversing that district it enters the south-west corner of the North Arcot district, where it makes its way through the Chengam pass between the Kalrayan hills and the Tenmalais and flows through the jungles of the Chengam taluk and through the Tiruvannamalai taluk. It comes to the boundary of the South Arcot district near Mungilthuraipattu in the north of the Kallakurichchi taluk, runs along the boundary of the Tiruvannamalai and Tirukkoyilur taluks with the Kallakurichchi taluk, flows past Parasapattu and receives on the right a small stream called Musukundenadi near Sripadanallur. It then enters the Tirukkoyilur taluk, flows past Tirukkoyilur on its right and Arakandanallur on its left, and receives on its left the Tirunjalar from the Tiruvannamalai taluk just below Tirukkoyilur, above the anicut. In this part of its course, it shows an irresistible tendency to flow, especially when it is in high flood into the Malattar "barren river" which takes off from it on the right. It next flows along the boundary of the Villupuram taluk with the Tirukkoyilur

and Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluks. Soon after it leaves the Tirukkoyilur taluk, another branch, also known as the Malattar and sometimes called the Virukta Binasini, takes off from its left; and this branch flows through the Villupuram and the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluks and the former French enclaves in those taluks and falls into the sea at Madalapattu, some miles north of Cuddalore (Gudalur). The main river then flows for a short distance in the northern part of the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk and finally falls into the sea, about 3 miles north of Cuddalore (Gudalur).

The Ponnaiyar runs in a wide sandy bed with low banks and receives no tributaries of any importance in the district. Its supply depends more on the rainfall near its source in Mysore than on the rainfall in the district. It comes down in short floods which rapidly dry up and irrigation under it is mostly done by leading its freshes into storage tanks. There is an anicut across it four miles below Tirukkoyilur, but more about this will be mentioned in the chapter on Agriculture and Irrigation. Here, however, it may be stated that the river is regarded as a sacred stream and accounted especially holy in the first five days of the month of Tai when bathing in it is considered meritorious. Festivals are held then at all the temples along its banks, one of the most important being that at Manalurpettai in the Tirukkoyilur taluk to which place the god from the great temple at Tiruvannamalai is brought down to be bathed.

The Malattar which, as has already been stated, takes off from the right of the Ponnaiyar in the Tirukkoyilur taluk, divides itself into two branches just as it is about to leave that taluk. Its southern and major branch flows through the eastern corner of the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk and joins the Gadilam.

The Gadilam rises in the eastern part of the Tirukkoyilur taluk and flows through that taluk receiving a tributary on the right. It then enters the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk where the Malattar comes and joins it on the right, flows past Panruti, and through Tiruvendipuram and Cuddalore (Gudalur) and falls into the Bay of Bengal, a mile north of Cuddalore (Gudalur). Just before it falls into the sea, it sends a small branch suddenly to the north which joins the sea north of Fort St. David. This is closed by a bar except in times of high flood. But the main river itself suddenly turns to the south, runs to the east of Cuddalore (Gudalur) Old Town which stands on the edge of the backwater formed at the junction of the mouths of the Gadilam and the Uppanar, and flows over a bar into the sea. This bar never closes and it is in this portion of the river which falls into the backwater that the commerce of Cuddalore (Gudalur) has always been carried.

Ordinarily the Gadilam is dependent on local rain and, during the floods, it receives a dangerously large supply from the Ponnaiyar through the Malattar. It carries very fertile silt and it has across it four anicuts which help irrigation. In ancient days it was called the Kedilam meaning a "deep gulf". It is also sometimes called the Garudanadi. A local legend says that God Vishnu of the Tiruvendipuram temple situated on the bank of the river just west of Cuddalore (Gudalur), once became thirsty and asked Garuda to bring him water, and that thereupon Garuda traced with his beak the channel down which the river now flows and so led the water to the very threshold of the shrine.

The Uppanar, or the Paravanar, takes its source in the Vriddhachalam taluk, flows eastwards along the boundary between the Cuddalore (Gudalur) and the Chidambaram taluks and joins the Bay by the mouth of the Gadilam just to the south of Cuddalore (Gudalur) Old Town. It is largely a drainage channel for the land irrigated by the Shatiatope anicut across the Vellar. Its water often backs up and floods the land along its sides. The Kudivaivar is a small stream in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk which falls into the Uppanar close to its mouth near the Bay.

The Vellar (white river) is formed by the junction, about four miles west of Toludur in the Vriddhachalam taluk, of two rivers, namely, the Vasishtanadi and the Swetanadi (white river) which rise in the Salem district. The former, which is named after sage Vasishta who is stated to have performed a sacrifice on its banks, drains the Tenandemalai in Salem and the western slopes of the Kalrayans. The Swetanadi rises in the Kollimalais and drains the northern side of the Pachamalais in Salem. The Vasishtanadi enters the South Arcot district through the Attur pass just south of the Kalrayans and forms for some sixteen miles the boundary between that district and Tiruchirappalli. After it joins the Swetanadi, the boundary still follows for another twenty miles the course of the united streams and then the Swetanadi, which now comes to be called the Vellar, strikes north-eastwards and flows through the Vriddhachalam taluk where it receives, about four miles east of Srimushnam, a considerable tributary, the Manimuktanadi, which is made up of the Mani and the Mukta streams that drain the northern part of the eastern slopes of the Kalrayans, and the Gomukhanadi (cow's mouth river) and the Mayuranadi (peacock river) that rise in the southern portion of the hills. These rivers have cut for themselves deep clefts with often precipitous sides in the valleys, notably in the Tumble valley down which the Manimuktanadi flows. The confluence of the Gomukhanadi and the Mayuranadi at Nallur is held to be holy and a picturesque little temple has been built on an island at the spot. After it is joined by the Manimuktanadi, the Vellar flows through the Chidambaram taluk and falls into the sea immediately south of Porto Novo (Parangipettai). The Vellar receives little supply from the south-west monsoon, but the north-east monsoon gives it adequate supply towards the latter part of the year. Its banks are often high and

sleep, and are affected by the tide for about seven or eight miles above its mouth at Porto Novo (Parangipettai). It is navigable at this place and its waters are said to be impregnated with salts which are harmful, unless the supply is sufficient to prevent them from settling. It has anicuts at Shatiatope and Pelandurai and a regulator at Toludur which assist not a little the irrigation of the district.

The Coleroon (Kollidam) belongs less to the South Arcot than to the Tanjore district. It splits off from the Cauvery at the head of the famous island of Srirangam and forms the boundary first between the Tanjore and the Tiruchirappalli districts and then, for the last thirty-six miles, between the Tanjore and the South Arcot districts. It flows into the Bay about six miles to the south of Porto Novo (Parangipettai). It is navigable for small boats for a short distance from the sea and is connected by a shallow canal with the Vellar. Its Lower Anicut and its canals will be described in the Chapter on Agriculture and Irrigation¹.

There are some backwaters in the district caused by the struggle between the sand-laden currents of the Bay and the waters of the rivers trying to find an outlet into the sea. The backwater of Cuddalore (Gudalur) Old Town has already been mentioned. Another backwater is that of Marakkanam. This is filled with salt water when the small streams which drain the country behind it breach the sand spit, but when they are not strong enough to do so, it remains a brackish lagoon. It opens into the sea near the ruined fort of Alamparai. Just south of this backwater is the swamp called the Kaliveli (the empty plain), a dismal area, thirty-one square miles in extent, which is dry for the greater part of the year and is covered with tussocks of coarse grass. Originally this seems to have formed part of the Marakkanam backwater. Near Porto Novo (Parangipettai), again, there are other sand spits at a distance of four or five miles from the sea.

The general geological formation of the district is simple. The greater part of it is covered with metamorphic rocks belonging to the gneiss family: Resting on these are the three great groups of sedimentary rocks belonging to different geological periods and overlaying each other in regular succession from the coast on the east to the hills on the west. The lowest of these groups is the fossil-bearing cretaceous limestone round about Pondicherry and Vriddhachalam. Above this comes a younger group of sandstones which are called "the Cuddalore (Gudalur) sandstones" and which form the Red hills near Pondicherry and the Mount Capper hills south-west of Cuddalore (Gudalur). Uppermost are the

¹ Notes on Irrigation by V. N. Kudva. South Arcot District Notes, dated 1st July 1953 and 18th November 1954.

² Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 7-12.

³ Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 12.

PHYSICAL AND GENERAL DESCRIPTION

alluvial beds of the deltas of the rivers. There is every reason to believe that this order of the strata has existed unaltered through a long geological period; that, in fact, since the beginning of the time when the oldest of the sedimentary beds, those of cretaceous age, were deposited, no disturbance of any magnitude has remodelled or effaced the main features of the district.

Referring to these various classes of rocks in the order of their age, the gneissic formations are most in evidence in the west of the district, from Tiyyaga Durg in the south to the Gingee (Senji) hills in the north. Here they form all the principal heights of the country. Their finest development may be seen at Tiyyaga Durg, at Elavanasur, at the Edaikkal rock south-east of Elavanasur, at the Kunatur hill near Ulundurpet and between the Pashar hill and Trikalur on the south side of the Ponnaiyar. They usually consist of a central core of gneiss round which are grouped innumerable, huge, more or less rounded blocks which have split off them along the planes of jointing and which lie about them in a hopeless confusion. The rock is porphyritic in structure, the typical variety consisting of quartz and whitish and greyish felspar within which are included imperfect crystals and grains of a reddish or pink felspar, and in many places fragments of an older, darker and more hornblendic rock ranging in size from pieces as big as a walnut to great blocks weighing a ton or more. The rock exhibits a marked tendency to weather into tors, four of the most striking of which stand in the neighbourhood of Elavanasur.

The next series in point of age, the fossiliferous cretaceous limestones, are exposed in only two limited areas,—a piece of country fifteen miles by five round about Parur, six miles north-west of Vriddhachalam, and an area some twelve miles by six lying between the Red hills west of Pondicherry and the high ground round Tiruvakara. They were first brought to notice in 1840 by Mr. C. T. Kaye, who in company with Mr. Brooke Cunliffe, collected a large series of fossils from them and published a paper on the subject in the "Madras Journal of Literature and Science". An examination of these and other collections of fossils by Professor Forbes showed that the rock was clearly of cretaceous age, inasmuch as the fossils included several well-known cretaceous species and none of any other system, that they were similar to other beds found near Ariyalur and elsewhere in the Tiruchirappalli district, and that the latter corresponded with the upper green sand and gault of Europe. Thus they served to correlate Indian formations with those of Europe, and the fossils (marine shells and fish) found in them, being in some cases new, have been given names connected with the locality, such as *Ficulopsis Pondicherrensis*, *Trochus Arcotensis* and *Pecten Verdachellensis*. The Vriddhachalam rocks are well seen in a nullah, about a mile south of Parur. The deposits near Pondicherry have been largely

quarried for use in that town. Between Vanur and Rayapudupakkam they have in several places been used for revetting tank-bunds.

Then comes the Cuddalore (Gudalur) sandstone formation which, in point of age, is a more recent sedimentary deposit in this part of the Carnatic. It consists in a great measure of grits and sandstones in which thin beds of clay are occasionally intercalated. It is characterised by its ferruginous nature and is tinted all hues of yellow, red, brown and purple. It is often capped with a layer of laterite soil over which lies a covering of red earth. Beginning in the south of the district these sandstones are first met with near Pelandurai on the Vellar where they are mottled white and pink, the latter colour being due to ferruginous infiltration. They next occur at Vriddhachalam, in a quarry at Vayalur to the north of the town; and here they consist of a massive yellow variety, tolerably hard and close-grained. They also occur in large patches to the east of Parur and in the south-east of the Tirukkoyilur taluk. Then they bend off to the eastward and rising into a small escarpment run up to the Mount Capper plateau, west of Cuddalore (Gudalur). On the side of this plateau, near Tiruvendipuram, the finest section of them is exposed. The section is some 80 to 100 feet thick and the sandstones are seen to consist of mottled pink and white varieties covered with a bed of very ferruginous clay half converted into laterite. Still going north, the sandstones appear again in the Red hills just west of Pondicherry (Puducherry) on a plateau about four miles in width and extending from the Ussiteri tank to a point on the coast about ten miles north of Pondicherry (Puducherry). It will thus be seen that the Cuddalore (Gudalur) sandstones run, with certain interruptions, almost across the district. Signs of similar beds occur also elsewhere down the east coast of this State, and it has been said that they are parts of a great continuous deposit which was cut through and denuded by the rivers which flow into the Bay of Bengal.

Some six miles west of the Red hills, a little plateau not more than a mile or two in width runs parallel with the Red hills for about eight miles from the village of Tiruvakarai. On this plateau, to the west of Tiruvakarai, the sandstone formation, which is partly of Cuddalore (Gudalur) sandstone series, consists largely of grits much denuded and cut up into little gullies. In the beds so exposed are embedded a number of large masses of silicified wood, the only thing in the shape of fossils which occurs in any part of the Cuddalore (Gudalur) sandstones. Local tradition says that they are bones of a demon slain by god Vishnu. Other similar instances of fossil trees have been found near Vriddhachalam on the high ground between that village and Parur.

The most recent of the three groups of sedimentary formations in the district are the alluvial deposits in the deltas of its rivers.

These deltas are, for geological purposes, two in number, namely, that of the Vellar and that of the combined Ponnaiyar, Gadilam and Gingee (Senji) rivers. The former stretches from near Cuddalore (Gudalur) to the mouth of the Coleroon (Kollidam) and runs inland as far as Tittagudi, a distance of over 40 miles. Near Lalpet, at the southern end of the great Viranam tank, the alluvium of this unites with that of the Cauvery delta. On the north, near Cuddalore (Gudalur), it joins that of the second delta of the district, the Ponnaiyar basin. The latter runs inland as far as Tirukkoyilur and stretches along the coast from Cuddalore (Gudalur) to Pondicherry (Puducherry). Both these alluvial plains are much wider inland than near the seaboard, the reason being that the rivers which formed them were constricted by the plateau of the Cuddalore (Gudalur) sandstones which intervened between them and the sea and through which they had to cut their way.

The beds abounding in fossil marine and estuarine shells of existing species situated at Kandiyamallur at the southern extremity of the Perumal tank would seem to show that the sea once washed the base of the Mount Capper plateau. These beds appear to stretch away to the coast in an easterly and north-easterly direction, and the shells are dug out and burnt to make chunam. Similar deposits are also found at Arangamangalam and Apaddharanapuram further to the west.

None of the rivers of the district, however, are now forming deltas. The silt carried down them during freshes is mostly swept away by the strong current which sets up the coast and the long even line of sandy shore is unbroken by the encroachment of any modern deposit. On the coast the sand is, in many places, blown up by the wind into considerable dunes; and these are specially noticeable between the mouth of the Ponnaiyar and Pondicherry (Puducherry).

Trap dykes are not common in the district. There is, however, a regular assemblage of small basaltic trap dykes at Toludur where the Madras road to Tiruchirappalli crosses the Vellar, and a large dyke about five miles long across the same river about four miles west of Toludur. Trap dykes of some size also appear eastward of the granitoid gneiss region. To the north-west of Pondicherry (Puducherry) nearly parallel to the road from there to Mailam are two very remarkable instances of these dykes which run alongside each other. When seen from Kunam they appear like two rather crowded rows of ruined Martello towers of black colour, their ridges having been eroded into an avenue of tower-like black bosses. They cannot be much under 100 feet above the level of the flat country at their feet. The general mineral character of the dykes is identical; they consist of a rather coarse-grained, but exceedingly tough and hard, black basalt-like mass, hardly ever containing

recognizable crystals of any foreign substance. Of their age, it is only known that they are younger than the cretaceous formation¹

There is a good artesian basin in the district occupying a few square miles around Neyveli, Aziznagar and Kavanur near Vriddhachalam. There are apparently three or four distinct water bearing horizons here, all in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) sandstones, and there are a number of flowing wells in this area. A few artesian wells also exist in and around Pondicherry (Puducherry)²

As to the minerals of the district, the places where gneiss, trap and sandstone occur have already been mentioned. Gneiss is used for building purposes with excellent results especially in the temples. Its susceptibility to fine carving is exemplified in the chains cut from it which may be seen in the shrine at Srimushnam and the great temple at Chidambaram. Trap is scarcely used for building purposes because of its intractable hardness and inherent moisture absorbing quality. Sandstone is used for building purposes as well as for making mortars, troughs, etc.³. Besides these minerals, laterite occurs over a wide belt of country between Pondicherry (Puducherry) and Vriddhachalam (notably on Mount Capper), in the red soil tract round about Srimushnam and Palayamkottai and to the east of Vriddhachalam. It is largely used for building purposes and for road making⁴. Limestone (shell limestone) occurs in Pondicherry (Puducherry) and in the neighbouring parts of the Tindivanam taluk. Massive argillaceous limestone passes through Sedarampattu, Tittipattu and some other villages east of Vanur in a north-east-south-west direction. It is also seen, though much obscured by sandy soil, near Sendamangalam about five miles north-east of Ulundurpet Railway Station⁵

There are a large number of clay deposits in the district. White clay occurs in many places. It is exposed in the deep ravines below an overburden of 35 feet of sandstones and grits at Pannikuppam, south of Panruti and just south of the Gadilam river. It burns to a pale grey colour, it is refractory and its shrinkage is high, being 40 per cent. It is seen in a ravine west of Siranguppam and in a nulla to the south under an overburden of

¹ *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India*, Vol. IV, pages 1-27, 144-217 and 251-291.

Manual of the South Arcot District by J. H. Garstin, 1878, Part II, pages 359-374.

Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 15-20.

² *Memories of the Geological Survey of India*, Vol. 80—*Mineral Resources of Madras* by M. S. Krishnan, 1951, page 290.

³ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906 pages 20-21.

⁴ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 21.

⁵ *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India*, Vol. 80—*Mineral Resources of Madras* by M. S. Krishnan, 1951, page 182.

35 per cent. It is found for a distance of 100 yards below a thickness of 25 feet of sandstones in a ravine half a mile north of Melmambattu and for a distance of 200 yards at a depth of 25 to 30 feet in another ravine half a mile south of Maligambattu. It is exposed in a nulla half a mile west of a hill near Palayam and on the eastern slope of the high ground south of Vanamadevi. It occurs intercalated with sandstones in large quantities at Tiruvendipuram on the slope of the hill which faces the Gadilam river. It is visible on the hills near Capper Quarry Railway Station [near Cuddalore (Gudalur)], and is hidden below an overburden of 15 feet of sandstone at Putturai. Gritty clays of bluish grey to buff colour are found at the bottom of the sandstones near Manveli and in an area west and south-west of the old customs post of Muratandi chavadi. White clay again is seen in the fields south of Truvakarai and just west of the cart-track to Eraiyur. It also occurs further south on the banks of the Varahanadi below a soil cap and continues eastwards; and in the reserves in the neighbourhood of Tiruvakarai alone about half a million tons of it lie within 10 feet of the surface. It is refractory and burns buff or grey. White to light coloured clays are seen at a depth of 15 to 20 feet below the sandstones in the reserved forest at Kamalampattu and these are quarried at the southern boundary of the forest. It burns to nearly a white colour and is refractory. It is being used by a factory at Tiruvallur near Madras for making tableware, stoneware, etc. The area occupied by it in this region may be four to five square miles and its quantity may be estimated at 3.5 million tons. These deposits are only 12 to 15 miles from Tindivanam on the Southern Railway¹.

Magnetic iron ore occurs in several localities on the Kalrayan hills and in the Kallakkurichehi taluk. It occurs on the south bank of the Ponnaiyar half a mile east of Porasappattu, in the area between Ponparappi and the great tank at Pakkam; in a place two miles north of Ponparappi; in another place about two miles west of Veraunganney and three miles south of Ravattanallur hill; on the south side of the Tumbe valley, at Palayapatti; and in the underlying bed between Sankarapuram and Andipalayam. About a mile and a half south of the iron bed of Sankarapuram is another bed of larger dimensions, having a parallel course but dipping to the south instead of the north at an angle of 65° to 75°. The most northerly extension of this bed is probably a bed showing itself about one mile south of Pakkam tank, the junction of the two crops being further indicated by a short outcrop of magnetic iron occurring at the north end of a tank near Pandalam. The main portion of this bed rises into a fine hill south of Poikunnam tank. It also forms the main ridge of two other hills of similar size between

¹ *Memoris of the Geological Survey of India*, Vol. 80—*Mineral Resources of Madras* by M. S. Krishnan, 1951, pages 62-64.

Shellanputtoo and Varetavantum and gets lost to the south of the latter village. No connection can be traced between this bed and the beds on the south-east part of the Kalrayan hills. Rather more than a mile south of the Poikunnam bed there is another bed which at its western extremity, close to the village of Karadi Chittur, makes a curious horse-shoe curve. It is mineralogically remarkable because of the presence of specks of a gold coloured mineral (Bronzite?) very like hornblende in appearance and lustre which causes the rocks to assume a very brown appearance on weathering. At the extreme south-east corner of the Kalrayan hills is a good size and rather rich bed on the lower part of the slopes south-east of Chinna Tirupati temple. On the Kalrayan hills themselves many beds of iron ore are met with, but they are, as a rule, visible only for short distances on account of the jungle covering the ridges and valleys of the plateau. These beds are to be found on the ridge west of Parukkancheri at the northern extremity of the range about half a mile to the north; on the crag bearing the name of Palicontra Swanimalai; two miles east in the main stream of the Parukkancheri valley; a little more than a mile north-east of Innaud; a few hundred yards east of Pellapoondee on the flanks of a hill; in the dense jungles on the western flank of the great Madur (Moodur) hill; and a little more than a mile to the south in the village of Coveyeth which stands on the northern slope of a hill¹. No systematic attempts have been made to mine all this ore and to manufacture iron. The Iron Works erected at Porto Novo (Parangipettai) in the last century of which an account is given in the chapter on Industries, seem to have obtained most of their ore from Salem.

The main reason why the iron ores of this as well as the Salem district (where they occur in abundance) could not be worked was the want of a regular supply of proper fuel. The recent discovery of large beds of lignite (brown coal) made in the district promises to make good this supply in the near future. A detailed account of this discovery and its importance is given in the chapter on Industries. But here it may be observed that lignite has been found to occur mainly in two areas, the Aziznagar area ($11^{\circ} 13' 30''$; $79^{\circ} 26' 30''$) and the Neyveli area ($11^{\circ} 32'$; $79^{\circ} 29'$). The Neyveli field which is now being explored lies about 11 miles east of the town of Vriddhachalam and about 20 miles south-west of Cuddalore (Gudalur). It has not yet been fully explored, but the known extent of lignite is said to cover more than 100 square miles and its estimated quantity is no less than 2,000 million tons².

¹ *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India*, Vol. IV, pages 291-294.

² *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India* Vol. 80—*Mineral Resources of Madras* by M. S. Krishnan, 1951, pages 165-170.

³ *Madras Information*, March 1951, page 37.
Idem—December 1951, page 32.

The soils of the district can be divided into three main classes, namely, the black or regar, the red ferruginous and the arenaceous. They are distributed in the proportion of 35, 61 and 3 per cent respectively in the total arable area. The remaining one per cent represents the lands assessed at special rates during the resettlement and forms an exceptional series. Their distribution in the several taluks is as follows :—

Taluk.	Black.			Red.		Arenaceous.		Exceptional series.
	Clay	Loam	Sand	Loam	Sand	Loam	Sand	
Chidambaram ..	48	30	2	11	3	7	2 (37)	1
Cuddalore (Gudalur)	6	22	8	26	29	2	6	1
Tirukkoyilur ..	1	11	10	33	44	..	..	1
Tindivanam ..	10	18	1	25	35	2	8	1
Villupuram ..	10	20	2	24	42	..	..	1
Gingee (Senji) ..	..	1	..	32	66	..	..	1
Kallakurichchi ..	4	18	..	45	31	..	..	1
Vriddhachalam ..	22	35	5	26	12	..	..	1
Average ..	12	19	4	28	33	1	2	1
	35			61		3		1

The black soil prevails largely in the Chidambaram, Vriddhachalam and Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluks, the two former taluks alone containing more than one half of the total extent of the soil in the district. The red soil covers large extents of the Gingee (Senji), Tirukkoyilur and Kallakurichchi taluks, while the arenaceous occurs chiefly near the coast in the taluks of Chidambaram, Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Tindivanam. Black clay is the most fertile kind of soil, the loam is the next best and the red sand and the arenaceous soils are the poorest. The black soil is impervious and retains moisture better than the others: it is therefore the soil best fitted for wet and garden cultivation. The red loam and sandy soils are more easily ploughed and require a smaller quantity of rain for sowing and are best suited for dry crops, chiefly groundnut and pulses. The arenaceous soil is suited for plantations, chiefly of casuarina, cashewnut and coconut¹.

The forests of the district will be fully described in the chapter on Forests. Here it is enough to observe that they may be divided into three main formations, that on the Kalrayan hills, that on the high ground and on the lower Gingee (Senji) hills and that on the coast. The forest on the Kalrayans is of the evergreen type on the highest elevations and in the moist and sheltered ravines and of the deciduous type on the dry and exposed slopes. This deciduous belt extends for a considerable extent eastwards.

¹ A Statistical Atlas of the Madras Province, 1949—South Arcot (1940-1941), page 8.

1951 Census Handbook, South Arcot District, 1953, page 3.

In the Gingee (Senji) area mixed forests occur in which the evergreen type preponderates over the deciduous type. On the coast the forest is chiefly evergreen associated with a number of deciduous varieties of trees¹.

Turning to the flora, prominent among the sea-side flora is the thorny grass *Spinifex squarrosus*, one of the most interesting plants of this State. Its heads of flowers become detached when the seeds become ripe and roll along the ground like big balls before the wind, a unique method of self-sowing. This plant and another grass, *Trachys mucronata*, which is also found on the coast are useful sand-binders. Another sand-binder that occurs is the *Ipomoea biloba*, the sea-side convolvulus, which brightens the sandhills with its bell-like pink blossoms. Other species found are *Sporobolus tremulus*, *Calotropis gigantea*, *Hydrophyllae maritima*, *Launcea pinnatifida*, *Enicostema littorale* and *Spermacoce hispida*. In the waste spaces, especially near the sea, may be seen *Tribulus terrestris* with its little yellow flowers and thorny fruits, *Portulaca tuberosa*, *Solanum xanthocarpum* with its handsome yellow berries, the common colocynth, *Citrullus colocynthis*, with its little melons and *Jatropha gossypifolia* which takes up large tracts of sandy country in South India.

The salt marshes have their own flora and abound in such succulents as *Suaeda nudiflora*, *Salicornia brachiata* and *Sesuvium portulacastrum*. The brackish water lagoons are fringed with *Excoecaria agallocha* and the "mangrove" *Avicennia officinalis* with its remarkable erect, air breathing roots sticking up through the mud. The interesting holly-leaved *Acanthus ilicifolius* may also be met with in the backwaters.

The cultivated plains show the usual Coromandel weeds. In hedges and waste places may be collected *Daemia extensa*, *Gisekia pharnaceoides*, *Eclipta alba*, *Sida cordifolia*, *Justicia tranquebariensis*, *Boerhaavia repens*, *Aristolochia indica*, *Cleome tenella*, while in cultivated land may be seen *Lippia nodiflora*, *Pedaliium murex*, *Sphaeranthus indicus*, *Leucas zeylanica*, *Vahlia oldenlandioides*, *Cleome viscosa*, *Ecynandropsis pentaphylla*, *Coldenia procumbens* and the various *Heliotropiums*, *Oldenlandias*, *Bonnayas*, *Ilysanthes*, etc., the common flora of the eastern side of this State.

In the scattered scrub jungle are to be found climbers such as *Sarcostemma brevistigma*, *Vitis quadrangularis*, *Asparagus landioides*, *Cleome viscosa*, *Ecynandropsis pentaphylla*, *Coldenia Zehneria umbellata*, *Dregea volubilis*, *Tylophora asthmatica*, *Tragia involucrata*, *Ichnocarpus frutescens*, *Modecca wightiana*

¹ Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906. pages 149-159.

Working Plan for the Central Salem Division, 1933, pages 2-8.

Working Plan for the South Salem Forest Division, 1942, paragraphs 25-27.

Working Plan for the Chingleput Forest Division, 1954, pages 9-10.

and the parasitic *Cassytha filiformis* associated with the great mass of dry and thorny shrubs which represent the xerophytic or drought-loving flora of South India. Among these shrubs may be mentioned *Ehretia burijoua*, *Flueggea leucopyrus*, *Azima tetracantha*, *Cadaba indica*, *Caesaria tomentosa*, *Kandia dumetorum*, *Carissa spinarum*, *Gmelina asiatica*, *Clausena wilsonii* and *Cassia auriculata* whose bark is largely used for tanning purposes.

In the reserved forests we come across a number of interesting shrubs and trees such as *Dichrostachys cinerea*, *Dolichandrone falcata*, *Aegle marmelos*, *Mimusops elengi* and *Albizia amara*, *Cassia marginata*, *C. siamea*, *C. fistula*, *Grewia pilosa*, *G. hirsuta*, and so forth. Here and there between the trees and shrubs we meet with the handsome *Pancratium zeylanicum*, *Scilla indica*, the Indian squill, the *Curculigo orchnioides*, and dark brown, evil smelling, fly attracting *Asclepiads* such as *Boucerosia umbellata* and *Caralluma attenuata*, all succulents well adapted for their life in these dry localities. At certain times of the year the woods near Gingee (Senji) are brightened by the handsome laburnum-like flowers of *Cassia fistula* or the brilliant redpods of *Pterolobium indicum* or the sweet white 'tresses' of *Derris scandens* or *Calpinia septaria*. And on the ascent of Gingee (Senji) rock are seen *Mussaenda tomentosa*, *Clerodendron phlomoides*, *Cephalandra indica var-palmata*, *Corallocarpus epigaea* and other interesting plants.

The hill masses which occupy the western side of the district, though small in area, are botanically most interesting. On them may be seen *Oropetium thomeum* a tiny plant from three to four inches high, *Tragus racemosus*, *Perotis latifolia*, the two sandbinders *Spinifex squarrosus* and *Trachys mucronata*, and other grasses like *Manisuris granularis*, *Pennisetum Alopecurus*, *Apluda varia* and the various *Panicums*, *Paspalums*, *Aristadas*, *Eragrostes*, *Setarias*, *Anthistirias*, etc. Among them also may be seen amidst trees of deciduous type and rocks, *Sansevieria zeylanica*, which abounds in wastes and rocky places. *Loranthus longiflorus* and *scurrula* and *Viscum capitellatum* which cling to the trees as well as woody climbers and small trees and shrubs like *Breynias*, *Phyllanthus polyphyllus*, *Mallotus philippinensis*, *Cassia glauca*, *Grewia abutilifolia*, *G. Lævigata*, *Memecylon edule*, *Helictres isora*, *Acacia pennata*, *Heptaya madablota*, *Murraya exotica*, *Phyllanthus reticulatus*, *Trema orientalis* and various species of *Zizyphus*, *Toddalia aculeata*, *Calpurnia aurea* and *Scutia indica*.

The two yams, *Dioscorea oppositifolia* and *D. tomentosa* are common and their roots afford a jungle food. Of herbaceous plants one may select as more interesting *Buettneria herbacea*, *Euphorbia cristata*, *Indigofera pulchella*, *Justicia nilgherrensis*, *Orthosiphon diffusus*, *Cleus barbatus*, *Rubia Cordifolia*, *Ardisia humilis*, *Dendron serratum*, *Rhynchosia refescens*, *Knoxia Corumbosa*, *Uvaria narum*, *Chlorophytum*, *Clematis gouriana*, *Plumbago*

zeylanica, *Thunbergia fragrans*, *Claoxylon mercurialis*, and *Impatiens balsamia*. Ferns and orchids are not common, but of the former *Adiantum candatum* sometimes forms handsome beds, and little starlike *Actinopteris radiata* brightens many a crack in the rocks¹.

There is nothing remarkable in the fauna of the district. The cattle are of inferior breed and are generally fit for the plough only. Big animals imported from Mysore and other places are purchased during the Angalammal festival at Mel Malayanur in the Gingee (Senji) taluk and the Panguni Uttiram festival at Mailam in the Tindivanam taluk. The Tirukkoyilur and Kallakkurichchi taluks maintain a comparatively large number of cattle because grazing land is more common there than elsewhere. Fodder crops are not specially raised in any taluk, and the cattle depend chiefly on the straw of cereals.² The sheep of the district are of two kinds, namely the Semmeri, the long-legged red variety with a hairy coat which is only useful for its flesh and as a manuring agent, and the Kurumba, the more compact kind which has a woolly fleece and is black and white and brown in colour. The goats present no particular points of interest.³

The larger kinds of game are rare. In ancient days the Kalrayans were called the "elephant hills". Even in the last century elephants were said to have been living on the hills and causing considerable damage to the crops. But, nowadays, they are rarely met with. Tigers were also formerly noticed here; but now they are not met with. Bears are said to be seen now and again on the Kalrayans; formerly they were also seen on the rocky hills round Gingee (Senji), but nowadays they are not seen here. Leopards were common in these latter hills; the great caves formed by the piles of boulders give them admirable cover; but nowadays they have disappeared. Hyænas are found in the Kallakkurichchi taluk. Spotted deer occur in small numbers on the Kalrayans. They were formerly found in the Gingee (Senji) hills too. Antelopes are seen in the Kallakkurichchi and Tirukkoyilur taluks. Rabbits are met with in many localities; pigs are common and crocodiles are seen in the canals taking off from the Coleroon (Kollidam).⁴

Of the smaller game, snipe abound in the reedy foreshores of the tanks round about Villupuram and in the Tirukkoyilur taluk. Partridges, hares and quail are common; florican are not scarce; teal and duck of several kinds abound in the tanks after the rains; round Gingee (Senji) peafowl and jungle-fowl are to be seen in the forests.

¹ Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 23-26.

² A Statistical Atlas of the Madras Province, 1949—South Arcot (1940-41), page 7.

³ Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 28.

⁴ Film—pages 28-29.

Working Plan for the Chingleput Forest Division, 1954, page 11.

Fish are plentiful in the tanks. The sea fisheries provide a living for hundreds of persons. The pomfret, the seer, the whiting and the mullet are among the better known kinds of fish, and the oysters of the Cuddalore (Gudalur) backwater enjoy a more than local fame.

The climate of the district is, on the whole, healthy. The average rainfall for the years 1891-1940 recorded at Cuddalore (Gudalur) is 54.46 inches; and that recorded at Cuddalore (Gudalur) and at Kallakkurichchi in 1951 is 54.79 and 35.02 inches respectively. It is the heaviest along the coast and varies with the distance of each locality from the coast and becomes less and less as the monsoon travels inland. Porto Novo (Parangipettai) has usually the heaviest rainfall, Chidambaram comes next and Kallakkurichchi comes last. The north-east monsoon rainfall is more than double that of the south-west monsoon rainfall on the coast. It is also more in the Vriddhachalam taluk. The Gingee (Senji) taluk and portions of the Vriddhachalam, Kallakkurichchi and Tirukkoyilur taluks are the driest parts of the district¹.

The average temperature for the period 1891-1940 recorded at Cuddalore (Gudalur) is 82.7°; and that recorded at Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Kallakkurichchi in 1951 is 82.6° and 83.8° respectively. The hottest months are April to June and the coolest months are December and January. The highest recorded temperature during 1891-1940 was 110° and the lowest 52°. The coastal parts of the district are naturally moist and damp.

As will be seen from the tables given below, the district on the whole gets a sufficient rainfall and enjoys, save in the hottest months, an equitable temperature. The average annual rainfall and the number of rainy days in a year for each taluk are as follows.²

Name of the taluk.	Rainfall in inches.	Number of rainy days.
Gingee (Senji)	41.81	53.0
Tindivanam	46.87	52.3
Villupuram	44.09	55.0
Cuddalore (Gudalur)	50.73	55.3
Chidambaram	51.82	54.3
Vriddhachalam	42.25	52.6
Tirukkoyilur	40.59	52.4
Kallakkurichchi	39.99	55.5

¹ Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 28-29.

² A Statistical Atlas of the Madras Provinces, 1949—South Arcot, (1940-1941), page 2.

* 1951 Census Handbook, South Arcot District, 1953, page 2.

The monthly mean of daily maximum and daily minimum temperature, the highest and the lowest recorded temperature and the mean of monthly total rainfall based on the data for the 50 years 1891—1940 are given below¹ :—

1891—1940.

Month.	Temperature.				Mean of total rainfall in inches.
	Daily Maximum.	Daily Minimum.	Highest recorded.	Lowest recorded.	
January	82.7	68.9	89	56	2.36
February	85.1	70.0	97	58	0.90
March	88.4	72.7	102	61	0.69
April	92.2	77.7	108	67	0.98
May	97.8	80.4	110	70	1.00
June	98.6	80.3	109	70	1.39
July	96.0	78.6	105	66	2.60
August	94.2	77.0	102	69	4.80
September	92.5	76.8	101	68	5.21
October	88.5	75.2	102	66	11.53
November	84.4	72.7	95	62	15.52
December	82.6	70.2	95	52	7.49
For the year ..	90.3	75.0	110	52	54.46

The monthly mean of daily maximum and daily minimum temperature, the highest and the lowest recorded temperature and the actual monthly rainfall for 1951 as recorded at Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Kallakurichchi are given below² :—

AT CUDDALORE (GUDALUR), 1951.

Month.	Temperature.				Actual rainfall in inches.
	Daily Maximum.	Daily Minimum.	Highest recorded.	Lowest recorded.	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
January	81.8	69.2	89	63	0.97
February	82.9	66.3	87	62	..
March	87.6	73.3	95	66	..
April	90.0	77.5	94	72	2.66
May	95.0	80.5	99	76	0.10
June	98.5	80.5	103	75	2.54
July	94.7	78.6	100	72	1.42
August	95.0	78.1	102	72	7.64
September	92.1	77.8	99	72	1.17
October	92.3	77.5	97	74	1.70
November	85.2	74.5	92	71	26.41
December	83.6	69.5	89	68	0.18
For the year ..	88.9	75.3	103	62	54.79

¹ 1951 Census Handbook, South Arcot District, 1953, page 2.

² Idem—pages 2-3.

AT KALLAKKURICHCHI, 1951.

Month.	Temperature				Actual rainfall in inches.
	Average Daily Maximum.	Average Daily Minimum.	Highest recorded.	Lowest recorded.	
January	86.5	68.6	89	60	0.02
February	91.0	65.2	96	61	..
March	97.1	72.4	104	63	0.28
April	93.2	77.6	103	73	2.56
May	102.5	80.0	107	73	1.87
June	98.9	79.5	104	77	0.76
July	95.3	76.4	104	71	5.11
August	95.8	76.4	101	71	10.56
September	94.3	77.0	98	73	2.98
October	93.2	75.5	99	71	2.21
November	86.4	73.6	93	69	8.82
December	85.7	69.2	90	66	..
For the year ..	93.3	74.3	107	60	35.02

Famines and scarcities only occasionally visit the district, and, during the last 150 years for which there is recorded evidence, they have, on the whole, caused here much less distress than elsewhere. In 1804, the season being unfavourable, rice was ordered to be imported from Bengal and other northern districts, advances were directed to be granted to merchants to lay in stocks and Rs. 1,500, it is interesting to note, was sanctioned for the performance of an abhishekam ceremony for the propitiation of the rain god. Very soon, however, the rains came and the situation became better. In 1806-1807 the shortness of the rainfall culminated in a drought when large quantities of grain were imported into the district for distribution, more than six lakhs of revenue was remitted, relief works were started and Rs. 1,61,000 were spent on advances to cultivators and Rs. 68,900 were spent on the repair of tanks. In 1823-1824 and in 1824-1825, prices rose high owing to the failure of the harvest and made it necessary to open relief works and to grant remissions. The revenue for fasli 1233 fell short of that of the previous year by more than 27 per cent or over five lakhs of rupees. In 1833-1834 another famine visited the district when the prices nearly doubled, and Rs. 20,000 were spent on relief works and Rs. 1,64,000 were granted as remissions. Advances were also now given for the construction of wells and, between July and September, food was distributed to a large number of people. In 1866 the rains failed completely in June and July, all agricultural operations came to a standstill and people who lived by daily labour were reduced to great straits. Famine works were now opened and the aged and the infirm were distributed food gratis at the Government depots. By September, the price of ragi and rice went up by 120 and 65 per cent respectively over the figures for the corresponding months of the previous year; but the season improved by the end of January 1867 and by February, the relief works were closed. During this

amine Rs. 7,490 were spent on gratuitous relief and Rs. 15,910 on relief works.

Then came the 'Great Famine' of 1876-1878 which visited all the districts of the State; but even during this famine South Arcot did not experience as much distress as the other districts. The trouble started in 1875 when the south-west rains began to fail. Good showers of north-east rains somewhat improved the position. By January 1876, however, the Collector reported that the conditions in the taluks of Tindivanam, Vriddhachalam and Kallakkurichchi were fast deteriorating owing to the scarcity of rain. Upon this the Government sanctioned the remission of the three last of the kists on dry crops in all villages where the general out-turn of the principal cereals had been less than one-third. About the same time cholera and cattle disease made their appearance. But, by April, the rains began to come and the prospects greatly improved. The total dry and wet remissions granted till then amounted to Rs. 2,80,000. Towards the end of the year, however, prices began to rise in sympathy with those elsewhere and, by the first week of November, second sort rice came to be sold at 5 measures and ragi at 8 measures a rupee at Cuddalore (Gudalur). Hoarding and profiteering, the twin evils with which we are nowadays so familiar, then raised their head but were effectually put down by rioting. On Christmas day a grain riot occurred in the Old Cuddalore (Gudalur) town which brought down the prices considerably. In the same month the Government sanctioned the temporary suspension of the collection of the kists and granted Rs. 15,000 for the opening of relief works in certain places. In February 1877 a remission of one-third of the kists was granted on dry land on which there had been a total failure of crops. In July relief depots were opened in many places for distributing rice gratis to the aged and the infirm; but these were soon flocked by able-bodied idlers who would do nothing on relief works. The highest number of persons employed on the relief works at no time in the district was more than 2,999. However, the north-east monsoon having proved favourable the situation rapidly improved, but it was not till June 1878 that the relief works were closed and not till September 1878 that gratuitous relief was withdrawn. The parts of the district most affected by this famine were the Kallakkurichchi and Tirukkoyilur taluks and the western portion of the Villupuram taluk. On the whole the expenditure on famine works came to Rs. 79,384 and on gratuitous relief to Rs. 8,52,271 which sums, it may be stated, were considerably less than the sums spent in several other districts in this State¹.

Since 1778 no serious famine has occurred in the district, though scarcities have now and again prevailed on account of failure of rains or abnormal conditions created by the two World Wars.

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 178-184.

Though the fates have been lenient to South Arcot in the matter of famines, they have been harsh to it in the matter of storms and floods. One of the earliest of the hurricanes of the district was that of 10th November 1681. It continued unabated for three days at Porto Novo (Parangipettai) and left behind it a trail of broken vessels in the river and ruined houses on the land. In November 1745 no less than three tornadoes burst in quick succession over Pondicherry (Puducherry) laying low all avenues, orchards and gardens, washing away several houses, drowning many men and cattle, killing even birds, and flooding waist deep several parts of the town. On 13th April 1749 a hurricane struck the camp of the English expedition halting near Porto Novo (Parangipettai) on its way to Devikottai and blew up the tents to rags, killed many horses and draught bullocks and damaged all military stores. It did even greater havoc to the shipping and the fleet that accompanied the expedition; it stranded two of the Company's ships between Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Fort St. David and sunk a hospital ship as well as two gun-ships, one carrying 60 and the other carrying 70 guns. In October 1752 another hurricane accompanied by heavy rains burst on the coast and for several days flooded the country and thereby compelled the English troops then in the field to return to Fort St. David for shelter. On 30th December 1760 when Sir Eyre Coote was besieging Pondicherry (Puducherry), a cyclone struck the coast opposite that town and wrecked most of the men-of-war which were then lying there and assisting the blockade. On 21st and 22nd October 1763, three of the King's ships were dismasted by a storm. On 15th October 1782 a cyclone strewn the shore for miles with wrecks and sent 100 coasting craft laden with 30,000 bags of rice to the bottom. In 1795 a hurricane swept over the district causing immense damage to the crops. Another hurricane did similar damage in October 1842. In 1858 seven vessels and many small crafts were wrecked by a storm between Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Porto Novo (Parangipettai). In 1871 a large steamer was stranded in a cyclone on the Coleroon (Kollidam) shoal. In 1874 a tornado did not a little damage to the north-west corner of the district¹.

Coming to our own century, a cyclone burst over the district in November 1916 and killed over a thousand persons, damaged several minor irrigation works, and destroyed crops, trees and buildings on an extensive scale in the Tirukkoyilur and Tindivanam divisions and in parts of the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk.² Another cyclone accompanied by heavy rains swept over the district in 1930. It continued for 36 hours from the night of 28th November, brought on 10½ inches of rain in the Tindivanam taluk, 9½ inches in the Gingee (Senji) taluk and 5 inches in the Cuddalore

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1900, pages 185-186.

² *Idem*, Vol. II, 1930, page XXXIX.

(Gudalur) taluk and swept over the other taluks as well. On the whole 111 families were rendered homeless, 320 tanks were breached and considerable areas under crops were damaged. The damage to the irrigation works was estimated at Rs. 2,00,000; to the private property at Rs. 2,25,000; and to the public property at Rs. 1,31,000.¹ Then came the cyclone of 1933. From 14th to 17th December this cyclone accompanied by rains in some parts swept over the whole of the Cuddalore (Gudalur), Chidambaram and Vriddhachalam taluks and portions of the Villupuram and Tirukkoyilur taluks causing a lot of havoc everywhere. Eleven persons lost their lives; over 100 cattle in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk alone were killed; over 1,500 huts were destroyed; the buildings of Messrs. Parry and Company at Nellikuppam and Cuddalore (Gudalur) and the University Buildings at Annamalainagar were damaged; many trees in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) Vriddhachalam and Chidambaram taluks were uprooted; the sugar-cane plantations in the Nellikuppam and Panruti areas and the salt pans at Cuddalore (Gudalur) were severely affected; and portions of Cuddalore (Gudalur) town were inundated by a tidal wave over six feet in height.² A more serious cyclone occurred in 1941. From 3 p.m. on 2nd December to 6 a.m. on 3rd December, the wind blew with a velocity of 20 to 40 miles per hour and, accompanied as it was by heavy rains, caused floods and widespread damage. The effect of the cyclone was felt throughout the district. The Gadilam, the Vellar and the Manimuktar rose in floods and inundated large tracts. Twenty-eight persons perished by the fall of houses; 5,600 houses and huts were damaged; road, railway, telegraph and telephone communications were greatly disorganized; 81 tanks in charge of the Public Works Department and 238 tanks in charge of the Revenue Department were breached, the cost of their repairs being estimated at Rs. 3.32 lakhs; and 1,300 acres of wet and 1,672 acres of dry crops were destroyed. Relief measures were promptly ordered and a sum of Rs. 11,000 was placed at the disposal of the Collector for making grants for the construction of huts.³ The only other cyclone that visited the district before 1951 (the year with which we close our book) was that of 1943. This came accompanied by heavy rains on 16th May. The velocity of the wind ranged from 20 to 30 miles per hour, and 37.55 inches of rain fell from 8 a.m. on 16th to 8 a.m. on 19th. The cyclone affected the Villupuram, Gingee (Senji), Tindivanam, Tirukkoyilur, Vriddhachalam and Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluks. The Gadilam and the Ponnaiyar came down in floods and inundated all the low-lying parts of Cuddalore (Gudalur)

¹ G.O. Ms. No. 1349, Public Works and Labour, dated 18th May 1931.

G.O. Ms. No. 1104, Revenue, dated 21st May 1931.

² G.O. Ms. No. 95, Revenue, dated 12th January 1934.

³ G.O. Ms. No. 2833, Revenue, dated 11th December 1941.

G.O. Ms. No. 84, Revenue, dated 8th January 1943.

G.O. Ms. No. 1583, Revenue, dated 20th July 1943.

town. Several houses and huts collapsed; telegraph and telephone posts were uprooted; some cattle were washed away, and the Government granted Rs. 15,000 for relief.¹

Floods have been equally disastrous in the district. The earliest of these, of which particulars survive, occurred in 1858 when the Coleroon (Kollidam) came down in an overwhelming fresh and inundated the whole of the delta area, reaching even up to a height of 11½ feet on the crest of the north branch of the Lower Anicut. In 1864, from 7th to 19th October, 10 inches of rain fell at Cuddalore (Gudalur) and even more in the interior and, as a consequence, the Gadilam came down in an angry mood. It swept away 8 and damaged 2 of the arches of the bridge which connected Manjakuppam and Tiruppapuliur (Tiruppadurippuliur), flooded up to 4 feet deep the whole of the maidan at Manjakuppam and washed away or damaged most of the houses in Pudupalayam. In the inland parts the floods destroyed all roads, damaged all anicuts and burst several tanks, including the Perumal and the Wallajah tanks. A large number of people were rendered homeless and Rs. 3,700 were spent in relieving them. The total cost of the repairs to the irrigation works was estimated at over half a lakh of rupees. On 16th November 1871 heavy rains fell in the west of the district and the Vellar came down in a great flood, 13 feet deep on the anicut at Shatiatope, and carried away the bridge at Mutlur, breached 36 tanks in the Tindivanam taluk and stopped all traffic there for five days. On 26th October 1874 a big fresh came down the Ponnaiyar and the Gadilam, damaged the bridges over them near Cuddalore (Gudalur) as well as several irrigation works and submerged large areas under crops. On 25th October 1877, owing to the heavy rainfall in the west of the district, the Vellar rose in a high flood and breached the anicuts at Pelandurai and at Shatiatope, while the Ponnaiyar also overflowed and damaged the lands under its open headed channels and breached the railway in several places. On 6th November, in the same year, both the Coleroon (Kollidam) and the Vadavar overflowed their banks and submerged some villages.

On 21st November 1880 a cyclonic storm passed over the district from south-east to north-west and expended itself in the Kalrayan hills causing a great flood in the Vellar. The height of the water on the crest of the Pelandurai and the Shatiatope anicuts reached over 15 feet and the former anicut breached and the latter escaped a similar fate only because the river spilt over its right bank into the Viranam tank. Almost simultaneously the floods in the Coleroon (Kollidam) caused the Vadavar channel to breach in many places and the whole country from Lalpet Weirs to Mannargudi became one vast sheet of running water. The channels from the Tirukkoyilur anicut on the Ponnaiyar also breached and the total damages due to this flood in the district came to Rs. 2,12,000. Two years later, in July 1882, high floods

¹ G.O. Ms. No. 1803 (1-S), Revenue, dated 26th May 1943

G.O. No. 1852, Revenue, dated 9th June 1943

came down the Coleroon (Kollidam) for several days in succession and, at length, on the 10th the left embankment of the river within the Tiruchirappalli district collapsed and the water poured down into the Vadavar channel and breached both this channel and the Raja Vaikkal. The river also broke down its embankments lower down within the district, rushed across the country and carried away an iron girder railway bridge about 3 miles from Chidambaram. On 19th July the river rose again and threatened to wash away the right bank of the Vadavar; but the temporary bunds rapidly put up averted the disaster. Water, however, entered 101 villages, though it did little damage to the houses.

More severe floods came in November and December 1884. From 4th to 7th November no less than 32 inches of rain fell at Cuddalore (Gudalur), 11.75 inches on 7th alone. The stop bank at Edaiyar constructed to keep the Ponnaiyar from flowing down its old bed into the Malattar in flood time breached and water swept down the Malattar into the already swollen Gadilam; and the two rivers overflowed the whole face of the country, breaching the railway line in some places between Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Porto Novo (Parangipettai), stopping all trains, damaging all anicuts on the Gadilam and washing away all tanks and roads in the eastern part of the district. Cuddalore (Gudalur) New Town suffered greatly owing to the overflowing of the Gadilam near it into Tiruppapuliur (Tiruppadirippuliur), the low lying ground which is supposed to have been the old bed of the river. Four arches of the road bridge over the Gadilam near the railway station collapsed and the maidan in Manjakuppam became flooded. From 17th to 20th December heavy rain fell again, no less than 25.55 inches at Cuddalore (Gudalur), 15.40 inches on the 19th alone. The stop bank at Edaiyar this time completely collapsed and the Ponnaiyar rushed into the Gadilam with even greater impetus than before. From the afternoon of 18th till the evening of 19th, the water of the two rivers swept through Manjakuppam; Tiruppapuliur (Tiruppadirippuliur) was flooded $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet deeper than in November; nine more of the arches of the Gadilam bridge leading to it were destroyed; and the Ponnaiyar bridge gave way. Outside the headquarters, the bridges over the two mouths of the Gingee (Senji) river were destroyed; the bridge over the Malattar on the road from Panruti to Tirukkoyilur was swept away; all the three anicuts on the Gadilam were once more damaged and the Pelandurai anicut was again breached; the Wallajah and Perumal tanks also breached; the country between the Khan Sahib's Canal and the Raja Vaikkal from the Lower Anicut became inundated; and the railway was washed away in scores of places to an aggregate length of some four miles. A wing of the bridge over the Tondiyar, 3 of the 5 spans of the bridge across the Gingee (Senji) river and 6 of the 7 spans of the bridge over the same river on the Pondicherry (Puducherry) branch were completely destroyed. The Ponnaiyar and the Gadilam bridges stood, but the water was within 5 feet 10 inches of the rail level of the former and within

1 foot 8 inches of that of the latter. Communication with Madras was cut off for more than a month and with the south for even a longer period. On the whole no less than 177 major and 776 minor irrigation sources were breached, 20 bridges were wrecked, 13,595 habitations were destroyed and 13,724 cattle, sheep and goats were drowned.

In order to keep the Gadilam within her bounds and to minimise the floods in Tiruppapuliur (Tiruppadirippuliur), an embankment was thrown up at the edge of Mount Capper near the Tiruvendipuram anicut, and in order to allow the surplus water to escape, the height of the railway bank from the bridge over the Gadilam down to Cuddalore (Gudalur) Old Town station was lowered and an additional waterway was provided in this part of the line. The Edaiyar dam was also again rebuilt to keep the Ponnaiyar from spilling into the Gadilam, and the four ruined bridges between the New Town and Pondicherry (Puducherry) were constructed at higher levels.

The next flood occurred in 1898. In October, November and December of that year, heavy rain caused the Ponnaiyar and the Gadilam again to overflow. The railway lines near Serndanur breached, a hamlet of Malaipperumalagaram in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk, was flooded for days; the Manimuktar overflowed its banks at Vriddhachalam; the Raja Vaikkal and the Khan Sahib's Canal in Chidambaram breached; 87 major and 332 minor irrigation works were more or less damaged; and many lands were ruined. The Vellar also rose almost as high as in 1884 but luckily there were no abnormal freshes in the Coleroon (Kollidam). Much more serious floods came in 1903. On 15th and 16th November, the Coleroon (Kollidam) came down in a big fresh and wrecked the bridge which carried the road over it alongside the Southern Railway. On 30th and 31st December further heavy rain fell, 13.18 inches at Tirukkoyilur and the Ponnaiyar and the Gadilam came down in high flood. The depth of the former at the Tirukkoyilur anicut was $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet as against the previous record of 10 feet in 1884. At noon on 31st December the Gadilam rose rapidly and, by the evening, 13 feet of water began to pass under the road-bridge at Cuddalore (Gudalur) New Town. The embankment of the Ponnaiyar near Semmandalam suddenly gave way and the flood swept into the already overcharged Gadilam which then overflowed its banks and ran through the low lying parts of Manjakuppam and the adjoining hamlets. By 3 p.m. water rose waist deep in Pudupalayam and the river ran across the Manjakuppam maidan itself. Outside the headquarters great damage was done by this flood. The railway line was breached in several places and through traffic was not restored for a fortnight; 15 lives were lost; close on 1,000 cattle, sheep and goats were drowned; over 1,400 houses were damaged; the roads were cut up in many places; a good deal of land was ruined by being covered with sand, and

446 major and 71 minor irrigation works were affected to a greater or lesser extent¹.

An unusual rainfall of about 28 inches in 48 hours in November 1913 brought on heavy floods in the Vellar and the Manimuktar. On 10th the Manimuktar rose to a height of 13½ feet and the Vellar at the Pelandurai anicut flowed 23 feet over the crest, the highest on record. Soon after midnight, extensive spills took place over both the banks of the Vellar and 12 out of the 17 movable shutters of the anicut were washed away and heavy breaches occurred on both sides of the anicut. The spill from the right bank of the river combined with the unprecedented flood discharged from the catchment area of the Viranam tank and breached the tank itself in 16 places. The overflow over the left bank of the Vellar entered the Raja Vaikkal and the Wallajah tank, washed away the former for a length of two miles and damaged the weirs and breached the latter in 5 places. The flood from the Wallajah tank entered the Perumal tank in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk and breached it in 16 places. Besides these major works almost all the irrigation channels and tanks belonging to the Lower Coleroon (Kollidam) and the Sbatiatope systems were damaged by the floods. Practically the whole of the Chidambaram taluk was submerged, the depths of the floods on the roads ranging from 5 to 9 feet. Several streets in the town of Chidambaram and Porto Novo (Parangipettai) and almost all the villages in the Chidambaram taluk were affected. Luckily the Coleroon (Kollidam) was not in freshes at that time and the flood waters therefore breached the Coleroon (Kollidam) bank and the railway line in several places and emptied themselves into the river and thence into the sea. There were also floods in Cuddalore (Gudalur) town and taluk. On the night of 9th heavy rain accompanied by a storm blew down avenue trees and filled the maidan in front of the Collector's office and the roads with water. On 10th the Gadilam overflowed its southern embankment and inundated Tiruppanlivur (Tirupnadirippulivur) and the road to Cuddalore (Gudalur) Old town, breached the railway line in several places near Chidambaram, Porto Novo (Parangipettai), Puduchatram and Alapakkam and washed away many roads in the Chidambaram taluk. The Manimuktar also overflowed its right bank and flooded Vridhachalam town. Relief measures were immediately undertaken and grants were made to repair the irrigation works and roads. These floods affected a large area; 248 villages in the Chidambaram taluk, 48 villages in the Vridhachalam taluk and 14 villages in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk. About 13,140 houses were destroyed and about 5,000 cattle, sheep and goats were drowned. The total value of property lost was estimated at over Rs. 1,80,000 but only 33 lives were lost.

¹ *Guardian of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 196-197.

In 1924 freshes came down the Coleroon (Kollidam) and the Vadavar and breached tanks, damaged irrigation channels and destroyed standing crops ¹. In 1931 a more serious flood occurred. On 10th and 11th December there was a heavy downpour of rain accompanied by a thunder-storm; from 7 a.m. on the night of 10th to 8 a.m. on the morning of 11th, a rainfall of 3.71 inches was recorded. The Gadilam, the Ponnaiyar and the Vellar rose in floods; the first two to 12½ feet and 7 feet respectively. All the low lying areas were flooded; road, rail and telegraph communications were damaged; several tanks and irrigation channels in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Villupuram taluks were breached and about 200 acres of crops in the Chidambaram taluk were destroyed ². In 1937, 16.74 inches of rain fell in Cuddalore (Gudalur) town between 14th and 16th November and high floods rushed down the Ponnaiyar, the Gadilam and the Vellar and inundated many parts of Cuddalore (Gudalur), cutting off that town from all road and rail communications. The Manimuktar also rose and flooded Vriddhachalam town. The Vellar breached the railway line from Kille and Porto Novo (Parangipettai), the Ponnaiyar overflowed the Tirukkoyilur anicut, the Gadilam breached the Tiruvadi anicut, considerable damage was done to the Lower Coleroon (Kollidam) system and the Shatiatope system; and the repairs to irrigation works alone were estimated to cost Rs. 1,09,000 ³. In 1939 as a result of continuous rain from 12th to 15th April floods came in all taluks, save the Tindivanam taluk, and a number of anicut systems, the Lower Coleroon (Kollidam) anicut system, the Shatiatope anicut system, the Pelandurai anicut system, the Toludur project system, the Vriddhachalam anicut system as well as the Mahamatur anicut system, got damaged to a lesser or greater extent ⁴. On 14th and 16th November of the same year heavy rains fell in the district and on 16th the Vellar overflowed its banks, inundated up to Shatiatope road, and also parts of the Bhuvanagiri and Vriddhachalam roads, besides several villages on the outskirts of Chidambaram town. The Manimuktar and the Gadilam likewise overflowed their banks and damaged several roads and minor irrigation works ⁵.

Much more severe floods came in November and December 1946. The November floods came on 15th and 16th in the Manimuktar and the Vellar. They filled the low lying areas in Vriddhachalam town, damaged a number of houses and huts in the Vriddhachalam and Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluks, breached several tanks and channels and caused considerable dislocation in

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District*, Vol. II, 1932, pages 39-41.

² G.O. No. 908, Revenue, dated 27th April 1932.

G.O. No. 220, Irrigation (Public Works and Labour), dated 26th January 1932.

³ G.O. No. 106, Public Works, dated 20th January 1938.

⁴ G.O. No. 2073, Public Works, dated 23rd August 1939.

⁵ G.O. No. 3431, Revenue, dated 21st December 1939.

road traffic. The December floods came from 3rd to 8th and affected the whole district. Heavy rains fell in the catchment basins of the Gadilam, the Ponnaiyar, the Vellar, the Manimuktar and the Sankarabarani as a result of which all these rivers rose in spate causing widespread destruction. Only a few persons were killed, but over 1,350 huts and houses were damaged; about 150 minor irrigation and 51 major irrigation works were breached or affected; about 5,200 acres of crops were submerged; and a large number of roads all over the district were damaged. The estimate of cost of repairing the roads alone came to Rs. 2,20,000. The Government took prompt measures to afford relief to the distressed, to grant remissions to the ryots and to repair the roads and irrigation works¹.



¹ G.O. No. 1718, Revenue, dated 21st July 1947.

G.O. No. 782, Public Works, dated 4th March 1948.

CHAPTER II. EARLY HISTORY.

South Arcot was the home of pre-historic people whose traces are still to be seen in the stone implements and kistvaens or graves found in some places in the district. The former found on the Kalrayans are, by the primitive tribes of Malayalis of that region, regarded as holy and placed reverently in their surines. The latter found in places like Devanur, Satyamangalam, Sittampudi, Jambadai, Kongarayapalayam, Kugaiyur and Kundalur are the relics of a race which knew the use of pottery and iron. The Kistvaens consist of chambers usually 6 feet long, 4 feet broad and 3 feet deep, walled, roofed, and floored with large slabs of roughly hewn stone and sometimes surrounded by one or more circles of stone slabs set up on end. Inside them are generally found fragments of bone, pottery and weapons made of iron. It is not known whether these are the tombs of the chieftains of the diminutive race of the Valakilyas mentioned in the Sthalapurana of Tirukkoyilur¹.

In the dawn of historic times we find the district coming under the influence of Buddhism and Jainism. Hieun Tsang, the famous Chinese traveller of the seventh century, records the tradition then current that the Buddha (sixth century B.C.) himself frequently visited Kanchi (Kancheepuram) and its environs. This may be doubted, as there is no evidence to show that Buddhism spread in South India before the time of Asoka; but there can be no doubt that Buddhism prevailed in Tondaimandalam—in which was included South Arcot—when Hieun Tsang visited Kanchi. His own travels show this, and the importance of Buddhism in ancient Tondaimandalam is also testified by the Manimekhalai, by the names of early Pallava kings like Buddhavarman and Buddhayankura, by the Mattavilasa Prahasana of Mahendravarman I, and by the well-known conflict of Manikkavasagar with the Buddhists at Chidambaram. Jainism seems to have come into the district in the time of Chandragupta Maurya, when a body of North Indian Jains under the leadership of Bhadrabahu settled in Mysore. The progress of Jainism in Tondaimandalam is shown by the work done by Saravanandi in the fifth century at Pataliputra (Tiruppadirippuliyur or Cuddalore New Town) with regard to Simhanandi's Lokavibhaga and by the Periyapuranam. Jainism, however, seems to have suffered persecution at the time of the revival of Saivism in the seventh century².

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 30-31.

Idem, Vol. II, 1932, pages 1-11.

² *Gazetteer of the Tanjore District*, Vol. II, 1932, page III.

Foreign Notices of South India by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1936, pages 98-104.

In the Sangam Age—in the first three centuries of the Christian Era—Karikala, the great Chola king, is said to have extended his power over the local chieftains of the district called Malayamans. He is said to have conquered the whole of Tondaimandalam, divided it into 24 Kottams for administrative purposes, cleared its forests and constructed its earliest irrigation works. Under him and his successors the country was, it would appear, ruled by the Chola viceroys until the advent of the Pallavas in the second half of the third century.¹

Very little is, however, known about the early Pallava kings. The inscriptions upon which the history of the Pallavas is based, are by no means conclusive and they do not help us in formulating any definite scheme of chronology or genealogy. In spite of much research that has been made in recent years, it is not yet definitely established who these Pallavas were and from where they came to Kanchi. Some historians say that they were Persian or Parthian in origin, that they were identical with the Pahlavas who formed a distinct element in the population of Western India early in the second century and that they subsequently moved to Eastern India. Others opine that they were an indigenous race or tribe or clan or caste of the northern part of the former Madras Presidency, possibly of the old Vengi country. Some others assert that they were of Chola-Naga origin, descended from Killi's son, Ilam Tiraiyan, who was born of a Naga princess. Some equate them with the Tiraiyars, sea-men who had come from abroad (from Tiraiyar or Darya in Persian meaning sea or sea-men); others consider them as Kurumbars or hill chiefs of ancient Tondaimandalam; while some others regard them as Brahmin aristocrats of Northern India, who were warriors by profession. Some differences of opinion also exist as to the origin of the word Pallava; some say that it came from the word Pahlava; others think that it was derived from the Tamil word pal (milk) and avil (to pull ?) meaning milkmen or agriculturists; while some others hold that it was derived from the Prakrit—Sanskrit rendering of the 'tondai' creeper. Whatever that may be, all that can be said at this stage is, that the Pallavas were originally a northern race steeped in Aryan culture, who, when they settled down in south-east India, formed dynastic connections with the Deccan and southern powers. That this is so is evident from their Prakrit and Sanskrit charters, their encouragement of Brahmanic learning and their patronage of Sanskrit literature.²

The chronology of the Pallavas is, as has already been stated, as obscure as their origin. We do not know with any certainty who their early kings were and what was their order of succession.

¹ *The Pallavas of Kanchi* by R. Gopalan, 1926, pages xii, 8-9.

² *Idem*, pages 15-31.

³ *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas* by C. Minakshi, 1938, pages 10-13.

⁴ *A History of South India* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1935, page 97.

Some historians are of the view that their earliest king was Bappa Deva; others are of opinion that their first king was Virakurcha. Some historians again postulate an order of succession different from that postulated by others¹. It is, however, neither possible nor necessary here to enter into these questions. All that is definitely known about these kings can be stated in a few words.

Their history begins with three copper plate grants, all in Prakrit, all dating from the time of Skandavarman, and all belonging possibly to the latter part of the third century. The earliest of his grant was issued when Skandavarman was the Yuvaraja; the others after he had become king. The title Yuvaraja suggests that he was not the first Pallava ruler. But it is not known who his predecessors were, although among them there was probably one Simhavarman, a king mentioned in a Prakrit stone inscription recently discovered in the Guntur district. Skandavarman belonged to the Bharadvaja gotra, performed agnistoma, vajapeya and asvamedha sacrifices and bore the title 'Supreme King of Kings devoted to dharma'. His capital was Kanchi and his kingdom extended up to the Krishna in the north and the Arabian Sea in the west. The southern limit of his kingdom is not precisely known, but it is thought that it may have extended as far south as the Ponnaiyar. It is also not known how he built up this vast empire. A tradition of the ninth century affirms that Virakurcha, a renowned early Pallava King, seized the insignia of royalty together with the daughter of the Naga King. This is perhaps an echo of the Pallava conquest of the Chutus who ruled in the west for a time after the dissolution of the Satavahana empire. Whatever it is, we have not sufficient evidence to place Virakurcha before Skandavarman. Skandavarman's successors were his son Buddhavarman who was called Yuvaraja, and Buddhayankura, the son of Buddhavarman by his queen Charudevi. Buddhayankura's successors were perhaps Viravarman and Vishnugopa. The Allahabad pillar inscription of about the middle of the fourth century, which records Samudragupta's invasion of the south, mentions Vishnugopa, as the ruler of Kanchi. It is, however, clear that Samudragupta did not give battle to his opponent Vishnugopa at Kanchi. This battle seems to have taken place somewhere in the north of Kanchi. It is also clear that Vishnugopa had a feudatory ruler called Ugrasena in the Nellore region².

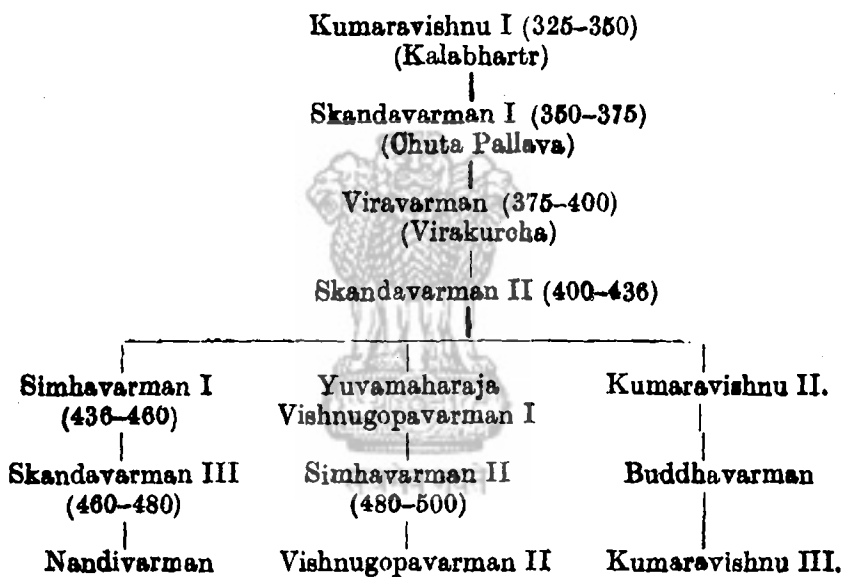
So much about the early Pallava kings of the Prakrit charters. Coming to the Pallava kings of the Sanskrit copper plate charters, covering the period roughly from 352 to 500, we find that Samudragupta's invasion produced far-reaching effects upon their fortunes.

¹ See for example. *The Pallavas of Kanchi* by R. Gopalan 1928, pages 32-40 and *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas* by C. Minakshi, 1938, pages 6-10.

² *The Pallavas of Kanchi* by R. Gopalan, 1928, pages 33-40.

A History of South India by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1956, pages 81-88.

It weakened the authority of Vishnugopa and, after his death, engendered dynastic quarrels. It is perhaps this that explains the difficulty in establishing the exact order of succession of the kings mentioned in the Sanskrit charters. It is also perhaps this that makes it impossible to say definitely whether all the kings who figure in these charters actually ruled or occupied the Pallava throne. One thing, however, is more or less clear, that there was some connection between the Pallava kings of the Prakrit and Sanskrit charters. Vishnugopa who opposed Samudragupta seems to have been the brother of Kumaravishnu of the Sanskrit charters. From what we can make out of these charters as well as the Ganga charters and the Jain manuscript Lokavibhaga, the genealogical table of the Pallava kings seems to have run as follows :—



It may be stated that Simhavishnu, who started the well-known line of the Pallava rulers towards the end of the sixth century, finds no place in this genealogy and thus leaves a gap in the line of succession which cannot be filled. It may also be stated that some historians hold that there was a Chola interregnum in Pallava history, that in the fourth and fifth centuries the Pallavas lost possession of their kingdom to the Cholas, but that there is no convincing evidence to support this view¹.

As in the case of the Pallava kings of the Prakrit charters, so in the case of the Pallava kings of the Sanskrit charters, we have only very little information. What little information there is shows that Skandavarman I seems to have married a Naga

¹ *The Pallavas of Kanchi* by R. Gopalan, 1928, pages 41-60.
A History of India by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1955, pages 98-99.

princess and extended his dominion; that Skandavarman II seems to have earned a reputation for truthfulness, learning, religious zeal and liberality towards the Brahmins; and that Simhavarman II seems to have had a very prosperous reign¹.

What little information there is also enables us to get a rough idea of their administration. It was an administration modelled on that of the Mauryas and Guptas. At the head of it was the king with his capital at Kanchi. He bore imperial titles like Dharmamaharaja and Maharajadhiraja. He was assisted by his ministers whom he consulted on important matters and his governors whom he placed in charge of provinces. In the Tondaimandalam province, there were, it would appear, larger subdivisions called rashtras in charge of vishayikas and smaller subdivisions of the rashtras called koshtakas (kottams) and gramas in charge of desatikadas and vapittas respectively. The king also seems to have had a private secretary (rahasyadhikrta) whose business it was to draw up royal orders and issue them, and officers like the custom officers (mandapis), the officers in charge of bathing pools and tanks (tirtikas), the forest officers (gumikas), and the military officers (the senapatis) and the neykas (or nayakas). We do not know anything about the land revenue administration of the early Pallava kings, save that they conducted detailed surveys of the lands in the villages and that they granted rent-free lands to the Brahmins and to the temples. Nor do we know anything about their system of taxation, save that they treated the manufacture of salt and sugar a royal monopoly, that they levied taxes on some professions, such as those of toddy drawers and cattle breeders, and that they compelled the people to supply bullocks, food, etc., to the army on the march. Of society in general also we know nothing, save that it consisted of Hindus, Buddhists and Jains and that the kings, though they professed and patronised Hinduism, showed a tolerance to Buddhism as well as Jainism. These kings seem to have done not a little to make their kingdom a centre of Sanskrit learning. The Ghatika or the college at Kanchi under their patronage became famous, attracted a large number of scholars and spread far and wide Sanskrit learning and literature. They, at the same time, permitted the Buddhists and the Jains to impart their philosophy and learning through their monasteries².

We now come to the dynasty of Simhavishnu which for more than three hundred years held sway over Tondaimandalam, and therefore over South Arcot, and which made splendid contributions to the culture of South India. It was in this period that the Pallava kings encouraged music, painting and architecture,

¹ *The Pallavas of Kanchi* by R. Gopalan, 1928, pages 41-60.

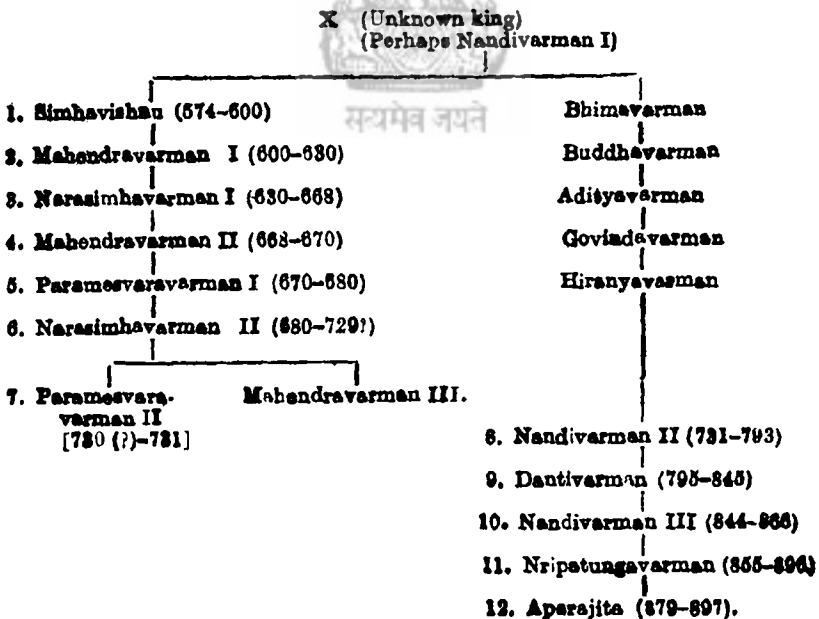
A History of India by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1955, pages 98-99.

² *The Pallavas of Kanchi* by R. Gopalan, 1928, pages 146-153.

Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas by C. Minakshi
1938, pages 37, 187, 213 et seq. 227 et seq.

and in the field of architecture,—in their rock-cut temples, the Seven Pagodas, the Kailasanatha temple, etc.—exhibited a style at once striking and original. It was in this period that they actively patronized Sanskrit literature and steadily diffused Sanskrit culture in the Tamil country. It was in this period that they gave a tremendous fillip to the revival of Hinduism, by constructing temples, by endowing vedic schools, by granting agraharams, and by giving perfect liberty to the great band of Tamil saints to preach their doctrines, all which speedily banished Buddhism and Jainism from the south. And, moreover, it was in this period that they effected the most magnificent revolution in the art of construction by switching over from wood and bricks to stone for building permanent structures, a revolution to which we owe today the existence of the numerous, ancient, imposing temples of South India.

Luckily enough, this period is not so obscure as the earlier period of the Pallava kings, lighted as it is by a large number of stone inscriptions in addition to the copper plate grants. It is also lighted to some extent by the Thevarams of Appar, Sambandar, Sundarar, etc., by the Sanskrit works like the Mattavilasa Prahasana of Mahendravarman I and the Avantisundarikathasara of Dandin; by the Tamil works like the Bharatavemba of Perundevanar; by the Mahavamsa of Ceylon; and by the accounts of the travels of Hiuen Tsang. It is therefore possible to construct a more or less correct genealogy of the Pallava kings of this period. Their genealogy runs as follows :—



It will be seen from the above that, from the days of Simhavishnu to the days of Paramesvaravarman II, the throne was

occupied by the direct successors of Simhavishnu. We do not know what position the members of the collateral line of Bhimavarman and others occupied; evidently they occupied a subordinate position as viceroys. It is not till we come to the end of the reign of Paramesvaravarman II that we find a descendant of Bhimavarman, namely, Nandivarman II succeeding to the throne ¹.

Simhavishnu (574-600) pushed the Pallava arms right up to the banks of the Cauvery by vanquishing the Kalabhras, the Cholas and the Pandyas. He is described as Avanisimha (the lion of the earth). He was, as his name implies, a Vaishnava. He is said to have built the cave temple at Siyyamangalam and the Adi-Varahaswamy temple at Mahabalipuram ².

Mahendravarman I (600-630) who succeeded Simhavishnu was great alike in war and peace. He had many titles such as Mattavilasa, Vichitra-Chitta, Narendra and Gunabhara. He professed Jainism for a time, but discarded it early in his reign under the influence of Appar and took not a little interest thereafter in building a number of rock-cut temples all over his kingdom. These temples have been discovered at Dalavanur and Siyyamangalam (South Arcot district), Pallavaram and Vellam (Chingleput district), and Mahendravadi (North Arcot district). He is said to have demolished the Jain temples at Pataliputra (Tiruppapuliyur or Tiruppadirippuliyur of South Arcot) and to have built in their place a Siva temple called after himself Gunadaraviochcharam. He, however, showed tolerance to Vaishnavism as is shown by the rock-cut temple called Mahendravishnugraha which he constructed on the banks of the Mahendra Tataka in Mahendravadi near Arkonam. He patronized music, painting and Sanskrit literature. He himself wrote the work Mattavilasa Prahasana which is a delightful burlesque on the Kapalikas and the Buddhists. He caused the musical inscriptions to be engraved at Kudumiyamalai and Tirumayam and the paintings to be drawn in the rock-cut temple at Sittannavasal (all in Pudukkottai). He showed himself also as a warrior of no mean repute. He held intact the southern dominions carved out by his predecessor and repelled an invasion launched by an unknown enemy whom he defeated at a battle fought at Pullalore (Polilore in Chingleput district). In the opinion of some historians, this enemy was no other than Pulikesin II, the Chalukyan king. The Chalukyas, however, were not to be easily shaken off; from this time onwards they came again and again to the south and gave a good deal of trouble to his successors ³.

¹ *A History of South India* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1955, page 163.
The Pallavas of Kanchi by R. Gopalan, 1928, pages 79-83.

² *Idem*, pages 84-88.

³ *A History of South India* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1955, page 144.
The Pallavas of Kanchi by R. Gopalan, 1928, pages 88-96.

A History of South India by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1955, page 144.
Gazetteer of the South Arcot District, Vol. II, 1932, page V.

Narasimhavarman I (630-668), also called Mahamalla, who succeeded him was a great warrior. He carried further the glory of the Pallava arms. During his reign, Pulikesin II came once more to the south, attacked the Pallava allies, the Banas, and threatened the Pallava capital itself. But Narasimhavarman not only defeated him in several battles but also invaded his kingdom and captured his capital Vatapi (Badami). Pulikesin II must have fallen fighting; and Narasimhavarman commemorated his victory by assuming the title of Vatapikonda and by setting up a pillar of victory at Badami. In these battles, he was ably assisted by a Ceylonese prince, Manavarma, who had sought refuge in his court; and whether because of his gratitude or because of his thirst for glory, or because of both, he sent out two naval expeditions from Mahabalipuram to Ceylon. His first expedition proved a failure, but his second proved a success and enabled Manavarma to put the rival king to death and capture Anuradhapuram. Manavarma, however, could not hold long; he was once more driven into exile and compelled to seek refuge in the Pallava court. This happened probably after the death of Narasimhavarman. Narasimhavarman is also stated to have vanquished the Oholas, the Kalabhras, as well as the Pandyas, but we have no details of his battles with them. He is also stated to have been a great builder and several of the pagodas of Mahabalipuram are said to have been built by him. And there can be no doubt that his reign was prosperous since Hiuen Tsang who visited Kanchi at this time has left an account testifying to the richness of the country, its Hindu temples and its Buddhist monasteries¹:

Narasimhavarman I was succeeded by Mahendravarman II (668-670), about whom practically nothing is known except that he enforced 'the sacred law of the castes and the orders'². Much, however, is known about his successor Parameswaravarman I (670-680). Early in his reign, Vikramaditya I, who had succeeded Pulikesin II, advanced to the neighbourhood of Kanchi and compelled him to seek refuge in flight. Vikramaditya then marched to the bank of the Cauvery, encamped at Uraiyur and effected a junction with his ally, the Pandyan king. Parameswaravarman, however, nothing daunted, gathered a large army and offered battle to Bhuvikrama, the Ganga ally of Vikramaditya, and although in this battle he lost to his enemy a valued crown jewel,—the necklace which contained the gem 'Ugrodaya',—he did not lose heart. He managed to send a counter-expedition to the Chalukyan kingdom and also to oppose and crush the Chalukyan army in battle at Peruvalanallur, two miles north-west of Uraiyur. This victory as well as the success of his expedition compelled Vikramaditya to leave the Pallava territory and retire to his own

¹ *The Pallavas of Kanchi* by R. Gopalan, 1928, pages 97-103.

² *A History of South India* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1955, pages 145-146.

³ *The Pallavas of Kanchi* by R. Gopalan, 1928, pages 103-104.

kingdom. Paramesvaravarman was a great devotee of Siva; he built a large number of Siva temples in his kingdom, including the Ganesh temple at Mahabalipuram ¹

Narasimhavarman II (680—729?) who was also called Rajasimha, and who was the son and successor of Paramesvaravarman, had a long and prosperous reign free from foreign invasions. He built some beautiful temples like the Kailasanatha temple and the Airavathesvara temple at Kanchi, the shore-temple at Mahabalipuram and the Siva temple at Panamalai. He patronized learning and attracted eminent scholars like Dandin to his court; Dandin is said to have written his Kavyadarsa at Kanchi. He patronised music and was himself a noted player on the veena. He also did much to encourage the foreign trade of his kingdom; he sent out an embassy to China. He was followed by his son Paramesvaravarman II (730?—731), who is said to have governed his kingdom according to the laws of Manu and built the Siva temple at Tiruvadi. Towards the end of his reign, troubles began to accumulate in quick succession. Kanchi was attacked by the Chalukyan crown prince Vikramaditya II assisted by the Ganga prince Ereyappa, the son of Sripurusha. He had to purchase peace at a heavy price and his attempt at retaliation against Sripurusha ended in disaster. The Ganga ruler killed him in battle at Velande and seized his royal umbrella together with the title Permanadi ²

The death of Paramesvaravarman II led to a crisis in the Pallava kingdom. There was no one to succeed him in the direct line; there was also a pretender to the throne called Chitramaya who had the support of the Pandyan king. The officials of the kingdom, however, acting with the Ghatika and the people, chose a prince from the collateral branch, Nandivarman II, the son of Hiranyavarman³. It may be stated here that tradition has it that Hiranyavarman was cured of his leprosy by a bath in the Sivaganga tank at Chidambaram and that as a result of this, he rebuilt the Chidambaram temple⁴.

Nandivarman II (731—793) who is known as Pallavamalla had a long reign bristling with wars and invasions. Early in his reign, the Pandyan king, Maravarman Rajasimha I, espoused the cause of Chitramaya and inflicted a number of defeats upon him and besieged him in Nandigram (Nandivaram in the Chingleput district). But he was rescued by his able general Udayachandra. This general encountered the Pandyan forces in many battles, raised the siege of Nandigram, beheaded Chitramaya and also

¹ *The Pallavas of Kanchi* by R. Gopalan, 1928, pages 104-108.

² *A History of South India* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1955, pages 146-148.

³ *The Pallavas of Kanchi* by R. Gopalan, 1928, pages 108-112.

⁴ *A History of South India* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1955, page 148.

⁵ *The Pallavas of Kanchi* by R. Gopalan, 1928, pages 113-118.

⁶ *A History of South India* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1955, page 146
Gazetteer of the South Arcot District, Vol. II, 1932, page VI

effectually dealt with the other Pallava enemies, like the Sabara King, Udayana, and the Nishada chieftain, Prithivivaghra. But no sooner were these battles over than the Chalukyan King Vikramaditya II came down to the south with his Ganga ally, Sripurusha, invaded the Pallava country, defeated Nandivarman and occupied Kanchi. It is, however, pleasing to remark that, although he occupied Kanchi for a time, he did not damage the city; he, on the contrary, made liberal gifts to the Kailasanatha and other temples. Nandivarman soon regained his capital and led an expedition against the Ganga kingdom. He defeated Sripurusha and forced him to surrender much wealth and also to restore the previous gem, 'Ugrodaya.' He then turned to face the Rashtrakuta invasion. Dantivarman, the Rashtrakuta king, marched into the Pallava territory and threatened Kanchi, but, somehow at the last moment, changed his mind and gave Nandivarman his daughter Reva, in marriage. This did not by any means give the Pallava king peace. His southern neighbour, the Pandyan king, Jatila Parantaka (Varaguna Maharaja), attacked and defeated him at Pannagadam on the south bank of the Cauvery. He then sought recourse to diplomacy and formed a confederacy against Parantaka by entering into an alliance with the rulers of Kongu and Kerala as well as with the Adigaman of Tagadur (Dharmapuri). But Parantaka crushed this confederacy and once again invaded the Pallava Kingdom. Nothing, however, came of this and Nandivarman continued to rule unmolested. He found time to encourage learning, to renovate old temples, as well as to build new ones. Himself a man of learning and scholarship, he made many gifts of lands to the learned Brahmins and embellished his court with Sanskrit poets like Paramesvara, Uttara Karnika and Trivikrama. The celebrated scholar saint, Tirumangai-Alwar, was also his contemporary. Among the temples he is said to have built are the Kesavaperumal temple at Kuram, the Muktesvara and the Vaikuntaperumal temples at Kanchi, the Virattanesvara temple at Tiruvadi and the Kunrandar kovil at Pudukkottai¹.

Nandivarman II was followed by his son Dantivarman (795—845). He seems to have married a Kadamba princess and made many gifts of lands to the temples, including the Parthasarathi temple at Triplicane. He had to contend with the rising power of the Pandyas and the Rashtrakutas. The Rashtrakuta King, Govinda III, invaded his territory, entered Kanchi and levied tributes from him; while the Pandyan kings, Varaguna I and Srimala Srivallabha, deprived him of a considerable part of his territory in the south².

This position was soon reversed by his son Nandivarman III (844—866), one of the ablest of the Pallava kings. Nandivarman

¹ *The Pallavas of Kanchi* by R. Gopalan, 1928, pages 119-131.
A History of South India by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1955, pages 149-151.

² *The Pallavas of Kanchi* by R. Gopalan, 1928, pages 134-136.
A History of South India by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1955, pages 151-153.

organised a strong confederatory of the Gangas, the Cholas, and the Rashtrakutas and inflicted upon the Pandyas a severe defeat at Tellaru (in the Wandiwash taluk of the North Arcot district).

This Pallava victory was a turning point; it gave Nandivarman the permanent title Tellarrerinda and it ushered in further successes which rolled back the Pandyan forces into Madurai. The Pallava forces, it is clear, advanced as far as the banks of the Vaigai, in the very heart of the Pandyan kingdom. Srimara, shortly afterwards, recovered his strength and defeated Nandivarman and his allies in a battle fought near Kumbakonam. But this did not affect either the power or the prestige of Nandivarman. He may, indeed, be said to have restored the Pallava power to its former glory; his kingdom, it would appear, extended as far as the Pandyan kingdom in the south and the Bana kingdom in the north. He patronised not only Sanskrit but also Tamil literature; it was during his time that Nandikkalambakam was written. He maintained a powerful fleet which spread his fame as far as Siam. There is evidence to show that he was a devout worshipper of Siva and that he married a Rashtrakuta princess called Sanka¹.

His son, Nripatungavarman (855—896) continued the campaigns against the Pandyas. He defeated Srimara in a decisive battle at Arisil on the bank of the Arisilar. He also allied himself with Sena II of Ceylon; and Sena II with his assistance sent an expedition against the Pandyan kingdom which sacked Madurai, killed Srimara and installed Srimara's son, Varagunavarman II on the Pandyan throne. He seems to have held sway over the whole territory from Pudukkottai in the south to Gadimallam in the north. It was during his time that the Bahur plates were issued granting as a gift three villages to the Vedic college at Bahur near Pondicherry (Puducherry). This college managed by the learned men of the locality was, as will be shown shortly, an important seat of learning².

With Aparajita (879—897), the son and successor of Nripatungavarman, the sun sets over the Pallava empire. There is, however, nothing to show that he was a weak and incompetent ruler. He exercised supremacy over the Cholas and formed a powerful combination with the Chola King Aditya I, and the Ganga King, Prithivipati I, against the Pandyas. And, when the Pandyan King, Varagunavarman, invaded the Chola country, he opposed him with all the forces of the combination and defeated him in a decisive battle at Sripurambiam (near Kumbakonam). But there can be no doubt that he was lacking in foresight. He permitted Aditya I to extend the boundaries of the Chola kingdom, never thinking that

¹ *The Pallavas of Kanchi* by R. Gopalan, 1928, pages 136—139.
A History of South India by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1955, pages 153—154.

² *The Pallavas of Kanchi* by R. Gopalan, 1928, pages 139—141.
A History of South India by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1955, page 154.

this was a wrong move on his part. And Aditya I secretly consolidated his position and suddenly betrayed him; he made a surprise attack, killed him in battle and seized his throne¹. Thus vanished the Pallava empire and the Pallava rule over Tondaimandalam. South Arcot and the other districts of Tondaimandalam now came under the rule of the Cholas.

Before, however, we pass on to the Chola rule, we must portray here the salient features of the later Pallava rule, which for three centuries extended over South Arcot and some other districts. During this period the Pallavas built up an administration which in many respects set up a pattern to their successors, the later Cholas and the Pandyas. We have already seen the lineaments of the early Pallava administration; these became more marked, more well defined, in their later administration.

The king was, as before, the head of the Government. His title now became hereditary, at any rate, from the time of Mahendravarman I and continued to be such even after the succession passed on to the collateral line. He claimed descent from Brahma and assumed imperial titles like Dharmarajadhiraja, Maharajadhiraja, Dharmamaharaja and Maharaja. He also assumed sometimes abhishhekanamas and birudas. He took the bull as his emblem, a symbol of Saivism, patience and assiduity. He was supreme in all matters, and, therefore, theoretically autocratic; but he was in practice bound by the Dharmasastras and assisted by a council of ministers or mantrins headed by a prime minister. His council consisted of men well versed in Dharmasastras, war and diplomacy and was presided over by the royal purohita. He was also assisted by the secretaries and by a private secretary, 'Rahasyadhikrta', who drafted and issued all his orders. He was more over assisted by the viceroys who were in charge of provinces and supervising officers (Ayuktas and Adhyakshas) who were in charge of districts. He had also other officers to carry on the regular administration of his realm; such as the treasury officer (Adhyaksha), the general and the commanding officers of the army, the revenue officers, the judicial officers, the public works officers and the forest officers. He had likewise a set of hereditary servants such as the palace goldsmiths, the engravers of copper plates and the minstrels of his court².

The Pallava army consisted of elephants, horses and infantry. Elephants in it occupied a chief place as is evident from the sculptures. It had its war trumpets (katumukhavaditra) and its war drum (samudra ghosha), and there can be no doubt that it was well organised. This is testified by its various victories on the

¹ *The Pallavas of Kanchi* by R. Gopalan, 1928, pages 141-143.

² *A History of South India* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1955, page 166-167.

³ *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas* by C. Minakshi, 1938, pages 37-40, 41-45, 49-56, 63-68.

battle-fields. The Pallava navy too seems to have been well organized as is clear from Narasimhavarman's naval expeditions to Ceylon and Rajasimha's overseas connection with China and Siam. Its principal base was Mahabalipuram and its secondary base Nagapattinam. It would appear that the Pallava commerce which was carried on briskly in the eastern seas owed its safety to the strength of the Pallava navy¹.

The revenue administration of the Pallavas is in some respects obscure. We do not know what portion of the land revenue was collected by the State; we know only that the State collected an 'irai' or a 'vari', i.e., land revenue. Nor do we know what were the land tenures that were in vogue; we only know that there were tenants paying a share of the produce to the landlords. There is, however, plenty of evidence to show that the State carried out systematic revenue surveys, that it maintained a record of rights, that it possessed crown lands, that it gave away lands and villages to the Brahmins (Bhattavritti and Brahmadeyam) and to the temples (Devadana) and above all, that it constructed irrigation works. It constructed numerous irrigation tanks, channels and wells all over the kingdom and entrusted their management to the village assemblies. Among the important tanks which it constructed and which exist even today, may be mentioned, the Tenneri tank near Kancheepuram, the Mahendra Tataka in Mahendravadi (near Sholingur Railway Station), the Chitramegha Tataka in Mamanur, the Paramesvara Tataka in Paramesvaramangalam, the Vairamegha Tataka in Uttaramerur and the well-known Kaveripakkam tank. There is reason to believe that some of these tanks were constructed to ward off famines which occasionally visited the country; one such severe famine occurred in the time of Dandin and devastated Kanchi. There is also reason to believe that a tax called 'Panchavara' was imposed on the villages, the proceeds of which were to be ear-marked for providing against famines².

As regards the other sources of revenue, we have a good deal of information. The State treated salt and sugar as royal monopolies and levied a number of taxes and cesses, some of which must have been found not a little vexatious. There were the professional and other taxes on toddy drawers (ilamputchi), on cattle breeders (idaiputchi), on Brahmin priests (brahmanavasakkanam), on potters (kusakkanam), on goldsmiths (tattukkayam), on weavers (tari), on spinners (padamkali), on sellers of cloth (kurai), on sellers of ghee (neivilai), on sellers of grain (vattinali), on oil mongers (sekku), on washermen (parikkanam), on brokers (taragu), etc. There were the perquisites to be paid by the people in the shape of draught cattle and food to royal officers marching through the villages. There was a fee to be paid on the occasion of the

¹ *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas* by C. Minakshi. 1938, pages 66-70.

² *Idem*, pages 60-62, 71, 94-110, 111-120, 135-137, 146-153.

performance of a marriage (kalyanakkanam). There was another fee to be paid for the support of the village headmen (visakkanam). There was yet another fee to be paid for putting up tents in public places (puttagavilai). Besides these there were to be paid postal charges for the delivery of royal writs (tirukkanam), a free-tax on toddy-drawing trees (pattursarru) and a licence fee for the possession of fire arms like swords, knives, etc. The State also appropriated all fines imposed by the courts, and all confiscated property (manrupadu) ¹.

In judicial administration the king was regarded as the fountain of justice. He had under him several courts both in the districts and in the villages. The district courts and the court at Kanchi were called Adhikaranas, and the village courts were called Karanas. All these courts were presumably civil as well as criminal courts; and the fines (danda) imposed by them, as we have seen, went to the royal treasury. That the courts were not free from corruption is evident from the Mattavilasa. There was also, in addition to these courts, an important court called Dharmasana at Kanchi which decided all cases involving general questions of civil law ².

In the early days of Pallava rule there were no local self-governing institutions like the sabhas; they came into existence only in the eighth century from the time of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The sabhas which then arose were those of the nadu and those of the ur. The nadu was a smaller administrative unit than the district; the ur was a smaller administrative unit than the nadu and was probably the village. The assembly of the nadu was called the nattar, while the assembly of the ur was called the urar or sabha. Both the assemblies looked after local affairs and also enforced the orders of the king. We have not much information about the matter, but we have sufficient information about the sabha. The members of the sabha were styled as 'Perumakkal' or great men. They managed temple endowments, looked after the agricultural lands of the village, and decided petty cases. They appointed committees (variyaams or alunganattars) for carrying on the several branches of village administration ³.

Education was in those days mostly in the hands of the Brahmins. It was greatly encouraged by the Pallava kings by grants of lands called bhattavritti to individual Brahmins and agraharams

¹ *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas* by C. Minakshi, 1938, pages 71-83.

² *The Pallavas of Kanchi* by R. Gopalan, 1928, pages 152-153.

³ *Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India* by S. K. Aiyangar, 1931, pages 115-118.

⁴ *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas* by C. Minakshi, 1938, pages 57-60.

⁵ *Idem*, pages 121-134.

⁶ *The Pallavas of Kanchi* by R. Gopalan, 1928, pages 153-157.

to corporate bodies of Brahmins, who in both cases were expected to impart instruction to the people. Instruction was also imparted in the temples and, from the eighth century onwards, in the maths which then came into existence. It was likewise imparted in the Buddhist and Jain monasteries. Education of the highest type was provided in special centres of learning, the Ghatika of Kanchi, the Sanskrit College at Bahur and the Jain monastery at Pataliputra (Tiruppadirippuliyur near Cuddalore or Gudalur). The Ghatika of Kanchi was the most outstanding. It came into existence some time perhaps in the fourth or fifth century and continued till the end of the eighth century. It was patronised by the Pallava kings, particularly by Mahendravarman II, Rajasimha and Nandivarman Pallavamalla. It attracted scholars and students from all parts of the Deccan and South India. It had on its staff a large number of learned Brahmins who taught hundreds of students, it is said, at the time of Pallavamalla. It taught the Vedas, the Angas, the Mimamsa, the classics, etc., and, what is more interesting, it took a leading part in bringing about the election of Pallavamalla to the throne. The Sanskrit College at Bahur in the South Arcot district must have been in existence at least as early as the eighth century. It was endowed with three villages (Chettuppakam, Vilangattankadavanur and Iraippunai-cheri) by a Pallava officer with the consent of Nripatungavarman. It was a residential college, which taught the eighteen branches of learning, namely the four Vedas, the six Angas, Mimamsa, Nyaya, Dharmaśāstra, Purāṇa, Ayurveda, Dhanurveda, Gandharva and Arthaśāstra. The Jain monastery at Pataliputra, also in the South Arcot district, belonged to the early Pallava period. It flourished well in the fifth century and produced eminent scholars like Simhasuri and Sarvanandi. It continued till the time of Mahendravarman when, as we have already seen, it is said to have been demolished by him¹

Indeed, the Pallava period was a period of not a little literary activity. Literature, especially Sanskrit literature, was patronised by the kings. Mahendravarman I himself was a Sanskrit dramatist. His *Mattavilasa*, as has already been stated, is a delightful production. The very prasastis contained in the copper plates of the kings are no mean literary productions. The Pallava court also could boast of eminent Sanskrit scholars like Bharavi and Dandin and the Pallava kingdom, eminent Tamil saints like Appar, Sambandar, Sundaramurthi and Tirumangai Alvar².

Fine arts too were at a very high level in the Pallava age. As to music, it was then that the Thevarams of the Tamil saints by

¹ *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas* by C. Minakshi. 1938, pages 198-238.

² *Idem*, pages 299-305.

The Pallavas of Kanchi by R. Gopalan, 1928, pages 157-161

For Pallava Architecture see *Pallavas* by G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, 1917.

their rhythm, melody and sentiments moved the hearts of millions and came to be sung in the Siva temples—a practice which is still in vogue in many temples in the south. It was then that the songs of Vaishnava devotees known as 'Nalayiraprabbandam' and 'Periya Tirumoli' were compiled. It was then that some of the Pallava kings not only patronised music but practised it and made it immortal in their inscriptions. Mahendravarman I was not only an accomplished musician, but also the inventor of a new tala called the Sankirna. His love for music is exhibited not only in his Mattavilasa wherein he shows his taste in nrttam, talam and layam, but also in his musical inscriptions at Kudumiyamalai and Tirumayam (both in Pudukkottai) wherein he depicts several musical notations. Rajasimha was an equally accomplished musician and a skilled player on the veena¹.

The Pallava age was also the age in which classical dancing as expounded by Bharatha in his Natya Sastra was practised and admired. That this is so, is clear from the dancing poses exhibited in the numerous sculptures found in the Sittannavasal cave temple, the Siva temple at Tiruvottiyur, the Vaikuntaperumal temple and the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchi. It is equally clear from the descriptions of the dances in the Mattavilasa. And there is at least one instance known in which the Pallava kings made provision for dancing by endowing lands to a temple, and that temple is the Muktesvara temple at Kanchi².

Nor is this all. It was the age in which painting was patronized by the kings. Fragments of paintings have been discovered in their cave temples and structural monuments at Mahabalipuram, Mamandur, Amaramalai, Sittannavasal, Kanchi and Malayadipatti. Some of the subjects painted were Varaha Avatar, Durga, Dwarapalas, Apsaras, animals, lotuses, creepers, and floral and metrical designs. The colours used were vegetable colours, commonly red, yellow, green and black. The sharp clear outline, the versatility of design, the gradations of colouring, half tones, light and shade—all these are well brought out in these paintings³.

Coming to the people in general, society then consisted of the Hindus, the Buddhists and Jains. The Hindus were predominant and were divided into Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. The Brahmins were respected for their learning and granted lands for their living. There were hardly any quarrels among the Hindus. Nor were there any serious quarrels among the Hindus and the Buddhists and Jains, if by quarrels we do not mean disputations. For disputations there were many, as is clear from the lives of Tamil saints. All the three, the Hindus, the Buddhists and the

¹ *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas* by C. Minakshi. 1938, pages 259-175.

² *Idem*, pages 266-287

³ *Idem*, pages 288-297.

Jains, lived on the whole, peacefully, side by side, in towns like Kanchi. The Pallava kings were, as a rule, tolerant towards all faiths. The only exception is Mahendravarman I who had the fervour of a convert and an evangelist. When he was a Jain he is said to have persecuted Appar for renouncing Jainism; and when he subsequently became a Hindu under Appar's influence, he is said to have persecuted the Jains. But in spite of their usual policy of tolerance, the Pallava kings lost no opportunity to patronise Hinduism. They encouraged the revival of Hinduism which was then vigorously carried on by the Tamil saints and left Buddhism and Jainism to die of inanition ¹.

The people lived mostly in villages, pursuing agriculture as their chief occupation. Their other main occupations were weaving, spinning and trade. There were also among them cowherds, potters, goldsmiths, carpenters, oil and ghee mongers, sellers of all kinds of fruits, vegetables, flowers, etc. Rice was their staple food; it was bartered and exported even to China and the East Indies. Weights and measures were known and used by them in their daily transactions. The *veli* and the *kuli* were the most common land measures. As to measures of capacity, rice and paddy were measured by *nali*, *marakkal*, *kuruni*, *padakku*, *kadi* and *kalam*. Ghee, oil and milk and curds were measured by *sevidu* or *sodu*, *ollock*, *olakku*, *uri* and *padi*. A *sevidu* was one-fifth of an *ollock*; an *ollock* was one-eighth of a *padi*, an *olakku* one-fourth of a *padi* and an *uri* was one-half of a *padi*. The gold weights current were *kalanju* and *manjadi* ².

Such of the people as could afford luxury lived in mansions of burnt bricks and tiles, surrounded by gardens of fruit trees. Others lived in mud huts with thatched roofs. Women were always esteemed among them for their modesty, virtues and accomplishments. They were permitted to possess property and to dispose of it as they liked. Some of the Pallava queens were not only accomplished women noted for their beauty but also pious women noted for their endowments to temples ³. It would appear that the temples were then becoming popular because they were then becoming the very synthesis of Indian culture. There is nothing to show that in the early Pallava period there were many temples, but in the later Pallava period they began to increase in large numbers. The Kanchi country alone was said to possess no less than eighty temples by Hiuen Tsang ⁴. The truth is that the later Pallava kings stood forth as the champions of Hinduism; and their Sanskrit culture, their religious zeal, as well as their artistic temperament impelled them to do all that they could to multiply

¹ *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas* by C. Minakshi 1938, pages 41, 165, 170-72.

² *Idem*, pages 72-92, 135-153.

³ *Idem*, pages 138, 150-163.

⁴ *Foreign Notices of South India* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1939, page 102.

temples and to make them permanent inspiring abodes of Hinduism. Under their patronage the temples which were formerly built of wood or brick now came to be built of stones. The perishable structures now became the imperishable monuments and all that was great in art, architecture, music, dancing, religion and philosophy now came to adorn them and make them objects of delight, wonder and sanctity. The people went there to worship and pray as well as to listen to religious and spiritual discourses. They went there to enjoy feasts and festivals as well as to hear good music, to see good dancing and to admire good paintings and sculpture. It was thus that the temples became the social, cultural and religious centres and came to stay for ever in the affections of the people¹.

So much about the Pallava regime under which South Arcot remained for about six centuries. We have now to turn to the Chola regime under which it remained for nearly four more centuries. During all this time the district had no separate history; its history was bound up with the political and the administrative history of the Cholas.

Aditya I (871-907), the son and successor of Vijayalaya, the founder of the new dynasty of the Cholas in Tanjore was no ordinary ruler. He not only conquered the Pallava kingdom but subjugated the Western Gangas and, after being crowned at Tanjore, conquered the Kongu country (in Mysore) from the Western Gangas and the Pandyas and formed friendly relations with the Chera King, Sthanu Ravi. He married a Pallava princess and showed himself as an ardent Saivite. He is credited with having built temples all along the banks of the Cauvery from Sahyadri to the sea. He died at Tondainad near Kalahasti where a temple was erected over his remains by his son Parantaka².

Parantaka I (907-955) was a more powerful ruler and under his leadership the Cholas acquired a dominion which foreshadowed the greater empires of Rajaraja and Kulottunga. When he ascended the throne, his kingdom embraced the country lying between Madras and Kalahasti in the north and the Cauvery in the south with the exception of the Mysore table-land and the west coast. He immediately set about extending his kingdom. He put an end to the Pandyan independence by conquering Madurai and chasing away the Pandyan king first to Ceylon and then to Kerala. He even invaded Ceylon but without success. He then turned his attention to the north. Here he had to face an invasion by Rashtrakuta Krishna II who espoused the cause of his daughter's son Kannaradeva who was excluded from the Chola throne by Parantaka's accession. Krishna II was aided by the Banas and Vaidumbas and Parantaka by Ganga Prithivipati II. Krishna suffered a

¹ *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas* by C. Minakshi, 1938, pages 136-138, 173.

² *The Cholas* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I, 1935, pages 130-141.

severe defeat in the battle of Vallala (modern Tiruvallam in North Arcot district) which took place round about 915 A.D. As a result of this battle he got from the Banas the country situated to the north of the Palar between Punganur in the west and Kalahasti in the east and over this territory he appointed Prithivipati II as governor with the title of Banaditya. From the Vaidumbas he got the country near Kurnool. The defeated rulers naturally sought refuge with the Rashtrakutas, while he carried on his conquests up to Nellore, which was then being ruled by the Eastern Chalukyas. But great conquests always produce great repercussions and the repercussions produced by his conquests eventually lost him all his prestige and most of his conquests. All his enemies rallied round the powerful Rashtrakuta King, Krishna III, and this king marched with a formidable force from the north-west and inflicted a great defeat upon his forces at Takkolam near Arkonam (949). His eldest son Rajaditya lost his life in this battle and he himself did not survive this battle long, although, before his death, he perhaps succeeded in recovering part of the territories lost by him. Then followed a period of obscurity for about four decades until the accession of Rajaraja I in 985. During this period the Chola kings, Gandaraditya, Arinjaya, Parantaka II, Sundara Chola, Aditya II and Uttama Chola Madhurantaka seem to have put up a stiff fight against the Rashtrakutas and the Pandyas and finally recovered much of their lost possessions²

With the rise of Rajaraja I (985-1014), the son of Parantaka II, the sky begins to clear and the day dawns on a new and brilliant chapter in the history of the Cholas. Alike in war and peace Rajaraja and his son Rajendra showed themselves as the most outstanding personalities of their time. Starting from small beginnings, for, when he ascended the throne, the country had hardly recovered from the disastrous effects of the Rashtrakuta invasion, Rajaraja rapidly pushed himself to the forefront by a succession of splendid victories. He conquered Kerala (the Chera country) and made it a part of his dominion. He conquered Madurai and the whole of the Pandyan country and added that too to his dominion. He conquered Malainadu (Coorg) and placed all the western countries that he had subdued under the overlordship of his son Rajendra. He conquered the northern part of Ceylon with the aid of his powerful navy, destroyed Anuradhapura, its ancient capital, drove his king to the mountains, founded a new capital at Polonnaruwa and left there, as a beautiful and lasting memorial, the little temple of Siva Devale. He conquered almost the whole of the present Mysore State and the Bellary district from the Gangas and the

¹ *History of India* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1950, Part I, page 238.
History of South India by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I, 1965, page 168.

² *The Cholas* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I, 1935, pages 142-198.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 21-22;
 Vol. II, 1933, page 158.

Nolambas and annexed them to his dominion. Nor was this all. He launched a successful war against the Western Chalukyas, (then ruled by Satyasraya) in which his son Rajendra is said to have carried fire and sword into Donur (Bijapur district). He interfered in a civil war that had broken out among the Eastern Chalukyas, took up the cause of Saktivarman and Vimaladitya, the sons of Danarnava, the king of Vengi, restored the former to his ancestral throne and gave the latter his daughter Kundavai¹ in marriage and by these masterful strokes virtually converted Vengi into a protectorate. And he closed his rule by winning a signal naval victory over the Cheras, by conquering the Maldives.

This great conqueror was also a great statesman and administrator. He endeavoured his best to establish his empire on a firm footing. He created a standing army, headed by able commanders and feudatories, capable of extending his dominions from the Tungabhadra in the north to Ceylon in the south and of withstanding all external aggression and internal rebellion. He built a navy capable of carrying his victories to Ceylon and to the Maldives. He organized a civil service capable of consolidating all his conquests and restoring peace and order in all his dominions. He set up a centralized bureaucratic machinery, both at the headquarters and in the districts, a system of survey and assessment of lands and a system of audit and control of village assemblies and quasi-public corporations. But it was in the religious sphere that he left a lasting monument of his greatness to posterity. With a colossal effort, paralleled only by the ancient Egyptian kings, he built the most magnificent temple of Rajarajesvara at Tanjore, the finest specimen of Tamil architecture. Remarkable alike for its stupendous proportions and for its bold simplicity in design, it is to this day a thing of beauty and joy for ever. He covered the temple of Siva at Chidambaram with pure gold brought from all the regions subdued by the power of his own arm. Though himself an ardent follower of Siva, he, like all great men of India, showed a broad tolerance to all religions; he encouraged his subjects to build temples not only to Siva but also to Vishnu and the Buddha and liberally endowed them with grants of land and money. It is a sad circumstance that, while we have so much information about his achievements, we have no information about his personality. We have no authentic description of him left by any one, not even a statue or a painting. But we learn that he bore a great affection for his sister, that he married several wives and that he showed kindness to his relations and respect to his elders. And we may very well judge from all that he did, that he was as brave as he was able, as masterful as he was skilful, and as broadminded as he was pious and religious¹

Eastern Chalukyas by N. Venkataramanayya (1951), pages 206-211.

¹ *The Cholas* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I, 1935, pages 198-230. *Gazetteer of the Tanjore District*, Vol. I, 1915, pages 22-25; Vol. II, pages 158-159.

Rajaraja was succeeded by his son Rajendra I (1011-1044) who, it is clear, had jointly ruled with his father for some years before his accession. He had the advantage of possessing an empire which had already been organized on sound lines. He set about at once to improve its organization and increase its glory. Within a few years of his accession, he appointed his son Rajadhiraja as a joint ruler and several princes of the royal blood as Viceroys in the various parts of his far-flung empire. They were to attend to both civil and military affairs, maintain public peace and repel invasions. But the maintenance of public peace was no easy matter. It was not to be expected that the several crowned heads whom Rajaraja dethroned or defeated would quietly submit to the rule of his son. Rajendra seems to have felt the smouldering discontent in the Western Chalukya country, in Ceylon, and in the Chera and the Pandya countries. It is this that explains his punitive expeditions to those countries.

Early in his reign he crossed the sea to Ceylon, reduced the whole island to subjection, ransacked it, captured its king and returned with the captive king and a great quantity of gems and royal ornaments. He set up a Chola rule in that island during which many Hindu temples of Siva and Vishnu were constructed there. Soon after this he turned his attention nearer home, and after crushing all opposition in the Chera and Pandya countries appointed over them one of his sons as his Viceroy. He then led another successful campaign against the Western Chalukyas, this time in the Ratta country (Bellary district). But greater than all these campaigns was the expedition which he sent under one of his generals to the north in search of the Ganges. After crossing many streams by making the elephants serve as bridges across them, this intrepid general seems to have taken Sakkarakottam in the Bustar region, defeated Indraratha, the king of Orissa, and pushed through Kosala and Eastern Bengal and reached the Ganges. On his return journey with the sacred waters he was met by Rajendra on the banks of the Godavari. In honour of this great expedition he assumed the title of Gangai-Konda Chola and set up a new capital called Gangapuri (Tiruchirappalli district) and built in it a magnificent palace and an equally magnificent Siva temple. But his most glorious expedition was that to Kadaram. Recent research has clearly revealed that it was an expedition not to Burma, as was originally supposed, but to Kedah in the Malay Peninsula and that during its course he subjugated several cities and islands in the Malay Peninsula and the Eastern Archipelago. This expedition more than anything else shows the great naval strength of the Cholas. Its cause is not known; it might have been launched simply to add lustre to the Chola crown or to remove obstacles to Chola commerce with the east, a commerce which was then at its meridian. Whatever that may be, its object was not to make the conquered countries a part

of the Chola empire, for nothing was done to retain them permanently ¹.

Rajendra I was succeeded by four rulers, Rajadhiraja, Rajendra II, Virarajendra and Adhirajendra, all of whom amidst much storm and stress tried their utmost to preserve intact their vast empire. The truth is, the Chola empire had become too vast to be effectively governed from Tanjore, while its enemies had become too stubborn to be effectually kept under subjection. Even when he had jointly ruled with his father, Rajadhiraja had enjoyed hardly any peace. He had suppressed a conspiracy of the Cheras and the Pandyas and in the fighting that had resulted, the Chera King had been ordered to be trampled to death by an elephant and the Pandyan king (Sundara Pandya) who had organized the conspiracy had been driven out bare-headed with dishevelled hair in panic. He had attacked the Western Chalukyas led by their King Someswara Ahavamalla (Someswara I) and burnt and ransacked their palace at Kampili (Bellary district). And what is more, he had led an expedition to Ceylon, taken stern measures to put down a rebellion and beheaded its king. But now too, when he had become the sole ruler, he found no prospects of peace. The rebellion in Ceylon raised its head again and, despite his strenuous efforts, he lost the south-east portion of the island (Rohana) to king **Vikkamabahu**. Matters became worse when the Western Chalukyas began to interfere in the affairs of the Eastern Chalukyas who were under Chola protection. Rajadhiraja found it necessary to take the field again against Someswara. In the fierce battle of Kuppam that ensued Rajadhiraja was killed but just at this juncture when everything looked dark, his younger brother Rajendra who was also fighting from behind suddenly rushed forward, rallied his forces and launched a spirited attack against the Chalukyas which sent them flying in all directions. Rajendra II is said to have thence pressed on to Kollapuram on the banks of the Tungabhadra and planted there a jayasthamba before he returned to his capital, Gangapuri. All this, however, secured only a brief respite; for, **Someswara I** anxious, as it is said, to wipe out the disgrace that had befallen him at Kuppam soon gathered a powerful force and advanced to the south. Rajendra II, ably assisted by Virarajendra and an equally powerful force, met him at Kudal Sangam (at the junction of the Tungabhadra and the Krishna), defeated him in a decisive action and drove him again in disgrace. Soon afterwards when Rajendra II died and was succeeded by Virarajendra, Someswara I once more invited the Chola King to meet him at Kudal Sangam. Virarajendra greatly pleased set out for the fight and anxiously awaited him at Kudal Sangam for one full month beyond the date fixed for the meeting. But Someswara I, it is said, failed to turn up and "hid himself in the western ocean", while **Virarajendra** carried his campaign into the Chalukyan country and set

¹ *The Cholas* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I, 1935, pages 231-282
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District. Vol. I, 1915, pages 25-26; Vol. II, page 159.

up a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tungabhadra. From there Virarajendra proceeded to Vengi, the Eastern Chalukyan country, and finding that the whole of Vengi had fallen into the hands of the Western Chalukyas, he reconquered it by fighting the battle of Vijayavada. During the closing year of his reign he suppressed a rising in Ceylon and compelled the new Chalukyan King Someswara II to part with half of his dominion to his younger brother Vikramaditya VI. He also, it is stated, gave his daughter in marriage to Vikramaditya VI. On the death of Virarajendra the succession was disputed and the heir Adhirajendra succeeded to the throne only by the help of his brother-in-law, Vikramaditya VI. Adhirajendra's reign was however brief and with his murder which took place in a rebellion, supposed to have been brought about by the persecution of the famous Vaishnava teacher, Sri Ramanuja, the direct Chola line, became extinct ¹.

The Chola throne now passed to a new line, the Eastern Chalukyan line, which put new life into the whole old frame of the distracted empire. Rajendra Kulothunga (1070-1120) or Kulothunga I who now ascended the throne was a remarkable personality. A son of the Eastern Chalukyan King Rajaraja (1022-1062) and of Ammangadevi, daughter of the Chola King Rajendra (1012-1044) he had in early life, it is said, become a favourite of his grandfather. But fate had willed that he should suffer for a time. Or his father's death he had been supplanted by his uncle Vijayaditya VII at Vengi and he had been forced to take refuge in the Chola country. But even in adversity he had proved himself valiant, he had accompanied Virarajendra on his expedition to Sakkarakotta (Bustar) and through his help regained his ancestral throne of Vengi. But now the same fate that had made him suffer made him suddenly great. The rebellion in Tanjore gave him an opportunity; he made peace with his uncle, Vijayaditya, marched speedily to the south and was instantly acclaimed as a deliverer by the Cholas.

Kulottunga I was more a statesman than a warrior. During his long reign he shunned all needless wars and showed no ambition to extend his empire; he even lost some of its outposts. But by consummate diplomacy dashed with not a little military ability he consolidated what remained and gave it, on the whole, the blessings of peace. As soon as he ascended the throne, the Chalukyan King, Vikramaditya VI, who saw with much alarm the union of the Vengi with the Chola country, invaded Kolar with a large army. But Kulottunga induced Someswara II to attack him from behind while he himself attacked him from the front and in the fighting that took place routed him and conquered considerable parts of the Mysore country (Gangamandalam) and overran Konkan and the Kannada countries on the west coast. Yet, subsequently, when the Hoysalas of Mysore rose in revolt, he considered it prudent to withdraw from that country which it was becoming

¹ *The Cholas* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I, 1935, pages 280-337.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 26-29;
 Vol. II, page 159.

impossible to retain without much expenditure of blood and money. He soon saw Ceylon slipping away from his hands under the persistent rebellions of Vijayabahu, its dispossessed ruler. He tried diplomacy to retain it, if possible, by winning over several of the ex-king's commanders and inciting a civil war. But, when this civil war proved unsuccessful, he left the island to its fate and refused to send any costly expeditions for its reconquest. So far as the Chola empire proper in South India is concerned, however, he parted with not a jot of its territory. With persistent efforts he reconquered the Chera and Pandyan countries, which had become hot beds of intrigue and declared their independence, and reduced them to complete subjection. That they might not again prove troublesome he established a series of military outposts in them all along important military routes, and appointed as their commanders, his most trusted feudatories. When his uncle who ruled over the Vengi country died, he appointed his own sons as viceroys in the country and when parts of that country were invaded by the King of Kalinga he sent out two expeditions against Kalinga and not only recovered Vengi but also conquered the southern parts of Kalinga. Yet, when towards the close of his rule the Western Chalukya King, Vikramaditya VI assailed Gangavadi (Mysore) and he found it impossible to retain it against odds, he allowed it to be taken by the Chalukyas. All this time he did everything in his power to increase the prestige of his empire. He sent a trade embassy to China, received a trade embassy from Kadaram (Malay Peninsula) and established friendly relations with the Northern Indian States like Kanauj and Kamboja. Bereft of Ceylon and Gangavadi, the Chola empire, when he left it to his successor, covered one compact area of Tamil land. And over his empire he must have had the satisfaction of having more or less ruled in peace for nearly half a century¹

The wisdom of Kulottunga's policy of lopping off all turbulent non-Tamilian parts of his empire ensured peace for another half a century. From 1120 to 1163 three Chola Kings succeeded him, Vikramachola (1120-1135), Kulottunga II (1136-1150) and Rajaraja II (1151-1163): and under all these rulers no wars or invasions distracted the country. All the same, some parts of the old empire were recovered in Vengi and Mysore mostly it would seem, by skilful negotiations with the local chieftains. These kings appointed a large number of feudatories to administer their outlying districts and frequently went on royal tours from their capital at Gangapuram or Gangaikondacholapuram, to the various parts of their dominions. They also took a great delight in renovating and beautifying the great temple of Nataraja at Chidambaram. Vikramachola made large gifts of revenue to that temple to meet the

¹ *The Chola* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I, 1935, pages 338-358; Vol. II, 1937, pages 1-60.

Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 29-30.
Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi by N. Venkataramanayya, 1951, Chapter XXII, pages 249-278.

cost of its extensive repairs. Kulottunga II made even larger gifts to the same temple, constructed its gopurams and covered, it is said, many parts of it with gold. Nor is this all. During the reign of Kulottunga II and Rajaraja II, Tamil literature was fostered and the kings as well as their vassals patronised literary men like Ottakkuttan, Sekkilar and Kamban. Peace reigned everywhere and the country enjoyed prosperity except during the famine of 1125, which rather severely affected many parts of North Arcot and South Arcot districts and some parts of Tanjore district. But peace has its own dangers no less than war. The numerous feudatories upon whom the kings relied for governing the empire gradually became more and more independent, though they nominally recognized the suzerainty of the king. The monarchy, in fact, lost much of its prestige, the central government much of its autocracy, but the local government, the village system of administration with its autonomous local assemblies, seems to have gone on unaffected by the change¹

The centrifugal tendencies appeared more pronounced during the reigns of Rajadhiraja II (1163-1178) and Kulottunga III (1179-1216). Rajadhiraja saw a virulent civil war breaking out in the Pandyan country and this war, after a tortuous course, suddenly swamped the Chola country and ended in making his successors vassals of the Pandyas. The outbreak of this civil war is by itself a strong indication of the growing power of the Chola vassals. In this war the Singhalese strongly supported one claimant, Parakrama, and when he was murdered by his rival they placed his son Vira Pandya on the throne. The Chola King Rajadhiraja then intervened on behalf of the other pretender Kulasekhara, drove out the Singhalese and installed his own protege Kulasekhara on the throne. Then occurred a swift diplomatic revolution. Kulasekhara made peace with the Singhalese, while Vira Pandya sought the aid of the Cholas. Rajadhiraja again intervened and succeeded in installing his own protege, this time, Vira Pandya. Soon afterwards Kulottunga III succeeded to the throne. The new king too found himself faced with the increasing independence of his vassals. The Pandyan civil war flared up again after another diplomatic revolution. Vira Pandya, like Kulasekhara before him made peace with the Singhalese, while Vikrama Pandya, perhaps a relation of Kulasekhara, sought the aid of the Cholas. By two brilliant campaigns, Kulottunga drove away the Singhalese protege and for the third time installed the Chola protege. But very soon Vikrama Pandya's son, Jatavarman Kulasekhara, proved truculent, and in order to teach him a lesson Kulottunga led a third campaign in the Pandyan country. Meanwhile the Telugu Chodas, who were occupying the Nellore, Cuddapah and South Arcot districts and who were till then Chola vassals, declared independence and this made it necessary for Kulottunga to conquer Kanchi. He is also said to have conquered Karur and parts of Mysore. But all these campaigns and conquests

1 *The Cholas* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 61-88.

appear only as lightning streaks in a gathering gloom of storm clouds. In the twenty-third and twenty-fourth years of his reign, a great famine swept over North Arcot and Tanjore. And towards the close of his reign a greater calamity befell him. The Pandyan throne at this time passed to Maravarman Sundara Pandya and this ruler with a powerful army suddenly struck a sharp blow at Chidambaram and brought Kulottunga to his knees. However, at the strong intercession of Vira Narasimha, the rising Hoysala King, Sundara Pandya allowed Kulottunga to continue to occupy the Chola throne. But Kulottunga soon died in disgrace. Amidst all this gloom, stand out in bold relief a few pious monuments of his rule, namely, the magnificent temple of Kampahareswara at Tribhuvanam, rich in sculptured panels and decorative designs and the gopura of goddess Girindraja (Sivakami) in the Chidambaram temple¹.

These were the last great legacies of a vanishing empire. During the reigns of Rajaraja III (1216-1246) and Rajendra III (1247-1279), the Pandyas in the south and the Hoysalas in the north monopolised all power, whilst almost all the Chola feudatories virtually declared independence. It was not to be expected that a dependent power would succeed in holding in leash for any length of time a pack of restless vassals all clamouring for independence. Civil disturbances became the order of the day. And at a time when the utmost tact was needed to guide the ship of State in these stormy waters, Rajaraja showed the utmost foolishness. He cast off Pandyan supremacy and began at once a campaign against them. The Pandyas sent him reeling after a pitched battle and while he was in no condition to look after himself, he fell into the hands of a daring adventurer, one of his own disaffected feudatories, Kopperunjinga, a Kadava chieftain of Sendamangalam (Tirukkoyilur taluk) who instantly captured him and kept him prisoner. The Hoysala king Narasimha again came to the rescue; he sent an expedition to the south, punished both Kopperunjinga and the Pandyas and placed once more Rajaraja on the throne. But the times were out of joint, the Chola throne had become precarious. Rajendra III who succeeded Rajaraja III showed some spurts of energy; he plundered the Pandyan country and for a time claimed a sort of suzerainty over it. But the Hoysalas, whose whole object was throughout to acquire an ascendancy in the south, swiftly changed sides and allied themselves with the Pandyas. And when again after the rise of the great warrior King Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (1251) they as quickly changed sides and allied themselves with the Cholas, they found that the times had changed completely. For now in a succession of brilliant victories, Sundara Pandya pulverised the Cholas (1258) and routed the Hoysalas (1264). This marks the end of the Chola rule and the

¹ *The Cholas* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 96-172. *Gazetteer of the Tanjore District*, Vol. I, 1915, pages 30-32; Vol. II, 1933, page 159.
The Cambridge Shorter History of India, 1934, page 192.

beginning of the Pandyan supremacy. From 1279 we hear nothing about Rajendra or about his successors. Tanjore and the whole Chola kingdom, including South Arcot was now absorbed by the Pandyan empire. A few of the Chola chieftains continue to appear in some inscriptions of the later thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth and even up to the middle of the sixteenth century. But they can by no means be regarded as representatives of the Chola monarchy¹.

During the four centuries that covered the reigns of the various kings from Vijayalaya to Rajendra III, the Cholas built up a unique system of government and administration. It was based upon foundations purely Aryan and Dravidian and therefore it was truly national and Indian. It combined the theory propounded in books like the Arthasastra and the Kural with the practice followed by the Sangam age and the Pallava regime. Its policy cannot be properly described in terms of modern nomenclature; it was neither a pure autocracy, nor a pure democracy nor a mixture of both with which we are nowadays familiar. But, if it can be labelled at all with any precision, it can be called an autocracy broadbased on democracy in which the ruler as well as the ruled shared the advantages of both.

The king was the supreme head of the executive, of the judiciary, of the army, of the navy and of the entire civil administration. He was not bound by any acts of any type of legislature—for legislature there was none in those days. Nor was he assisted or guided by even a council of ministers; recent research seems to show that he had no ministers to advise him. His word was an order, a judgment or a law which none could disregard or disobey with impunity. But he was on all occasions, whether in the capital or in the camp, assisted by an able bureaucracy of top ranking civil and military officers, upon whom he could rely for feeling the pulse of the populace and carrying on efficiently the central as well as the district administration. The officers who were associated with him in the central government were called 'Udan-Kuttan' and they were possibly the heads of various departments. Whenever the king gave audience, and he gave audience often in royal halls and temples, they explained to him orally all petitions and all matters of policy demanding his attention and he gave then and there his verbal orders, which were instantly recorded in writing by an officer called the Tirumandira Olai. Copies of these orders were then made out and despatched to the departments concerned for taking action, and the departments in turn sent out copies of these orders to the district or local officers for inscribing them on the temple walls and carrying them into effect. This highly organized bureaucracy consisted of a hierarchy of officials bearing titles such as 'enadi' and 'marayan' (those who had distinguished themselves in civil and military affairs), 'araiyan' and 'peraraiyan' (those who occupied

¹ *The Cholas* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 172-209.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 32-35, Vol. II, 1939, page 159.
The Cambridge Shorter History of India, 1934, pages 192-193.

very high civil positions) and 'adigarigal' (those who held positions of trust in the army as well as general administration)¹.

But this bureaucracy, it would appear, was by no means a menace to the people. For, normally the king and his bureaucracy took cognizance of only high matters such as those relating to war, diplomacy, the army, the navy and the revenue collection and left all other matters of civil administration, including the administration of justice and police, entirely to the local assemblies. From the famous Uttaramerur and other inscriptions it is clear that these local assemblies enjoyed complete political autonomy in local affairs. These assemblies were generally of four types, the *ur*, the *sabha* (*kuri*), the *nagaram* and the *nadu*. The '*ur*' was the ancient Dravidian simple type of assembly which often acted by itself or sometimes acted alongside of the *sabha*. It was attended by all the male residents of the *ur*, young and old, though the leading part in its deliberations seems to have been taken by the elders alone. It had sometimes an executive body called '*alunganam*' (the ruling group). The '*sabha*' was an Aryan institution met with mostly in Brahmin villages. Like the '*ur*' it consisted of all the male residents of the village but, unlike the '*ur*' it had a more complex machinery. It functioned largely through its committees called '*variyaṁs*' consisting of the chosen few. These few were chosen by lot for each committee by the members of the *sabha* from among themselves. The qualifications for membership of the committees were invariably property, learning, skill and ability. The *sabha*, it would seem, dealt with all general matters, while its committees dealt with all special matters. The *sabha* in this manner disposed of multifarious matters, such as the administration of civil and criminal justice, the provision of *kavalgars* (police), the management of temples, the sales of property, the settlement of land and irrigation disputes, the raising of loans, the levying of local cesses like irrigation cess, the collection of land revenue on behalf of the State, the repairing of tanks, the making of roads, the provision of facilities for education, the assaying of gold, in fact, all matters affecting the welfare of the people. Sometimes the king's officers attended the meetings of the *sabha* and its committees to see that the royal interests were not affected. They also periodically audited the accounts of the '*sabha*'. But in the whole range of hundreds of inscriptions that have come down to us we find only very few cases in which they interfered in the local affairs dealt with by the *sabha*. Nor did they interfere in the business of the other assemblies like the '*nagaram*' and the '*nadu*'. The '*nagaram*' was in all probability a primary assembly of merchants confined to the important towns. The '*nadu*' was, as its name implies, a territorial assembly of the division consisting possibly

¹ *The Cholas* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri Vol. II, 1937, pages 213-215, 224, 235-247, 254-256.

Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India by S. K. Aiyangar, 1931, pages 252-254.

of the representatives of the 'sabhas' and 'urs' within the division. It normally discharged all important duties connected with land transactions and charitable endowments¹. It is thus evident that the local bodies were for all practical purposes completely autonomous in local affairs, while the king was completely autocratic in central and imperial affairs. Both served for the common good and both were restrained from exceeding or misusing their powers in those days, not by any public opinion but by something more compelling than public opinion, by custom and religious sanction. Political philosophers may wonder whether this system of government of the Cholas might not have achieved as much public good as the modern systems. Whether it suits the modern age or not is a different matter, but there can be little doubt that it suited admirably the mediaeval age, infusing, as it did, an uncommon vitality into the whole system of the body politics of the Chola empire for more than four centuries. Historians are not a little struck by this vitality revealed in the inscriptions of even the closing period of the Chola rule.

Of the army and the navy that built up the grand edifice of the Chola empire and spread its fame far and wide, even beyond the seas, we have very little information. The three corps upon which the Cholas depended were the elephant corps (anaiyalkal), the cavalry (kudiraiccevarar) and the infantry. They hardly made use of the chariots (ratha). The three corps were divided into a number of regiments, such as the regiments of bowmen (viligal), of swordsmen (valperra-kaikkolar), of king's horse body-guards (udanil-kudirai-sevakar), of fort garrisons (andalagattalar), etc. They were all stationed in the towns and cantonments (kadagams) and kept always ready in a state of efficiency. One remarkable feature of the army is that it took a great deal of interest in civil and religious affairs. There are many instances of its commanders building and endowing temples and maths. The navy consisted of ships, great and small, which could command the respect of all the powers in the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. But we have no information to show how it was organized. It is, however, more or less evident that the ships which in war time assailed Ceylon, captured the Maldives and the Nicobar islands and launched an expedition to Kadaram (Malaya) were also the ships which in peace time carried on commerce with the various ports from Arabia to Indo-China².

Nor have we any information to show as to how the whole of the empire was organized, under what officers with what powers.

¹ *The Cholas* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 267-312.

Studies in Chola History and Administration by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1932, pages 73-117.

Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India by S. K. Aiyangar, 1931, pages 130-211.

² *The Cholas* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 224-234.

Hindu Administrative Institutions by S. K. Aiyangar, 1931, pages 306-323.

All that we know is, that the empire was split up into eight or nine provinces called mandalams, that each mandalam was divided into a number of nadus and that each nadu was subdivided into a number of kurrams, i.e., big size villages, and taniyurs, i.e., towns. As to the nature of the central administration it has already been stated that so far as judicial administration was concerned it was left mostly to the sabhas. But in all cases, civil as well as criminal, the aggrieved parties had a right of appeal to the king and the king seems to have decided such appeals in his dharmasana (court of justice) assisted by the opinions of the learned Brahmins (dharmasana bhattas) versed in the law. Among crimes, murder, homicide, thefts, adultery and forgery were considered most heinous but even these crimes, if we are to trust the inscriptions, were visited with light punishments alike by the king and the sabhas. The culprits were generally asked either to endow sufficient sums for burning lamps in the nearest temples or to pay specific fines. Even offences against the person of the king or his relations were visited only with the confiscation of property and fines. It is, however, doubtful whether this picture revealed by the inscriptions is complete and accurate. A Chinese writer of the thirteenth century, Chau-Ju-Kua, has given an altogether different picture of the Chola system of justice. He says: "If the offence is light, the culprit is tied to a wooden frame and given fifty, seventy or up to an hundred blows with a stick. Heinous crimes are punished with decapitation or by being trampled to death by an elephant." ¹

Turning to taxation, the land was the principal source of the king's revenue. Besides land revenue, the king collected a number of taxes, duties, etc., such as customs, octroi, profession tax, fines imposed on offenders, and dues from mines, forests and salt-pans. Kulottunga I is said to have remitted all customs and octroi duties but there is nothing to show that his successors did not collect them. All these taxes, duties, etc., except land revenue, were collected directly by the king's officers; the land revenue was collected by them through the sabhas. On extraordinary occasions, extraordinary contributions were also levied by the king such as the war levy during the Pandyan war in the reign of Parantaka I. These taxes and levies went by various names, but the names were indiscriminately used. The names in use were irai, vari, manrupadu, ayam and dandam. Among specific names were kadamai and kudimai meaning literally 'duty' and 'tenancy dues' respectively, and padikaval meaning kavalgar's fees. Land revenue was collected both in kind and in money and non-payment of it was visited with distraint and sale of the defaulter's lands. Remissions were, however, granted for sufficient reasons like floods and famine. Temples were often allowed to commute the land revenue for reduced sums and officers were sometimes rewarded by grants of land on a permanent settlement tenure. It may also be of interest

¹ *The Cholas* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 242-266.

Hindu Administration Institutions by S. K. Aiyangar, 1931, pages 247-252.

to note here that, whenever the local sabhas found difficulty in collecting the land revenue or local cesses, they obtained the aid of the government for collecting them and that towards the close of the Chola rule, the local chieftains imposed fresh taxes, which often led to oppression and called for the intervention of the king¹.

The State seems to have collected some thing well over 40 per cent of the gross produce as land revenue, a percentage which is moderate in comparison with the land revenue demand under the Vijayanagar, the Mughal and the early British rule. The only exception was temple lands, the tax on which was limited to a third of the gross produce. Communal ownership of the land, as is indicated by the terms sabha-manjikkam, ur-manjikkam, and urppodu, existed side by side with individual ownership. All land which was not held under communal ownership by the village was either unassessed land belonging to the king or land belonging to peasant proprietors (vellan-vagai), service tenure holders, i.e., inamdars (jivita, bhoga, vrtti, etc.) or eleemosynary tenure holders (brahmadeya and devadana). The peasant proprietors held their lands on ryotwari tenure; service tenure holders held their lands either as tax-free inams or as quit-rent inams or again on feudal tenure as the case may be. In those days officers were in lieu of regular salaries given either assignments on land or lands on service tenure and the important chieftains who were given land on feudal tenure were expected to contribute a stated number of soldiers ready for service whenever required by the king. Of the eleemosynary tenures, brahmadeya lands were those given to brahmins and devadanam lands were those given to temples. Both these types of land were liable to pay the usual taxes unless expressly exempted. There is evidence to show that a good portion of the various types of lands mentioned above was cultivated by tenants. The system of tenancy was well known and the tenants paid the landlord a fixed melvaram determined in advance and retained as their share what remained after paying the expenses of cultivation and any minor dues assessed on the land².

All lands, whether communal, ryotwari or inams, were periodically surveyed and carefully assessed and an accurate up to date record of rights—which is a great feat indeed—was maintained in every village. The assessment which was periodically revised was based on a minute classification of land. As many as twelve different tarams (grades) are mentioned in the inscriptions and the rate fixed on each taram naturally depended on its fertility. But the State was not interested in collecting revenue alone. It undertook irrigation works, it raised the bunds of the Cauvery, removed silt from the irrigation tanks and repaired them and took not a little interest in reclaiming forest and waste lands for cultivation. The landholders on the whole seem to have been prosperous as is evidenced by their endowments to temples, schools, etc., but the

¹ *The Cholas* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, pages 313-349.

² *Idem*, pages 325, 337-346, 379-412.

agricultural labourers (pulaiyars) seem to have been in a condition of serfdom bordering on slavery ¹.

International commerce was, it would appear, partly monopolised by the king. He used to send shiploads of merchandise and articles of luxury to distant ports in Arabia, Persia, Ceylon, Malaya and Indo-China. It has already been seen how he sent an embassy to Keda; his representatives were said to have been found buying and selling even in Indo-China. But a good portion of international commerce as well as all internal and coastal trade was in the hands of merchants who used to form themselves into guilds and sometimes powerful guilds, and to enjoy exceptional privileges. The king and the sabhas offered them facilities by granting lands and houses for residences and warehouses. The guilds in turn showed their gratitude by making endowments for temples and other charitable institutions. One such celebrated guild called Nanadesis engaged in extensive foreign and internal trade is said to have been in the habit of sending its representatives for selling horses, elephants, precious stones, spices and drugs, wholesale as well as retail, to 'the Chera, Chola, Pandya, Malaya, Maghada, Kausala, Saurashtra, Dhanustra, Nepala, Ekapada, Lambakarna, Stri-Rajya, Ghola Mukha and many other countries.' They often, it is stated, carried their merchandise on the backs of asses and buffaloes 'adorned with red trappings' under the protection of their own military guards of foot soldiers and swordsmen. Several instances can be adduced to show that the Cholas carried on a brisk trade in all parts of the country as well as in foreign countries. Among the articles exported to foreign countries, to Arabia, Persia and Indo-China, may be mentioned amber, camphor, elephant's tusks, precious stones, pearls, ivory, ebony, sandalwood, cotton, and linen fabrics and spices. Internal commerce in those days depended mainly on road and the roads were on the whole well maintained by the government and the local sabhas².

In the field of industries, handloom industry, metal work and jewellery occupied a prominent place under the Cholas. The best of handloom fabrics, silk as well as cotton, went always to the royal palaces, temples and foreign countries, while the rest were sold all over the country by hawkers. We are informed that 'excellent napkins' and 'linen veils' were exported to Siraf and Kish in the Persian Gulf, and cotton fabrics of all sorts and coloured silk threads were exported to Indo-China. Next to handlooms must have figured the manufacture of beautiful images, vessels and other utensils of copper, bronze, brass, silver and gold and all sorts of exquisite ornaments of gold and precious stones and pearls. Here too the best went to the royal palaces and temples and the rest went to the houses of the rich and the well-to-do. Some of these

¹ *The Cholas* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 325-328, 383, 389-392.

² *Idem*, pages 312-442.

articles, especially the jewels and ornaments, were exported to foreign countries. Besides these the manufacture of all sorts of perfumes for internal and foreign consumption must have provided a tolerable living for many people; and in that age of temple building and sculpture, many people also must have lived comfortably as masons, stone cutters and sculptors¹.

Among the cities Tanjore perhaps stood first in the Chola age. It was the capital of the Chola kings of the Vijayalaya line until the reign of Rajaraja I. From the time of Rajendra I, however, the capital was shifted to the new city of Gangapuri. This capital was famous for its vast tank called Chola-gangam. Kanchi too, after the conquest of the Pallava country, became a sort of subsidiary capital in which the kings used to spend part of their time².

Of society in general in Chola times, it must be said that caste was the basis of social organization and that all the four castes lived, on the whole, in peace without manifesting any serious symptoms of jealousies and clash of interests. There was as yet no sign of ugly social conflicts between the right and the left hand castes or between the Brahmins and the Non-Brahmins. Brahmins lived generally under the patronage of kings and nobles and, although they preferred to live in strong self-regulating groups, they never forgot their duties and obligations to others. Mixed castes such as the Rathakars, which included blacksmiths, goldsmiths and stone masons were not uncommon; nor was heredity a bar to change of occupation. The Brahmins, for instance, sometimes took to trade, but these were exceptions. The women were not subjected to any restraint in their social life and activities, but modesty was considered chief among their graces. Such of them as belonged to the upper classes owned property in their own right and disposed of it as they chose. But the most distinguishing characteristics of the women of the higher classes seem to have been piety, devotion and an ardour for social work, all of which manifested themselves in their making liberal endowments to the temples, maths, schools, etc. It is indeed remarkable that even courtesans showered their largesses on temples and that the poor and the downtrodden women instead of taking to streets sought refuge in the temples and became dancing girls, flower girls and temple menials. Monogamy was the rule among the bulk of the people but polygamy was not infrequent among kings and nobles. Sati was rare and slavery was confined largely to women dedicated to the temples or working as domestic slaves in the houses of the rich and the powerful. The condition of the temple slaves and domestic slaves does not seem to have been pitiable. The most pitiable was perhaps the condition of the agricultural labourers who, as has already been stated, were serfs and who were more or less treated like slaves³.

¹ *The Cholas* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 414-415, 433-442.

² *Idem*, pages 215-216.

³ *Idem*, pages 250-257.

Higher education was received mostly by the upper classes. It was imparted in a number of temples, maths, pallis and viharas scattered throughout the country. These institutions sometimes owned big collections of manuscript literature on a variety of topics and imparted religious as well as secular education. There were also some colleges endowed by kings and nobles for teaching the Vedas, the Mimamsa, the Vyakarana, the Shastras, the Sutras, and Medicine. Some of them had a large staff of professors and a very large number of students. The professors, it would appear, were paid in kind as well as in coin and the students were given stipends. But of much more value than all these Sanskrit schools and colleges of which we have inscriptional evidence, must have been the Tamil schools, the pial schools and other schools, of which we have no such evidence, but which all the same must undoubtedly have existed. It is these schools that must have turned out the hundreds of singers of Tiruppadiagam hymns in the numerous temples and the thousands of clerks, accountants, etc., employed in the offices of the Government and the local bodies ¹.

Nothing, however, occupied in society a more important place than the temple. It was the place where the local sabha commonly held its meetings to discuss and decide village affairs. It was the place where all people, young and old, came to worship God, whether Siva, Vishnu, or other dieties, and to hear the recitation of the Ramayana, the Mahabharatha and the Puranas. It was the place where all entertainments and festivals, religious as well as secular, and dancing as well as music, were held. It was the place where all those who sought knowledge came and sat at the feet of the learned. It was the place where kings, queens and nobles loved to display their munificence. It was the place where people sought food and shelter in times of scarcity and famine. It was indeed the most magnificent place where riches, beauty, sanctity, worship, learning, fine arts and even mundane things combined to attract all people. No wonder the civilization in mediaeval days grew under the protecting shade of the temple. No wonder also that in so growing it imbibed much of religion.

It may be stated here that religion in those days never produced any bitter sectarian feuds. There is ample evidence to show that, although the king and the bulk of the people were Saivites, they showed a broad tolerance towards Vaishnavites, Jains and Buddhists. They made even liberal endowments to the Vaishnavite temples, Jain pallis and Buddhist viharas. As striking instances of their tolerance and broad outlook may be mentioned, the worship of Nataraja as well as Govindaraja in the Chidambaram temple and the existence side by side of the Saivite, Vaishnavite, Jain and

¹ *The Cholas* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 359-367, 463-471.

Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India by S. K. Aiyangar, 1931, pages 288-305.

Buddhist temples and colonies in Kancheepuram. There is nothing to show that the followers of these different faiths created any serious troubles. And when at the time of Adhirajendra, sectarianism is stated to have raised its head and led to the persecution of Sri Ramanuja. The people are said to have even risen in revolt and assassinated the king, thereby putting an end to all persecution¹.

An age of tolerance, of broad outlook on life, is undoubtedly most favourable to literature; and the Chola age which was characterised by these noble qualities is the most creative epoch of South Indian history. The very inscriptions of that age are notable for the highly ornate and poetical prasastis written in Tamil and Sanskrit. It has been said that almost all the prasastis of the Chola kings from the time of Rajaraja I may be classed among the best specimens of Tamil literature, exhibiting, as they do, stately diction, easy flow of verse and animated narrative of historical events. Several of the poems of this age have been lost, but of what remains, the Perungadai by Kongu-Velir is known for its ahaval metre (blank verse) and its chaste, direct and narrative style of poetry; the Jivakasindamani by Tiruttakkadeva dealing with the story of Jivaka, an ideal hero, is counted as the greatest among the mahakavyas of Tamil literature; the Kalingattupparani by the poet Laureate Jayangondar of Kulottunga I is considered to be the best of the paranis accessible to us, while the various works of Ottakkuttan who was patronised by the Chola rulers, the Ittiyelupadu, the Eluppelupadu, the Takkayagapparani, etc., stand as a class by themselves. The Nalavenba (the story of Nala) by Pugalandi is well known for its simple and flexible diction and easy flow of language; and the Tiruvilaiyadal Puranam by Perumbarappuliyur Nambi is equally well known for its rich store of legends centering round Madurai and its sixty-four miraculous sports of Siva. Above all these authors towered two literary giants, Kambar, the great author of the Ramayana, who in his treatment of the epic shows an originality and a depth of experience hardly equalled in Tamil literature, and Sekkilar the equally great author of the Peria Puranam, who in this masterpiece of Tamil literature conveys a graphic picture of the heroic age of Tamil Saivism, suffused with didactic and religious sentiments of the highest order².

The age is no less famous in the field of religious literature. It was in that age that the two celebrated men, Nambi Andar Nambi and Nathamuni, arranged the Saivite and the Vaishnavite hymns and canons respectively, substantially in the form in which we now find them. It was also in that age that several works on Saivism and Vaishnavism were written. Thus Meykandar then wrote the doctrinal work Siva-Gnana-Bodam, Arunandi wrote a similar work Siva-Gnana-Sittiyar, Manavasagan-Gadandar wrote

¹ *The Colas* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 495-497.

² *idem*, pages 510-536.

the simplest of all manuals of Saivism Unmai-Vilakkam and Umapati Sivacharya wrote some eight works on Saiva doctrine like Sivappirakasam, Sankarpa-Nirakaranam, etc. Among Vaishnava writers Periya Vacchan Pillai and Nambillai wrote several commentaries on the Nalayiram, in whole or part, and there was also the great devotional work Ramanuja-nurrandadi by Ramanuja's disciple Tiruvarangattu Amudanar. Among works on grammar, rhetoric and lexicography, the age produced the Yapparungalam and Yappuarungalakkarigai of Amitasagara, the Virasoliyam of Buddhmitra, Neminadam of Gunavirapandita, Nannul of Pavanandi and the Nambiyahapporul of Narkavirajanambi. Among Sanskrit works it produced the Rig-Veda Bashya of Venkata Madhava¹.

The Chola kingdom having been subjugated by Jatavarman Sundara Pandya, South Arcot now passed under the rule of the Pandyas. This rule lasted for about eighty years and was succeeded by the rule of the Muslim Sultanate of Madurai, which lasted for about **forty-five years**.

Jatavarman Sundara Pandya (1251-1270) was the most famous of the Pandyan kings. A bold, invincible conquering monarch, he extended the bounds of the Pandyan empire to their utmost limits and became the supreme, unquestioned ruler of Southern India. He ravaged the Malainadu and destroyed the Chera King, Vira Ravi Udaya Martandavarman and all his forces. He compelled Rajendra to acknowledge his suzerainty and to pay him tribute. He attacked the Hoysalas in the region of the Cauvery and captured their strong fortress of Kannanur-Koppam. He fought and killed several Hoysala generals, including the brave Singanna, captured numerous elephants and horses, a large amount of treasure and a large number of women and eventually attacked and killed Someswara, the Hoysala king himself (1262). Nor was this all. He assailed the fortress of Sendamangalam, "struck terror into the heart" of Kopperunjinga, conquered Madagai and Kongu countries and pushing his arms to the north, killed Gandagopala the ruler of Kanchi, occupied Kanchi, defeated Ganapati, the Kakatiya King at Mudugur, drove a Bana chief into exile and performed a Virabhisheka at Nellore. He also, between 1262 and 1264, invaded Ceylon, defeated and killed one Ceylon prince, received the submission of two other princes, and after exacting a great booty of pearls and elephants from the ruler of Ceylon, returned victorious to Madurai. A devout Hindu, tolerant to both Saivism and Vaishnavism alike, he did much to beautify the Chidambaram and Srirangam temples. After his victory over the Kadava Chieftain Kopperunjinga, he is stated to have repaired to Chidambaram, worshipped God Nataraja, performed many tulabharas and roofed the temple with gold. From there he is said to have proceeded to Srirangam, worshipped God Ranganatha, built a shrine to Narasimha and another to Vishvak-sena, covered both of them with gold and covered also the main

¹ *The Colas* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 475-480
536-552.

shrine of the temple with gold and installed in it a golden image of Vishnu. He is stated to have given away to these temples an immense quantity of jewels and precious stones and pearls¹.

He was ably assisted in his conquests by two of his co-regents Jatavarman Vira Pandya (1253-1274) and Maravarman Kulasekhara (1268-1308-9). The latter who became the supreme ruler after the death of the former had also at first two co-regents, Jatavarman Sundara Pandya and Maravarman Vikrama Pandya and subsequently two more co-regents, Jatavarman Sundara Pandya, his son born of his wife, and Jatavarman Vira Pandya, his son born of his mistress. It is during this period especially that we find several princes of the royal family governing the kingdom, and one of them enjoying a primacy over the rest. Wassaf mentions three, and Morco Polo mentions five, Pandyan princes ruling at one and the same time. This arrangement must have been made partly to govern effectually the different parts of the far-flung empire and partly to keep the several princes satisfied and contented.

Kulasekhara inherited the greatness of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya. He consolidated and even extended the Pandyan empire. He declared war against Hoysala Ramanatha (son of Someswara) and Chola Rajaraja III who had allied themselves and defeated them both in 1279. This was a crushing blow to the Cholas from which they never recovered. He became the unquestioned ruler of the Chola as well as the Hoysala districts of Tamilnad. He also put down a rising in Travancore and rivetted his hold upon that country. He likewise sent an expedition under his able minister Aryachakravarti to Ceylon who "laid waste the country on every side", entered the fortress of Subhagiri and carried away to Madurai "the venerable Tooth Relic (of the Buddha) and all the solid wealth that was there". This was at the time when Ceylon was ruled by Bhuvanaikabahu I. For some twenty years thereafter the island formed part of the Pandyan empire. Parakramabahu III (1303), who succeeded Bhuvanaikabahu as a tributary ruler of Ceylon, had to personally come to the Pandyan court before he could persuade Kulasekhara to surrender the relic. Ceylon regained independence only during the civil war and the Muslim invasion that followed Kulasekhara's death².

Kulasekhara's last years were embittered by quarrels between his two sons. He wanted Vira Pandya to succeed him but Sundara Pandya who had a better claim, feeling greatly incensed at the injustice done to him, murdered his father and promptly ascended the throne. Vira Pandya instantly attacked him but was defeated

¹ *The Pandyan Kingdom* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1929, pages 158-173.

² *A History of South India* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1955, pages 205-207.

³ *The Pandyan Kingdom* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1929, pages 174-187.

⁴ *A History of South India* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1955, pages 207-208.

at Talachi and taken prisoner. He, however, soon managed to escape and with the help of his cousin Manuar Perumal, the ruler of Karambati, near Kalul, seized the crown and forced Sundara Pandya to take safety in flight

Misfortunes, as has been well said, never come single: and it was when these internal dissensions were distracting the empire that the external foes began to assail it. All this ultimately led to the dissolution of the empire. When Sundara was casting about his eyes in all directions to seek the aid of some strong power to regain his throne, Ala-ud-Din Khalji, the Sultan of Delhi, was turning his attention to the South. Sundara is said to have invited the aid of the Sultan and the Sultan is said to have at once embraced the opportunity. The Sultan was as strong as he was ambitious. He had already crushed the power of Ramadeva, the Yadava ruler of Devagiri, and Prataparudra, the Kakatiya ruler of Warangal, and made them his vassals. He had no love for Sundara, but he longed to possess the riches of the south, associated with its temples, its palaces, its trade and commerce. He longed also to spread the light of Islam into the heathen lands and to convert them to the true faith. He therefore ordered the Malik Naib (Malik Kafur), one of his trusted generals, to march with an army to the south. The Malik marched to Devagiri and from there learning that Ballala III, the Hoysala ruler, was busy angling in the troubled waters of Tamilnad, immediately rushed to Dwara-samudra, and in spite of the hurried arrival of Ballala to defend his capital, compelled him to surrender it with all its treasures and to become a zimmi (vassal). He then lost no time in despatching the booty to Delhi and in descending on the Pandyan empire. He put to flight Vira Pandya in a fight on the banks of the Cauvery, harried the country, sacked the rich temples and shrines of Kanchi (Marhatpuri of the Muslim historians) and after razing them to the ground, it is said, dug up even their foundations to discover hidden treasures, if any. From there he turned to Madurai where Sundara Pandya had taken refuge. Sundara must have found to his cost that the Malik bore him no good will at all. He lost his nerve and took to flight and the Malik forthwith ransacked the city and set fire to its temples. At this threat of dire destruction, the Pandyan brothers recovered their sanity, patched up their quarrels and, under the leadership of Vikrama Pandya, Sundara's uncle, a veteran general, who had contributed much to the success of the Pandyan arms in the glorious days of Jatavarman Pandya, gave battle to the Malik, defeated him and thus rolled back the Muslim tide for a time from the south. For, the Malik is stated to have left for Delhi soon after this battle (1311), not without however a vast booty he had collected in the Pandyan empire. According to Barani the booty consisted of 612 elephants, 96,000

maunds of gold, several boxes of jewels and pearls and 20,000 horses¹

The disappearance of the common danger led at once to the reappearance of the common enmity. The Pandyan brothers started the civil wars again, and again invited fresh dangers. Vira Pandya worsted Sundara Pandya and Sundara Pandya, who ought to have known better what to seek and what to shun, fled to Delhi and sought once more the aid of the Sultan. There is nothing to show that an expedition was actually sent from Delhi to assist him, but he seems to have, with the consent of the Sultan, collected some Muslim forces from Devagiri and returned to recapture his throne. But when he came back, he found to his dismay that during his absence the Chera king Ravi Varma Kulasekhara had made a lightning attack upon Madurai and conquered it after driving away Vira Pandya. Sundara and his Muslim forces found it impossible to overthrow Kulasekhara. Sundara then sought and obtained the help of the Kakatiya ruler, Prataparudra, while Vira patched up his quarrels with Kulasekhara and joined forces with him to oppose Sundara. In the battle that was then fought, the Kakatiya forces defeated Vira and Kulasekhara and installed Sundara on the Pandyan throne. But his throne had by now been shorn of all its glory. The ruler of Ceylon and the Chera king had already become independent; the Chola chieftain Sambuvaraya (who held portions of South Arcot) now became independent; and the Muslim Sultans of Delhi once again began to cast their longing eyes on the inexhaustible wealth of the distracted Pandyan empire².

Sultan Qutb-ud-Din wanted no invitation to send an expedition to the south. He despatched thither a large army under his veteran general Khusrau Khan. This general came like a scourge plundering and devastating the country everywhere. On his approach, it is said, all citizens fled in terror. At Pattan, a rich seaport of the Tamil country he seized the wealth of even a Muslim merchant and subjected him to indignities. Sundara evaded battle, evacuated Madurai and left it to be sacked by Khusrau Khan. But the very profusion of wealth and the ease with which it could be collected soon turned Khusrau's head. He plotted to become independent. His generals, however, detected his treachery and compelled him to march back to Delhi³. A brief respite then followed, only to bring in another storm, and this time a storm which swept away the Pandyan empire altogether. In the reign of Ghaiyas-ud-Din Tughluk, his son Ulugh Khan, after having

¹ *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India* by N. Venkataramanayya, 1942, pages 13-71.

² *The Pandyan Kingdom* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1929, pages 205-211.

³ *A History of South India* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1955, pages 219-220.

⁴ *The Pandyan Kingdom* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1929, page 213.

⁵ *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India* by N. Venkataramanayya, 1942, pages 91-96.

⁶ *A History of South India* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1955, page 222.

conquered Warangal, marched to the south. The Pandyan kingdom was at this time ruled by Parakrama Pandya who had succeeded Sundara Pandya. Ulugh Khan conquered the whole country, took him captive and established a Muslim rule in Madurai¹.

It becomes necessary at this stage to make a pause to review the administration and the social and economic conditions that prevailed under the Pandyan empire. We have, however, very little information about administration; and all that we know can be described in a few words. The king was supreme, all powerful, **despotic**; but all the same, restrained by custom and guided by the advice of his ministers or officials. He always maintained a great state. He moved about with a great many barons around him, his trusty lieges who, it is said, even immolated themselves on his funeral pyre. He had splendid thrones and splendid palaces in Madurai as well as other important places like Kanchi, Jayangondasolapuram, etc. He maintained a large number of wives. He possessed immense wealth; Kulasekhara's treasury, for instance, was said to contain "1,200 crores of gold (dinars)...besides...an accumulation of precious stones such as pearls, rubies, turquoises and emeralds,—more than in the power of language to express". He adorned himself with jewels "with more than a city's ransom"; with a necklace made "entirely of precious stones, rubies, sapphires, emeralds and the like", a japamala made of "104 (108 ?) large pearls and rubies" and golden bracelets, anklets and rings thickly set with pearls of great value. He collected treasures in plenty from his wars and victories. But he knew not only how to accumulate wealth and how to maintain a Byzantine style, but also how to utilize wealth for the strength, glory and prosperity of his kingdom. His purchase of thousands of horses every year to augment his cavalry, his virabhishekams and vijayabhishekams, his brahmadeyams and devadanams, his construction of golden images and gopurams and his lavish distribution of precious stones and jewels to the temples bear eloquent testimony to this.

He governed his extensive kingdom with the aid of royal princes, who acted as his co-regents. They were employed as viceroys over the several provinces and expected to assist him in all his wars. There is ample evidence to show that they fulfilled this expectation in a signal manner. Succession normally went to the eldest son who had acted as co-regent during his father's rule; but disputed succession was not unknown as is evidenced by the civil wars of Vira Pandya and Sundara Pandya, the sons of Kulasekhara. The king was, of course, the supreme head of the State, but the co-regents seem to have possessed and exercised some regal powers such as issuing coins, making grants of land and recording inscriptions, in their own name. As the heads of both civil and military administration, the king and the co-regents under him employed a large number of officials, but the duties of these officers have not

¹ *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India* by N. Venkataramanayya, 1942, pages 122-125.

been anywhere precisely defined. It would, however, appear that they made themselves felt on several occasions and sometimes even took bribes and levied exactions. Local affairs were more or less, as before, managed by local sabhas or manrams with the aid of their own variams or committees. The sabhas sat as courts, managed public properties, maintained temples, levied local taxes and looked after the local irrigation sources.

Land still continued to be the mainstay of public revenue. The king levied land assessment, granted rent-free or partially rent-free lands to the Brahmins, temples, mathams and charitable institutions and collected the land revenue through his own officers. But what proportion of the gross or net produce he took as revenue is not known. It is, however, known that the assessment was based on a survey and classification of soils, that the dry rates and wet rates prevailed and that the construction and maintenance of major irrigation works were undertaken by the State. The king also levied professional taxes, house-tax, transit duties and customs. Considering that the trade, both internal and external, was brisk and prosperous according to foreign as well as Indian observers, these taxes must have fetched a good amount.

Justice was still administered through local sabhas and royal dharmanams. All ordinary cases seem to have been tried by the former, while all important cases seem to have been tried by the latter. Ordeals, fines, imprisonments, capital sentences, outlawry, forfeiture of property, all these stand out as the prominent features of administration of justice. Thefts were visited with fines and imprisonment, murder and gang robbery were visited with death or outlawry or forfeiture of property. Those who were sentenced to death were given the option of sacrificing their lives to the gods. Those who were outlawed were liable to be killed by anybody with impunity. Those who were subjected to the forfeiture of property had to surrender their property to the temples.

Society was organized on the traditional pattern. The Brahmins enjoyed special privileges; as the repositories of learning they were given rent-free or partially rent-free lands and honoured in popular as well as in royal assemblies. The warrior classes too enjoyed high status; they were employed in the military and civil administration of the country. The mercantile classes prospered not a little under the stimulus of extensive foreign as well as internal trade. Marco Polo and Wassaf speak of this trade in raptures. KayaI was the chief emporium of the Pandyan kingdom. Hither came horses and merchandise of all sorts from Persia, Arabia, Rome and other European countries, and from hither went out large ships laden with great quantities of pearls, cloth and other articles of merchandise. Marco Polo gives a vivid description of pearl-fishing conducted by companies of merchants, who paid a royalty to the State and fished pearls in great quantities with the aid of fish charmers and divers. The mercantile classes were also great landlords. The lower classes were mostly employed in agriculture, possibly as farm-labourers and petty tenants. The

shares of the farm-labourers and tenants were defined by custom and there is nothing to show that they were inadequate to permit them to lead contented lives.

It is this picture of the Pandyan kingdom that must have made Marco Polo declare the Pandyan country as "the finest and noblest in the world". A few social habits and customs that he observed have been recorded by him. Among these may be mentioned the habit of the generality of the people dressing themselves scantily, walking barefooted, smearing the floors of houses with cow-dung, drinking only from drinking vessels and that too without touching them with the lips, taking baths twice a day, sitting on the ground, eating pan and supari and abstaining from wine. He records also the prevalence of the devadasi system in temples, of the presence of experts in the arts of physiognomy, astrology and sorcery and the readiness of the people to consult them, of the custom that permitted the creditor to draw a circle round his defaulting debtor and prohibit him under severe penalty from passing out of it without satisfying the claim and of the habits of "the nobles and great folks" of sleeping on beds made of light cane-work suspended from the ceiling.

Several of these habits and customs remain with us even to-day. But there was one custom which Marco Polo failed to notice but which is made abundantly clear by the inscriptions, namely, the custom of congregating in temples on many occasions for religious as well as secular purposes. This custom is now only partially with us, so partially that it has lost all its mediæval grandeur and significance. For, in those days, the temple was the grand centre of culture and civilization. Here were to be found all the best that art, architecture, sculpture and painting could give. Here were to be enjoyed music, dancing, drama, harikathas, kalakshepains, recitations from the Puranas and the like. Here were to be learnt grammar, logic, vedas, sastras, etc., at the feet of the great masters, and here were to be heard public disquisitions on literature, religious and secular. Here too were conducted the local meetings of the sabhas which decided all matters relating to land, justice, taxation, etc. Worship, prayer, pastimes as well as serious business, all combined to make the temple a vital, endearing, inseparable element of society. No wonder therefore that kings and subjects alike showed great regard for the temples and showered on them all kinds of benefactions¹

¹ *Foreign Notices of South India* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1939, pages 161-172, 179-180.

The Pandyan Kingdom by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1929, pages 191-200, 215-239.

A History of South India 1955, by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1955, pages 191-196, 212-213.

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History of India as told by its own Historians by H. Elliot, Vol- III 1871, pages 32-35.

There are also many references in *South Indian Polity* by T. V. Mahalingam, 1954.

Times were, however, quickly changing. We have already seen how Ulugh Khan conquered the Pandyan kingdom. As soon as he ascended the throne of Delhi under the title of Muhammad-bin Tughluk, he appointed a Governor at Madurai to rule over his southern possessions. He also made the weight of his arm felt by the Deccan powers, by subjugating the kingdoms of Kampili and Dwarasamudra. He made both Kampila, the ruler of the former and Ballala III, the ruler of the latter, his vassals¹. In 1327 he fixed his capital at Devagiri so as to have a firm hold on all parts of his extensive empire. But soon afterwards, when in 1329 he retransferred his capital back to Delhi, he seems to have lost his hold on Madurai. At any rate, in 1334-1335, one Syyyid Jalal, one of the imperial officers, treacherously slew the Governor and declared himself an independent Sultan under the title of Jalal-ud-Din Ahsan Shah. Thus was founded the Sultanate of Madurai. When Muhammad-bin-Tughluk heard of this rebellion, he ordered Syyyid Jalal's son, who was one of his attendants, to be instantly slain in two and marched without delay with an army to the south. But at Warangal, a severe outbreak of cholera decimated his army and forced him to retrace his steps, having accomplished nothing. Jalal-ud-Din Ahsan Shah, however, did not enjoy the fruits of his treachery for long. He was succeeded by one of his officers, Ala-ud-Din Udaui, who was harassed by the dispossessed Pandyan princes and by Ballala III; and in one of his fights with the latter, he was, though victorious, killed by an arrow from an unknown hand (1341). His son-in-law succeeded him under the title of Qutb-ud-Din; but he was killed within forty days and succeeded by Ghiyas-ud-Din Damghani who was originally a trooper in the service of the Delhi Sultan. It was during his reign that Ibn Batuta saw with his own eyes the innocent slaughter of "idolatrous" Hindus, men, women and children, and recorded with horror that "it was for this reason that God hastened the death of Ghiyas-ud-Din²."

Meanwhile Ballala III stationed at Tiruvannamalai was gradually trying to consolidate his power at the expense, if possible, of the Muslims. His sway extended over portions of South Arcot. At the time of Ghiyas-ud-Din Damghani's accession, he was investing the fortress of Kannanur-Koppam after a decisive victory against the Muslim forces. The siege lasted for six months and just when the Muslim garrison was about to surrender, he, with unaccountable folly, allowed the garrison to get into touch with Ghiyas-ud-Din for settling, as he thought, the terms of surrender. Ghiyas-ud-Din, however, instead of settling the terms of surrender, at once marched with a large army, took Ballala and his troops completely by surprise and inflicted a signal defeat upon them. He took Ballala prisoner, stripped him of all his wealth, horses and

¹ *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India* by N. Venkatarama-nayya, 1942, pages 128-148.

² *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders* by S. Krishna-swami Aiyangar, 1921, pages 164-166.

elephants and then had him killed and flayed. "His skin was stuffed with straw and hung upon the wall of Madurai where", says Ibn Batuta, "I saw it in the same position" (1342). This wanton cruelty had its nemesis. Soon after his return to Madurai, Ghiyas-ud-Din lost his only son, his wife and his mother by an attack of cholera and he himself died a few days later, it is said, "from the effects of an aphrodisiac prepared by a yogin¹."

Ghiyas-ud-Din was succeeded by his nephew Nasir-ud-Din (1342), who was originally a domestic servant of the Sultan of Delhi. He obtained the consent of the nobles and the army for his accession by a lavish distribution of gold. And the moment he became the Sultan he killed a son of his own paternal aunt who had married Ghiyas-ud-Din's daughter and who therefore was a possible candidate for the Sultanate. The last extent coin of Nasir-ud-Din belongs to the year 1344. Then follows a break in the coins till we come to 1356-1357 when we find Adil Shah ruling over Madurai. He was succeeded by Fakr-ud-Din Mubarak Shah in 1359. Fakr-ud-Din was followed by the last of the sultans of Madurai, Ala-ud-Din Sikander Shah (1372), during whose rule the Sultanate collapsed under the hammer of the Vijayanagar kings (1377-1378)².

The Muslim Sultanate of Madurai thus lasted from 1334 to 1378. These years were marked by constant persecution of the Hindus. The Hindus were often slaughtered, their temples were invariably pillaged and desecrated and their idols were continually deprived of worship³. All this time the Pandyan princes did not disappear from the scene. They governed parts of the Madurai, Tirunelveli, Ramanathapuram, Tanjore and Pudukkottai countries; but they found themselves helpless and powerless to do anything beyond harassing the Sultans now and then. Several of these princes continued to govern these parts right down to the establishment of the Vijayanagar rule in Madurai and Tanjore in the second half of the fourteenth century. Thereafter some of these princes shifted their headquarters into the Tirunelveli district and struggled hard to maintain their position till towards the close of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century⁴. But these helpless, feeble rulers can by no means be called Pandyan kings or emperors. The Pandyan empire was gone. The civil wars and follies of the Pandyas themselves undermined it. The Muslim invasions gave it a shock from which it never recovered. The Sultanate wrecked it and it was left to the Vijayanagar rulers to establish a kingdom under their Nayakas in a pattern conformable to Hindu traditions.

¹ *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders* by S. Krishnaswami Aiyengar, 1921, pages 166-168.

² *A History of South India* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1955, pages 229-230.

³ *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders* by S. Krishnaswami Aiyengar, 1921, pages 168-70.

⁴ *The Pandyan Kingdom* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri 1929, pages 241-243.

⁵ *Idem*, pages 245-252.

Journal of the Annamalai University, Vol. XVII, pages 1-43.

CHAPTER III.

LATER HISTORY

When the times were thus out of joint and the Muslim persecution was at its height, there arose out of its ashes the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar which, within a few years, rallying round it all Hindu chieftains and all Hindus of all denominations, swept the Muslim rule altogether from the south. The credit for this achievement goes in a large measure to Kumara Kampana, son of Bukka, the brother of the first Vijayanagar ruler, Harihara. Between 1343 and 1356 he crushed the power of the Muslim Sultan of Madurai and by 1377-1378, he put an end to the Sultanate itself and added all its dominions to the Vijayanagar kingdom. With the disappearance of the Sultanate, the whole of the Tondaimandalam, comprising the Chingleput and South Arcot districts, passed under the rule of Vijayanagar ¹.

Kampana's conquest of Tondaimandalam has been rendered immortal in a pathetic poem composed by his wife Ganga Devi. In this poem she says that, after conquering the Sarubvaraya Chieftain (of South Arcot), while sojourning at Kanchi, Kampana had a dream in which the goddess of the Pandyan country appeared before him and described in moving terms, among other things, how in her lands temples had fallen into neglect and become the haunts of jackals, how the worship in them had ceased, how the sacrifices and chants of the Vedas had everywhere given place to the foul roastings of the flesh and the fearful riotings of the Muslims, how the Vedas had been forgotten, how justice had gone into hiding, how virtue had fled from the land and how despair was writ large on every face. So saying, the dream goes on, the goddess handed over Kampana, the mighty sword of Pandyan sovereignty and exhorted him to use it fearlessly for the restoration of Dharma ².

Very little is, however, known about the doings of Kampana, except that, with the help of his able general Saluva Mangu and his equally able minister Gopanna, he extinguished the Muslim rule in the south and that, as the champion of Hinduism, he restored all the temples to their former glory, showering, in particular, his

¹ *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India* by N. Venkataramanayya 1942, pages 164-206.

South India and her Muhammadan Invaders by S. Krishnaswami Aiyar gar, 1921, pages 182-188.

² *The Pandyan Kingdom* by K. A. Nilankanta Sastri, 1929, pages 242-243.

A History of South India by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1955, page 255.

choicest gifts on the Srirangam temple ¹. Nor is much known about the southern rule of the Vijayanagar kings for about 200 years after the time of Kampana. All that is known can be stated in a few words. In the reign of Harihara II, Virupaksha, his son, succeeded Kumara Kampana as the Governor of the Tamil districts ². Then came Devaraya II who extended his sway over Kerala ³. But very soon, the sky became ominous. For, in the reign of Mallikarjuna, Gajapati (Kapilesvara), the king of Orissa, conquered the coastal Andhra districts of the Vijayanagar empire and led an expedition into Tondaimandalam. This expedition, however, proved to be nothing more than a raid. Epigraphic evidence shows that Mallikarjuna's authority was recognized in the Chingleput district (1465) and in the South Arcot district (1466) ⁴. Moreover, whatever prestige was lost was restored under Virupakshi II, when Saluva Narasimha, his viceroy of Chandragiri, stamped out a rebellion in the Tamil country. He is said to have expelled Gajapati and routed a Chola prince and a Pandyan king ⁵. Shortly afterwards, however, the sky again became ominous. Muhammad Shah Bahmani II marched down carrying fire and sword into Tondaimandalam and sacked the temple of Kanchi. And, although much of the booty he had collected was recovered from him on his return march at Nellore by one of Saluva Narasimha's generals and restored to the temple, the empire once more fell into disorder and lost its cohesion ⁶. It was because of this that the next Vijayanagar Emperor, Immadi Narasimha, despatched his brilliant general, Narasa Nayaka, to the south (1496). Narasa Nayaka succeeded in no time in restoring order in Tondaimandalam as well as in the Chola and Pandyan countries. He found no serious opposition in Tondaimandalam, but he is said to have had to defeat a Chola ruler and conquer Madurai ⁷. This also proved to be nothing but a brief respite. For, in the reign of Krishnadeva Raya, an expedition had again to be launched to subdue the south. The Gingee (Senji) country (which comprised almost the whole of the South Arcot district) was at that time ruled by a number of petty chieftains. Krishnadeva Raya, however, found no opposition to his march. He halted first at Vellore and then at Gingee (Senji) and, after receiving homage and tribute from the various chieftains, divided the southern districts into three portions and to each portion appointed a general of his own. The Gingee (Senji) country, which formed

¹ *A History of Gingee and its Rulers* by C. S. Srinivasachari, 1943, pages 48—51, 56—62.

² *Further Sources of Vijayanagar History* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya, Vol. 1, 1946, page 80.

³ *Idem*, pages 105—106.

⁴ *Idem*, pages 120—122.

⁵ *Idem*, pages 127—128.

⁶ *Idem*, pages 137—138.

⁷ *Idem* pages 153—176.

one of these portions, he placed under Tubaki Krishnappa Nayaka ¹. This was some time about 1510 and from thence forwards began the rule of the Nayakas of Gingee (Senji) over South Arcot.

The history of the Nayaka rule over South Arcot, [Gingee (Senji) country] is also by no means clear. We do not know either the chronology or the names of the Nayakas for certain. The Mackenzie manuscripts mention a line of succession which is altogether hazy and imperfect. All that can be said now is that Tubaki Krishnappa Nayaka improved the Gingee (Senji) fort, built temples at Srinushnam, Tirukkoyilur and other places and constructed the Kalyana Mahal at Gingee (Senji). One of his successors, Achyuta Ramachandra Nayaka, is said to have made gifts to Venkatramanaswami temple at Gingee (Senji). A third, Venkatappa Nayaka, is said to have built a temple and a fort at Tindivanam. But the most outstanding of these Nayakas was Krishnappa Nayaka (1570-1616?) who held sway over large parts of Tondaimandalam ².

Krishnappa Nayaka was a man made of sterner stuff than his predecessors. While they all showed loyalty to the Vijayanagar Emperors, he showed a bold front to them and repeatedly asserted his independence in spite of reversals of fortune. He rebelled against Venkata I and when, as a consequence, he was captured and imprisoned, he managed to secure his release as well as his kingdom through the intercession of Raghunatha Nayaka, the ruler of Tanjore. He made the princes of Tiruvadi (on the Pennar), the Solaga of the Coleroon (Kollidam) and the Lingama Nayaka of Vellore, as his tributaries and again asserted his independence and refused to pay tribute to the emperor. And, when again he was defeated, he feigned submission to the emperor (1607) and regained his kingdom. He tried to restrain the growing power of Raghunatha Nayaka of Tanjore by instigating the Solaga to create perpetual trouble on the Tanjore frontier. And finally, when the Vijayanagar emperor Venkata II died leaving behind him a succession feud which soon flared up into a civil war, he threw off all subservience to the empire ³.

This is how it happened. On his death bed, Venkata II nominated his nephew Sriranga II Chikkaraya as his successor, but the rights of the nephew were bitterly opposed and contested by Venkata's putative son. Very soon two parties formed themselves. The loyal chieftains under the banner of Yachama Nayaka, a veteran leader, supported the cause of the nephew, while the disloyal chieftains under the banner of Gubburi Jaggaraya, the emperor's

¹ *A History of Gingee and its Rulers* by C. S. Srinivasachari, 1943, pages 72-74.

² *Idem*, pages 81-91.

³ *Idem* pages 91-107, 131.

brother-in-law, supported the cause of the putative son. Jaggaraya having contrived to murder Sriranga II, marched to the Tamil districts for mustering strength for his cause followed closely by Yachama Nayaka who, having rescued Kamadeva, Sriranga's son, was anxious to give battle to the rebels at the first opportunity. Krishnappa Nayaka did not hesitate to join the rebels and, when he and the rebels were completely beaten by Yachama Nayaka and Raghunatha Nayaka, and Jaggaraya was killed at the battle of Toppur (1616), he made common cause with Yatiraja, the brother of Jaggaraya, and put up another fight. It was not till he was again beaten by Ragunatha Nayaka that he feigned submission to Ramadeva¹.

Jesuit accounts show that he was an able and energetic ruler. Father Pimenta, a Portuguese Jesuit who spent a few days in Gingee (Senji) in 1597, says that under him Gingee (Senji) prospered not a little. It was 'the greatest city we have seen in India and bigger than any in Portugal, except Lisbon'. It has an impregnable fortress in one of the tall square towers of which the Nayaka lived in a royal style befitting a great monarch. Whenever he rode out on horseback, he was accompanied by 300 elephants and 1,000 armed soldiers. And he took no small delight in building a new town called Krishnapatnam near Porto Novo (Parangipettai) on the banks of the Vellar². He permitted the Portuguese to preach in his kingdom and even to build a church, himself making some contribution towards it³. He permitted also the Dutch to build a fort near Devanampatnam (1608) and subsequently transferred this fort to the Portuguese under the pressure of the Vijayanagar Emperor⁴. The Dutch, however, soon afterwards (1610) recovered the fort from the Portuguese⁵. From other accounts we learn that he was a zealous Vaishnavite and that he repaired and restored the Govindaraja shrine within the Nataraja temple in Chidambaram⁶. His successors, Varadappa Nayaka and Appaya Nayaka, were quite insignificant. During the reign of Appaya Nayaka, Gingee (Senji) fell an easy prey to the Muslim invasion⁷.

At this stage we may try to describe, with the aid of what little information we have, the broad features of the Nayaka rule over South Arcot, a rule which extended for over a century. Except

¹ *The Nayakas of Tanjore* by V. Vriddhagirisan, 1942, pages 62 etseq. *History of the Nayakas of Madurai* by R. Satyanatha Aiyar, 1924, pages 98-109.

² *A History of Gingee and its Rulers* by C. S. Srinivasachari, 1943, pages 131-150.

³ *A History of Gingee and its Rulers* by C. S. Srinivasachari, 1943, pages 96-101.

⁴ *Idem*, page 101.

⁵ *Idem*, pages 107-112.

⁶ *Idem*, pages 112-119.

⁷ *Idem*, pages 120-130.

⁸ *Idem*, pages 150-151.

for the fact that the Nayaka of Gingee (Senji) theoretically recognized the suzerainty of the Vijayanagar emperor and gave him a tribute as a token of this recognition, he was, all in all, supreme, in his own kingdom. We do not know whether he was assisted by a minister or a council of ministers. Nor do we know how he collected his revenues or administered justice and through what officers. Presumably his machinery and mode of administration was similar to that of the Pandyas, modified to some extent by the practice followed by the Vijayanagar emperors. But we know that he had infantry, cavalry and elephants; that he had feudatories who flocked to his standard with their contingents whenever called upon to do so, and that he made Gingee (Senji) his capital, an impregnable fortress by carrying out all sorts of improvements to its existing fortifications. He lived always in a royal style, and encouraged duelling, fencing, wrestling, hunting and other manly sports. He loved to build temples, to embellish them with sculptures and to endow them with lands. He loved to build 'pettabs and suburbs' and even a new town like Krishnapatnam. He showed hospitality to foreigners and a broad tolerance to all faiths, even to Jainism and Christianity. And there is evidence to show that, save when his country was distracted by the civil wars of the empire, it enjoyed peace, and at times, even prosperity¹.

The Nayaka rule did not last long. Ever since the decisive battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi (Talikota), the Vijayanagar emperors had been compelled to retreat gradually to the south before the Muslim expansion under Bijapur and Golconda, until at last by the time of the great Tirumala Nayaka of Madurai (1623—1659), the empire had been reduced to a mere shadow and confined practically to Vellore and the surrounding country. The Mysore king had already become independent and the Nayakas of Madurai, Tanjore and Gingee (Senji) had now to decide, once for all, whether to bow down to this shadow any longer or to assert their independence and endeavour to protect their own kingdoms against Muslim expansion. A decision was forced upon them by the hasty, incautious and unwise action of the emperor Sri Ranga III himself. Instead of making them his allies and confederates in his wars against the Muslims, he came down with a large army to subdue them. Tirumala, who was easily the most outstanding among the Nayakas, at once decided to oppose the emperor. He made alliances with the Nayakas of Gingee (Senji) and Tanjore and when, at the last moment, the Nayaka of Tanjore betrayed him and joined the emperor, he did not hesitate to call in Muslim aid to defend Madurai and Gingee (Senji) against the imperial army. He induced the Sultan of Golconda to attack the emperor's territories and thereby compelled Sri Ranga to march to the north for the protection of his dominions. It was only when Sri Ranga was completely overpowered by the Golconda force that he thought of

¹ This account is based on what is contained in a *History of Gingee and its Rulers* by C. S. Srinivasachari, 1942, pages 65—151, 188—205.

gaining the co-operation of Madurai, Gingee (Senji) and Tanjore. But then it was too late; his attempt at co-operation, after aggression, failed and he had to fly to the forest and thence to Mysore, never to return. The Golconda forces meeting with no opposition came to the south and laid siege to Gingee (Senji). The Tanjore Nayaka surrendered to them but Tirumala sought and obtained the aid of Bijapur against Golconda and hastened to the relief of Gingee (Senji). As, however, the fates would have it, the Bijapur forces betrayed him by joining the Golconda forces. The latter then entrusted the siege to the Bijapur forces and marched to the north and Gingee (Senji) was taken by the Bijapur forces. This was in 1648, and this put an end to the rule of the Nayakas over South Arcot ¹.

Thereafter, the district for some years (1648-1677) came to be governed by the Bijapur generals. It would appear that Sayyid Nasir Khan was appointed as the killedar (governor) of Gingee (Senji), and that he was followed by Nazir Muhammad Khan, 'the Khan of Gingee (Senji)' of the Records of Fort St. George. The Bijapur Governors improved the fortifications of Gingee (Senji), re-named Gingee (Senji) as Badshabad and appointed subordinate officers and military fief holders in several places ². But their administration appears to have been far from satisfactory. Andre Freire characterised it as cruel in these words. "Nothing can equal the cruelties which the Muhammadans employ in the government of Gingee (Senji); expression fails me to recount atrocities which I have seen with my own eyes, and, if I were to describe them, truth would be incredible ³". Muhammad Khan, however, encouraged the English and the French to establish settlements in his dominion. At his suggestion, Elihu Yale, who subsequently became Governor of Fort St. George, was sent on a mission to Gingee (Senji) to explore the possibilities of forming a settlement in that country. But, for some reason or other, nothing came of this. The French on the other hand, under the impulsion of Francois Martin, negotiated with him and established a settlement at Pondicherry (Puducherry) in 1674 ⁴.

Shortly afterwards, in 1677, Sivaji, who was then rapidly rising to power, instigated by Raghunatha Narayan Hanumanant and assisted by the Golconda forces, swiftly came to the south and captured Gingee (Senji) without the least difficulty. Already his half-brother, Ekoji had established a Maratha rule at Tanjore.

¹ *History of the Nayakas of Madurai* by R. Satyanatha Aiyar, 1924, pages 126-135, 143-145.

² *A History of Gingee and its Rulers* by C. S. Srinivasachari, 1943, pages 206-207.

Maratha Rule in the Carnatic by C. K. Srinivasan, 1945, pages 178-18.

³ *History of the Nayakas of Madurai* by R. Satyanatha Aiyar, 1924, page 379.

⁴ *A History of Gingee and its Rulers* by C. S. Srinivasachari, 1943, pages 207-210.

Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis; Vol. I 1906, page 39.

He now placed his brother Santaji in charge of Gingee (Senji) assisted by Raghunatha Narayan Hanumante as subedar and Hambir Rao Mohite as senapati. He also appointed havildars for the Pondicherry (Puducherry), Kunimedu and Porto Novo (Parangipettai) divisions¹. On his death, however, in 1680, Sambhaji, who succeeded him, appointed his own sister's husband, Harji Mahadik, as the Governor of Gingee (Sanji) and removed Raghunatha Narayan Hanumante from the position of subedar².

Harji Mahadik who thus became the ruler of South Arcot very soon asserted his independence. Sambhaji could do nothing; he had his own troubles with his nobles and the Mughals. Harji consolidated his position, went to the aid of the Nayaka of Madurai and defeated a Mysore General and permitted the English to found settlements in his dominion. It was during his rule that the English, harassed and hard-pressed by the Golkonda foudjar of Poonamallee, befriended Gopal Dadaji Pandit, the Maratha subedar of Porto Novo (Parangipettai), and, through his good offices with Harji, founded factories at Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Kunimedu in 1682 and at Porto Novo (Parangipettai) in 1683³.

Harji, however, could not rule in peace. Within a few years storm clouds gathered around him. The successful operations of the Mughal army in the Deccan, the reduction of Bijapur (1686) and the siege of Golconda (1687) roused Sambhaji from his sloth and made him think of the safety of his southern empire. Both Harji and Ekoji who had become independent had to be subdued and their dominions protected from the Mughals. With this end in view Sambhaji sent in 1687 a strong force of 12,000 horse to the south under the command of Keshav Pingle and Santaji Ghorpade. Keshav Pingle was, it would seem, directed to depose Harji and declare himself as the governor of Gingee (Senji). Aurangzib, the Mughal Emperor, got not a little alarmed at this and sent equally strong forces under Qasim Khan to Bangalore and under Asad Khan to the south-east. Qasim Khan captured Bangalore and Asad Khan conquered the whole country from Ganjam to Poonamallee. Keshav Pingle not only failed to prevent the fall of Bangalore but also incurred the hostility of Harji. Harji refused to surrender Gingee (Senji) to him and single-handed arrested the south-eastern march of the Mughals. And, as soon as the news arrived in 1689 that Sambhaji had been captured by the Mughals, he imprisoned Keshav Pingle and made rapid preparations to meet the Mughal danger. But as ill-luck would have it, he suddenly died at

¹ *A History of Gingee and its Rulers* by C. S. Srinivasachari, 1943, pages 210—237.

² *Idem*, pages 237—238.

³ *Maratha Rule in the Carnatic*, by C. K. Srinivasan, 1945, pages 281—286.

Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francois, Vol. I, 1906, pages 39—40.

this critical time, leaving the administration in the hands of his wife Ambika Bai ¹

Meanwhile affairs were going from bad to worse in the very heart of the Maratha empire. The capture of Sambhaji and the growing power of Aurangzib compelled the Maratha leaders to sink all their differences and to take some common course of action. The leaders met at Raigad. Yesu Bai, the wife of Sambhaji, was there with her young son Sivaji. There also were Rajaram, Sambhaji's brother, and several distinguished leaders like Santaji Ghorpade, Dhanaji Jadav, Kande Rao Dabhade, Prahlad Niraji, Khando Ballal Chaitnis, Ramachandra Nilakantha Bhavdekar and the illustrious Brahmin minister, Janardhan Hanumante. And there they all resolved that, at all costs Yesu Bai and Sivaji should be protected and that for this purpose all forts should be instantly garrisoned with disciplined troops and the main army reinforced by contingents drawn from Gingee (Senji). But when the Mughal pressure increased on Raigad, and it became clear that Rajaram could no longer maintain it, the leaders thought it advisable to send him to Gingee (Senji) in order to convert Gingee (Senji) into a redoubtable Maratha stronghold. It may be mentioned that, as soon as Rajaram left for Gingee (Senji), Raigad and with it Yesu Bai and Sivaji, fell into the hands of the Mughals ².

After many an adventure and hair-breadth escape, Rajaram arrived at Gingee (Senji) with some of the Maratha leaders towards the close of 1689. He forthwith took over the government of the country from Harji's widow and formed an Ashtapradhan consisting of Nilo Moro Pingle as Peshwa, Janardhan Hanumante as Amatya (Finance Minister), Shankar Malhar Nargundkar as Sachiv (Accountant), Shamji Rao Punde as Mantri (Home Member), Mahadhaji Gadadhar as Sumant (Foreign Minister), Srikaracharya Kalkankar as Pandit Rao, Niraji Ranji as Nyayadish (Chief Justice) and Santaji Ghorpade as Senapathi (Commander-in-chief). Above this Ashtapradhan he appointed Prahlad Niraji to the high post of Prathinidhi. Some say that he actually became a tool in the hands of the Prathinidhi ³.

Whatever it is, Rajaram did not fail to organize an effective opposition to Aurangzib. Time was pressing and money was becoming essential. Aurangzib could not be expected to sit idle; nor could the coffers of Gingee (Senji) be expected to meet the growing demands of the army. Rajaram therefore not only levied chaauth and sardeshmuki but also revived what is called the saranjami system by which he promised to grant to his sirdars as jagirs

¹ *Maratha Rule in the Carnatic* by C. K. Srinivasan, 1945, pages 186—191.

A History of Gingee and its Rulers by C. S. Srinivasachari, 1943, pages 245—252.

² *Maratha Rule in the Carnatic* by C. K. Srinivasan, 1945, page, 191—193.

A History of Gingee and its Rulers by C. S. Srinivasachari, 1943, pages 253—256.

³ *Maratha Rule in the Carnatic* by C. K. Srinivasan, 1945, pages 192—194.

all the territories that they might conquer from the Mughals. This system was no doubt pernicious; but it was justified by the stern necessity of the State. Nor was this all. He organised a guerilla warfare which took the Mughals by surprise, now here, now there, but always at a disadvantage everywhere. And he demanded exactions from the English, the French as well as the Dutch, who had factories within his kingdom and offered for sale to the highest bidder the Fort of Devanapatnam (Fort St. David). He wanted 2,00,000 chakrams for the fort; the English, who were anxious to obtain it, however, after some negotiations, procured it for 51,500 chakrams in 1690. The credit for acquiring this settlement at such a moderate sum belongs to Elihu Yale, who was then the Governor of Fort St. George¹.

And now came the final contest with the Mughals. In 1691 Aurangzib sent one of his ablest Generals, Zulfiyar Khan, with a large army against Gingee (Senji) and, when Rajaram harassed him and cut off his supplies, despatched a reinforcement under Asad Khan (Zulfiyar's father), the Wazir, and Prince Kam Bhaksh. This did not, however, improve matters. Zulfiyar spent the whole year in collecting tributes from Tanjore and Madurai and in reducing Tiruvannamalai. In 1692 he made some preparations for an attack on Gingee (Senji) but these preparations were foiled by the arrival of the Maratha reinforcement under Dhanaji Jadav and Santaji Ghorpade and by the reasonable negotiations carried on by Prince Kam Bhaksh with Rajaram. Zulfiyar Khan and Asad Khan had not only to keep a strict watch over the prince but also to collect the necessary supplies for the army from Wandiwash and other places, amidst the continual raids of the Marathas. In 1693 Aurangzib recalled Asad Khan and Prince Kam Bhaksh, while Zulfiyar wasted time in making alliances with the petty chieftains of the country. In 1694 Zulfiyar showed some energy, captured Perumukkal, a fort near Tindivanam, but again diverted his course, marched to Tanjore and forced Shahji, its ruler, to pay tribute and to cede some forts. In 1695 he spent most of his time in besieging Vellore unsuccessfully and in beating off the Maratha forces under Dhanaji. In 1696 he achieved very little because of financial difficulties; he, however, succeeded in defeating Santaji at Arni. In 1697 his prospects became better; he collected tributes from the ruler of Tanjore and other chieftains and received overtures from Rajaram. He, however, refused to consider the peace terms offered by Rajaram and asked him to send them to the Emperor. Aurangzib promptly turned them down and directed Zulfiyar "to capture Gingee (Senji) without delay" Fearing possibly the wrath of

¹ *Maratha Rule in the Carnatic* by C. K. Srinivasan, 1945, pages 195-199.

A History of Gingee and its Rulers by C. S. Srinivasachari, 1943, pages 285-286.

Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906 pages 41-44.

Aurangzib, Zulfikar began his attack on Gingee (Senji) in November 1697 and captured it in January 1698. But he allowed Rajaram to escape and by this act, as well as by his protracted operations before Gingee (Senji), gave room for suspicion that he was all the time hardly in earnest in carrying out the behests of his master¹.

South Arcot, or the Gingee (Senji) country, now passed under the rule of the Mughals. For a couple of years (1698-1700) it was ruled by the Muslim governors appointed by Zulfikar Khan. But in 1700, Zulfikar Khan, under the orders of Aurangzib, appointed Sarup Singh, a Bundela chieftain, as the killedar (governor) of Gingee (Senji) and Daud Khan, one of his generals as the foudjar or Nawab of the Carnatic. Daud Khan established his headquarters at Arcot and was in 1710 succeeded by Sadat-ullah Khan².

There is evidence to show that Sarup Singh's rule extended over the whole of South Arcot. There is also evidence to show that he farmed out the district to several renters and collected from them—there can be no doubt, at the expense of the ryots no less than 12 lakhs of pagodas per year. But in spite of his large income he showed no disposition to remit any tribute to the Emperor. On Aurangzib's death he actually became independent. During the reigns of Bahadur Shah and Farrukh Siyar, he turned a deaf ear to the repeated requests of the Nawab of Arcot to pay up the arrears of his tribute which amounted to 70 lakhs of rupees. He also came into clash with the English at Fort St. David. The Deputy Governor of that settlement having refused to make good the surety of some of the renters of the Gingee (Senji) country, he captured two English Officers of the garrison and kept them in confinement in the Gingee (Senji) Fort. And, when a new Deputy Governor, Robert Raworth, was sent from Madras with ships and reinforcements under Captain Roach, he attacked Fort St. David and gave the English a good deal of trouble. It was not till 1712 that he agreed at the intercession of Hebert, the French Governor of Pondicherry (Puducherry) to cease hostilities against the English and to release the prisoners from Gingee (Senji). He was, indeed, as the English described him, 'a potent prince' who would not tolerate any interference. He died in 1713³.

¹ *Maratha Rule in the Carnatic* by C. K. Srinivasan, 1945, pages 199-220.

² *A History of Gingee and its Rulers* by C. S. Srinivasachari, 1943, pages 286-347.

Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 37.

³ *A History of Gingee and its Rulers* by C. S. Srinivasachari, 1943, pages 348-354.

⁴ *Idem*, 356-409.

Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 44-49.

He was succeeded by his son Desing (Tej Singh), a young man, whose daring deeds have been chronicled in a popular ballad still current in the Tamil country. Desing was cajoled, coaxed, and even threatened by Sadat-ullah Khan to pay up the arrears of tribute and to obtain a fresh firman from the new Emperor. But he refused to do either and, when the Nawab sent an officer to depose him, he treated him with contempt. Even when the Nawab himself came with a large army to subdue him, he, with a handful of his followers and a trusted Muslim comrade, put up a heroic resistance, until at last by sheer force of numbers he was borne down and killed in action. His lofty independence, but utter disregard for danger, his undaunted courage and his affection for his comrade,—all these have won for him a local reputation¹.

The district now fell again into the hands of Muslim governors appointed by the Nawab of Arcot. These governors were colourless individuals who remained subservient to the Nawab but did nothing for the proper administration of the country. They gave away large jagirs and under their rule the country suffered not a little from rebellions and disturbances. Sadat-ullah Khan remained in Gingee (Senji) for about four years (1714-1718) and then, on account of its unhealthy climate shifted his headquarters back to Arcot.

We now come to a period in which the history of the district gets entangled in the history of the rivalries between the Nawabs and the Nizams as well as the English and the French. And, in order to describe the former it becomes necessary to depict the latter, at least in a bold outline.

Sadat-ullah Khan aimed at the retention of the government of the Carnatic in his own family and, having no children, adopted a nephew named Dost Ali and nominated him his successor after obtaining the private consent of the Mughal Emperor but omitting to secure at the same time the consent of his immediate superior, Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Subedar of the Deccan. Dost Ali, who thus succeeded him in 1733, had two sons, Safdar Ali and Hasan Ali and several daughters. One of these daughters was married to Chanda Saheb, a daring adventurer, and another to Murtaz Ali, a crafty politician, both kinsmen of the Nawab. In 1736, on the death of the Raja of Tiruchirappalli, Chanda Saheb seized the place from the widowed Rani. In 1740, the Marathas, instigated by the Nizam, overran the Carnatic and routed and killed Dost Ali and his younger son, Hasan Ali. Safdar Ali then immediately proclaimed himself as the Nawab, bought off the Marathas and induced them to attack Tiruchirappalli where Chanda Saheb had become independent. In 1741 Tiruchirappalli surrendered to the

¹ *A History of Gingee and its Rulers* by C. S. Srinivasachari, 1943, pages 410-436.

² *Idem*, pages 437-440.

Marathas and Chanda Saheb, upon his failing to pay the ransom was taken prisoner to Satara ¹.

The disappearance of Chanda Saheb from the scene no doubt strengthened the hands of Safdar Ali but he still felt his position insecure since Nizam-ul-Mulk refused to appoint him as the Nawab. He therefore took his family to Madras for protection and the Governor and Council of Fort St. George hired houses for him in the Black Town and gave him a suitable reception. His family remained at Madras as the guests of the Company, but he himself soon proceeded to the fort of Vellore where Murtaz Ali was killedar. Murtaz Ali gave him a warm reception, but suddenly assassinated him (October 1742) and proclaimed himself as the Nawab. The army, however, obliged Murtaz Ali to fly and proclaimed Saheb Jedda, Safdar Ali's son, as the Nawab under the name of Muhammad Said. Word was forthwith sent to Madras where the boy's elevation was announced with due ceremony ².

In 1743 Nizam-ul-Mulk arrived at Arcot and, when the young Nawab visited him, promptly made him a prisoner. He promised to consider his claim when he reached man's estate and in the meantime appointed Kwaja Abdulla Khan as the Nawab, and, when the latter suddenly died, Anwar-ud-Din Khan as the Nawab and, it is said, specially recommended the boy to his care. But Murtaz Ali lost no time in securing the assassination of the boy and it was rumoured that Anwar-ud-Din himself had connived at it. Anwar-ud-Din then continued to rule unchallenged as the Nawab ³.

Close upon this, there came the news of the declaration of war between France and England (1744). The French and the English now completely shed their commercial character and began to take an active part in the politics of the south. Indeed, their rivalries inevitably compelled them to seek the aid of the Indian powers, to make alliances and counter-alliances and to plunge the whole country into wars. South Arcot, containing as it did, both the French and the English Settlements, naturally became the theatre of a great deal of fighting.

Hostilities commenced in 1745 when an English fleet under Commodore Barnet appeared in the Indian waters and began to harass the French merchantmen. Dupleix, who was soon to become formidable, was then the French Governor of Pondicherry (Puducherry). He was, however, at the moment unprepared for any attacks by land and so, he induced the Nawab of Arcot to

¹ *Studies in Madras Administration* by B. S. Baliga, Vol. I, 1949, Page 262.
Diary and Consultation Book, 1733 (Printed), page 13.

Idem, 1740 (Printed), page 83.

Idem, 1741 (Printed), page 59.

² *Studies in Madras Administration* by B. S. Baliga, Vol. I, 1949, page 263.
Diary and Consultation Book, 1742 (Printed), pages 148, 161 and 208.

³ *Studies in Madras Administration* by B. S. Baliga, Vol. I, 1949, pages 262-263.

Diary and Consultation Book 1744 (Printed), pages 81 and 136.

forbid hostilities by land by the English against the French¹. But he himself did not fail to commence hostilities by land as soon as a French fleet with reinforcements arrived from France under Labourdonnais. For the moment the English fleet (now under Commodore Peyton) sailed away to Bengal after two indecisive actions with the French fleet, he commanded Labourdonnais to attack Madras. Madras yielded almost without a blow and the English Governor and Council were carried off to Pondicherry (Puducherry)². Fort St. David now became the capital of the English possessions on the Coromandel coast and entered upon an eventful career.

This Fort was at this time far from being a place of strength. In 1725 a bastion had been erected on its eastern face; in 1739 a powder magazine had been built on the island lying between the Fort and Cuddalore (Gudalur) Old Town; in 1740 some repairs had been made to its defences; and in 1745 the south-west bastion had been reconstructed, the ditch on the west side had been cut and a faussebray had been built. But these constructions and repairs had by no means rendered it strong enough to withstand a vigorous attack³. And yet the time had now arrived for it to face French attacks.

For, having captured Madras, Dupleix set himself to capture Fort St. David, the only refuge of the English on the Coromandel coast. He had by now quarrelled with Labourdonnais and the latter had sailed away with his fleet, but he still had numerous land forces and with these he bent his energies to reduce the Fort. His first attempt on it was made in the beginning of December 1746 when he sent Bury with a strong force against it. This attack would have succeeded but for the sudden arrival of a large army of the Nawab of Arcot on the scene. His second attack was made in the same month when he tried to surprise Cuddalore (Gudalur) from the sea. This was foiled by a storm which sent his ships back to Pondicherry (Puducherry). His third attack was made in March 1747 under the most propitious circumstances. By this time the Nawab had joined him as an ally, the English fleet had sailed away to Bengal and his senior officers had been persuaded to permit Paradis, a junior but able officer, to command the forces. He felt that success was certain but, once again, the fates deceived him. The English fleet unexpectedly made its appearance and Paradis, who had actually entered the bounds of Fort St. David, was compelled to withdraw his forces. His fourth and last attack was made in June 1748 when the English fleet was away in Madras;

¹ *A Manual of the South Arcot District* by J. H. Garstin, Part I, 1878, pages 61.

² *Idem*, pages 61-62.

Dupleix and Olive by H. Dodwell, 1920, pages 1-19.

³ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 51-52.

A Manual of the South Arcot District by J. H. Garstin, Part I, 1878, pages 63-65.

but this was repelled by Major Lawrence, a veteran English commander, who with cannon and musketry sent the French troops flying to Pondicherry (Puducherri) ¹

Soon afterwards the English began to retaliate, but with no better success. On the arrival of a strong fleet under Admiral Boscawen at Fort St. David (August 1748) they set to work at once to besiege Pondicherry (Puducherri). Major Lawrence was full of hopes. But a series of mistakes were committed from the very beginning. The army which marched out under Boscawen was too small to make any impression; its engineers lacked practical experience; its time was wasted in capturing an insignificant fort on the banks of Ariyankuppam; and when, at last, it came near Pondicherry (Puducherri) its position became desperate, what with the approach of the monsoon and the failure of the artillery to make itself felt. Boscawen accordingly raised the siege, bombarded Pondicherry (Puducherri) from the sea and returned to Fort St. David ².

A couple of months later (October 1748) news arrived of the peace made by the English and the French by the provisional treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle and, a little later, in accordance with the terms of this treaty, Madras was handed back to the English. The relative position of the English and the French in India now became much the same as they had been before the war broke out. The peace prevented either of them from attacking the possessions of the other ³, but it did not by any means prevent them from fighting with each other by taking the sides of their Indian allies. It would appear that their appetite for political power now drove them on unrestrained by any other considerations.

This is what happened. In 1784 Nizam-ul-Mulk died and the succession was claimed both by his son, Nazir Jang, and by his grandson, Muzaffar Jang. Muzaffar Jang, being too weak to press his claims without assistance, allied himself with Chanda Saheb who had lately been released by the Marathas at the intercession of Dupleix. He promised Chanda Saheb that, if he were successful, he would appoint him as the Nawab of Arcot, a position which Chanda Saheb greatly coveted. The two adventurers then invoked and obtained the aid of Dupleix, attacked Anwar-ud-Din, and, in the battle of Ambur, defeated and killed him. Muzaffar Jang assumed now the title of the Subedar of the Deccan and made Chanda Saheb, as he had promised, the Nawab of Arcot. They showered all sorts of rewards on Dupleix for the invaluable assistance he had rendered them and, for a time, Dupleix

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 52-56.

² *Dupleix and Olive* by H. Dodwell, 1920, pages 28-29.

Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 57.

became supreme not only in their councils but also in the Carnatic. Muhammad Ali, the son of Anwar-ud-Din took to flight, entrenched himself at Tiruchirappalli and frantically appealed to the English for assistance. The English then lost no time in espousing his cause as well as that of Nazir Jang. They sent troops to the aid of both but, for a time, these troops achieved nothing¹.

The wheel of fortune, however, now swiftly changed its position. Nazir Jang appeared with a large army at Valudavur near Pondicherry (Puducherry) and, with Lawrence's help, defeated Muzaffar Jang and the French. He then put Muzaffar Jang in irons, declared himself as the Subedar of the Deccan and appointed the English protege, Muhammad Ali, as the Nawab of Arcot². This made the English occupy (in 1750) the same position in the Carnatic which the French occupied a short while ago.

But Dupleix was not disheartened. He took the fortified temple at Tiruvadi near Panruti and, when Muhammad Ali marched to avenge his loss, drove him back to Arcot. Bussy, his ablest officer, captured, after a brilliant action, the almost impregnable fortress of Gingee (Senji) and when Nazir Jang marched to recover it, Dupleix plotted with his Pathan Nawabs and defeated and killed him in a battle which took place in North Arcot, some sixteen miles from Gingee (Senji). Muzaffar Jang became once more the Subedar of the Deccan, Chanda Saheb, the Nawab of Arcot and Dupleix, the dictator of the Carnatic. Muhammad Ali once more fled to Tiruchirappalli and appealed to the English for assistance. Muzaffar Jang, however, soon fell by the same treachery that had raised him; he was killed by one of the Pathan nobles on his return march to the Deccan. But by this incident, the French by no means lost their prestige. For, upon his death, Bussy who was on the spot, immediately proclaimed Salabat Jang as the Subedar and Dupleix not only acclaimed him as such but hastened to send troops to Tiruchirappalli to remove the only remaining obstacle to French domination in the south³.

¹ *Studies in Madras Administration* by B. S. Baliga, Vol. I, 1949, page 268.

Despatches to England: Despatch, dated 7th October 1746 (Printed), page 3; Despatch, dated 2nd May 1747 (Printed), page 13; Despatch, dated 2nd November 1749 (Printed), pages 133-134.

Dupleix and Clive by H. Dodwell, 1920, pages 31-45.

Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 58.

² *Dupleix and Clive* by H. Dodwell, 1920, pages 46-50.

Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 58.

A Manual of the South Arcot District by J. H. Garstin, Part I, 1878, pages 82-84.

³ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 58-59.

A Manual of the South Arcot District by J. H. Garstin, Part I, 1878, pages 84-89.

The major events which then followed, the protracted siege of Tiruchirappalli, the taking of Arcot and its memorable defence by Clive, the conquests of the English in other parts of the country and, finally, the capture and death of Chanda Saheb, all these belong rather to the history of the other districts than to the history of South Arcot. Some minor events, however, occurred in South Arcot and these may be recorded. In 1752, the seat of the English Government was transferred from Fort St. David to Madras. Soon afterwards, the Madras authorities, at the instigation of Muhammad Ali but against the advice of Lawrence, resolved to send Major Kinneer with a force to besiege Gingee (Senji). Kinneer found the attack out of the question and, as he was withdrawing, met a body of French troops, engaged them, suffered much loss and, being wounded, retired in haste. Lawrence, however, quickly redeemed this misfortune. He proceeded from Madras to South Arcot, took the French by surprise and inflicted a severe defeat upon them at Bahur (1752). But he could not pursue his success further; he camped for a while at Tiruvadi where the French and their allies, the Marathas, harassed him, and early in January moved to Tiruchirappalli where the fighting was still being renewed by the French¹.

In August 1754 Dupleix, the only man who had done much and who would have done more to bring renown to France, was recalled by the Directors of the French East India Company. His successor, Golden, arranged with the English a cessation of hostilities for eighteen months. But in 1756 war broke out again between England and France and the French now despatched a strong fleet under D'Ache and reinforcements under Lally, a military officer of no small reputation².

Before this fleet arrived, neither the French nor the English showed any inclination to renew the hostilities on any large scale. D'Arcy, the French Governor, had been forced to send reinforcements to Bussy in the Deccan (May 1756); and Pigot had already sent Clive on an expedition to Bengal (October 1756). The result was, neither Pondicherry (Puducherry) nor Madras was properly garrisoned³. But, all the same, hostilities on a small scale were begun and D'Auteuil, one of Dupleix's ablest officers, captured Elavanasur. But, when the fleet arrived, the French immediately began their operations on an extensive scale. They took Tiruvannamalai and other neighbouring forts, threatened Tiyaga Drug and, what is more, attacked Fort St. David, in spite of the fact that their fleet was defeated by the English fleet (under Pocock) in an action off Nagapattinam. Fort St. David had, by this time, been strengthened by numerous outworks. Lally, however, carried the outworks by storm (17th May 1758) and breached the

¹ *Dupleix and Clive* by H. Dodwell, 1920, pages 68-69.

² *Gazetteer of the Tanjore District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 60-61.

³ *Dupleix and Clive* by H. Dodwell, 1920, pages 152-159.

batteries and captured the fort on 2nd June 1858. Could he have followed up this success at once, he would probably have taken Madras as well. But, he delayed matters firstly because of his financial difficulties and secondly because of his fear of Pocock's squadron which lay between Madras and Pondicherry (Puducherry), and which D'Ache refused to engage. He therefore wasted time in a campaign in Tanjore and when at last he began his operations against Madras, he found that settlement ready to withstand his siege. Colonel Draper, the English Commander, put up a stiff resistance, and although he lost Major Polier in a sortie, his resourcefulness as well as the arrival of reinforcements from Bombay compelled Lally to raise the siege and return to Pondicherry (Puducherry). In the same year, however, the French captured Tiyyaga Drug¹.

Events then moved quickly. In January 1760 Sir Eyre Coote won a decisive victory over the French at Wandiwash and followed it up by capturing the outlying French strongholds. Tiruvannamalai, Perumukkal, Chidambaram, Vriddhachalam, Cuddalore (Gudalur), and other lesser places fell one after the other into his hands. He then captured Villianur, took the fort of Ariankappam and blockaded and besieged Pondicherry (June 1760). As months advanced, Lally's position became more and more desperate; the lack of money and provisions became acute. For a time, the scattering of the English squadron by a tempest brought in a ray of hope to Lally; but very soon the squadron reappeared and Coote pressed his siege with vigour. Dogs, cats and other animals were devoured by the besieged and not even a crow was left, until at last, on 15th January 1761, Pondicherry (Puducherry) surrendered at discretion to Coote. Soon afterwards Tiyyaga Drug and Gingee (Senji) also surrendered to the English².

The fall of Pondicherry (Puducherry) put an end to the hopes of reviving the French supremacy in the Carnatic. Its fortifications were destroyed and its importance reduced to nothing. It was again restored to the French in 1765 in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Paris of 1763 which terminated the Anglo-French wars. But, on the outbreak of the war once more, it was taken in 1778 by Sir Hector Munro and its fortifications were again destroyed.

The next event of importance in South Arcot was the invasion of Hyder Ali in 1780. He advanced through the Chengam Pass near Tiruvannamalai, drove the English back to Madras and, moving southwards, attacked Perumukkal (though unsuccessfully), advanced towards Cuddalore (Gudalur) and took Tiyyaga Drug. Coote followed him, took Tiruvadi, made an unsuccessful attack on

¹ *Dupleix and Clive* by H. Dodwell, 1920, pages 160-174.

Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 61-68.

² *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 68-69.

Dupleix and Clive by H. Dodwell, 1920, pages 183-189.

A Manual of the South Arcot District by J. H. Garstin, 1878, pages 131-145.

Chidambaram, and then returned to Porto Novo (Parangipettai) where he fought a decisive battle with Hyder and defeated him and forced him to withdraw from the Carnatic

In 1782 the French, who were now at war with the English, came to an understanding with Hyder and agreed to take Cuddalore (Gudalur) and make it into a French possession. Towards the end of March, Tipu Sultan, Hyder's son, moved with a body of troops within a few miles of the town and, in conjunction with a strong French force, invested and captured it. In April 1783 Bussy, who had returned in his old age as the Governor of the French Possessions East of the Cape of Good Hope, arrived with troops at Cuddalore (Gudalur) by sea, and shortly afterwards General Stuart marched from Madras, took Perumukkal and besieged Cuddalore (Gudalur). A severe fighting ensued and he would have been eventually compelled to raise the siege; but just then, on 30th June, news having arrived that peace had been declared between the French and the English, hostilities were terminated and Cuddalore (Gudalur) was restored to the English and Pondicherry to the French².

In 1790 war broke out with Tipu who, after the death of Hyder in 1782, had become the ruler of Mysore. Tipu passed from Tiruchirappalli to Tiyyaga Drug and, although he failed to take it, proceeded further, captured Tiruvannamalai and took Perumukkal. At this point he was hemmed in by the English forces and compelled to hurry off into his own territories. In 1793 when war was again declared between England and France, Pondicherry (Puducherry) was besieged and taken by Colonel Braithwaite and its fortifications were again destroyed. Meanwhile the third Mysore War broke out and ended in 1799 with the fall of Seringapatam and the death of Tipu³.

During all these years, during almost the whole period of the rule of Mohammad Ali, the Nawab of the Carnatic (1748-1795), South Arcot was administered by the managers appointed by him. Under one of these managers, Rayoji, a survey and settlement was conducted and the ryots were made to pay their revenue directly to the Government. But, as this system was said to be unsatisfactory, possibly because it did not bring in much revenue, the Nawab, in 1774, rented the whole of the district to Rayoji, for the enormous sum of 13½ lakhs of pagodas and Rayoji appointed under him five sub-renters who squeezed all that they could out of the ryots. The ryots of each village, it would seem, were held responsible for the assessment fixed on the village. This went on till 1780 when Hyder's invasion reduced the already impoverished

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 69.

² *Idem*, page 69-72.

³ *Idem*, page 72.

country to utter ruin. Most of the ryots then fled from their lands and whole villages became deserted. Soon afterwards for short periods, 1781 to 1785 and 1792 to 1799, the district came to be administered by English officers, having been, along with the other districts, (as will be shown shortly), assigned to the Company for the payment of the Nawab's debts. But the English during these periods found it difficult to do anything to improve it on account of the opposition of the Nawab's officers. We have no information to show how justice was administered or how the other branches of administration were carried on during the Nawab's rule.

Shortly afterwards, however, this rule came to an end; and in order to understand how this happened it is necessary to review briefly the relations between the Nawab and the English during the second half of the eighteenth century. During this period, the succession of dangers to which the Nawab came to be exposed by the Anglo-French rivalries, the quarrels of the Nizams, the incursions of the Marathas and the invasions of Hyder and Tipu, made him more and more dependent on the English, financially as well as politically. And at every opportunity the English more and more tightened their hold upon him until, at last, he became altogether helpless. In 1763 Muhammad Ali was acknowledged as the Nawab of the Carnatic by the English and the French alike by the Treaty of Paris. In 1765 he was confirmed as the Nawab by a firman from the Emperor of Delhi and given the title of 'Wallajah'. By this time, however, supremacy in the south had virtually passed into the hands of the English. They now began to dictate to him, knowing full well that they could do so with impunity, not only because of his growing debts to them but also because of their unquestioned dominance in the South². In 1763, in consideration of his large debts to the Company—for he owed them then not less than 14 lakhs of pagodas for the military assistance rendered him—they induced him to grant to the Company, the Jagir (Chingleput district). From then onwards they began to interfere again and again in his administration, on the ground that, unless he set his house in order, he could not be expected to pay off his remaining debts. He became truculent, sent an agent (Macpherson) to England to seek the King's protection against the Company, succeeded in getting in Madras first, Sir John Lindsay and then Sir Robert Harland, two British envoys, to look after his interests; succeeded also in compelling the Madras Council to launch an expedition against Tanjore (1771-1773) and, by large sums of money which he owed to the members of the Council and other English officers, succeeded likewise in compelling them to confine even their Governor, Lord Pigot, who stood against him.³

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 202-204.

² *Studies in Madras Administration* by B. S. Baliga, Vol. I, 1949, page 264. See. e.g. Military Despatches from England of Vol. 3, page 162.

³ For more details see *Studies in Madras Administration* by B. S. Baliga, Vol. I, 1949, pages 264-265.

But his success was shortlived. The invasion of Hyder and Tipu made him once more an abject dependent on the English. The English now tried to force him, in 1781, into an agreement by which he was to make over all the revenues of the Carnatic to the Company and to associate, with his own agents, English officials in the management of his districts. He was of course to be assigned a moiety of the revenues to enable him to meet the private and public demands upon him¹. Within a few months, an agreement was forced upon him by Lord Macartney, the Governor, by which his territories were to be made over to the Company to be directly administered by them for a period of five years, he being entitled to receive only 1/6th of the total revenue annually for his personal maintenance (December 1781).² When this agreement expired, and the Carnatic was again restored to him, negotiations with him were once more re-opened which ended in the treaties of 1785,³ 1787⁴ and 1792.⁵ By the treaty of 1792, he agreed, so long as the war lasted, to absolutely surrender the civil administration of the whole of his territories to the Company, to receive 1/5th of the revenues annually as an allowance and to pay off annually 22 lakhs of rupees for the liquidation of his private debts.

On the death of Muhammad Ali (1795), Lord Hobart, the Governor, finding this arrangement also unsatisfactory, proposed to Umdat-ul-Umrah, the eldest son of Muhammad Ali, the following modifications; the entire surrender to the Company of those districts in the Carnatic which the Nawab had temporarily assigned to the Company in lieu of the money payments due for the maintenance of the Company's troops and the cession of the right of sovereignty over the poligar chiefs, which right the Nawab had virtually already ceded by the surrender of the poligar tribute to the Company.⁶ But Umdat-ul-Umrah refused to accept these terms.⁷ It was in vain that Sir John Shore, the Governor-General, reiterated these proposals.

It was at this juncture that the capture of Seringapatam took place and Lord Wellesley, the new Governor-General, and the real architect of the British Empire, made the discovery of a secret correspondence carried on by the Nawab Wallajah and Umdat-ul-Umrah with Tipu. He must have hailed this discovery as a godsend. Now, one of the articles of the Treaty of 1792 was that the Nawab should not enter into any correspondence with any

¹ For more details, see *Studies in Madras Administration* by B. S. Baliga, Vol. I, 1949, pages 265-266.

² *Idem*, page 266.

Aitchison's Treaties, 4th Edition, pages 35-36.

³ *Idem*, pages 36-40.

⁴ *Idem*, pages 41-47.

⁵ *Idem*, pages 48-56.

⁶ *Military Consultations* Vol. 199, pages 3440 and 3747.

⁷ *Secret Consultations* Nos. 3-4, dated 12th December 1843—See paragraph 45 of the Report.

European or Indian power without the concurrence of the Company. The correspondence therefore was carried on, he said, clearly in violation of the terms of the treaty. And as the correspondence showed that the Nawab could not be trusted, and as his past actions justified that he could not be relied upon to administer his country properly and to pay off his large debts to the Company, Wellesley resolved to assume the government of the Carnatic and to make suitable provision for the Nawab and his family¹

Meanwhile, Umdat-ul-Umrah died in July 1801 and Wellesley insisted that his son, Ali Hussain (or Tajeel Umrah), could ascend the musnad only on the conditions mentioned above and, when Ali Hussain refused to accept the condition, Lord Clive, the Governor, lost no time in entering into an agreement on those conditions with Azeem-ud-Dowlah, son of Ameer-ul-Umrah, the second son of Nawab Wallajah. By this treaty of 21st July 1801 Azeem-ud-Dowlah was recognized as the Nawab and became entitled to the rank and dignity of his ancestors, the former Nawabs of the Carnatic. He agreed to vest the Company with the sole and conclusive administration of the civil and military government of the Carnatic and with all the revenues thereof. He also agreed to certain terms regarding the debts, while the Company agreed to make suitable provision for his maintenance and for the maintenance of his relations². It was thus that South Arcot and the other districts of the Carnatic came under the British Government.

From this time onwards the district had no political history till the advent of the agitation for political freedom.

सत्यमेव जयते

¹ *Studies in Madras Administration* by B. S. Baliga, Vol. I, 1949, page 287
Wellesley's Despatches by Martin, Vol II, page 517.

² Secret Despatches to England; Despatch, dated 1st October 1801, paragraph 10.

Aitchison's Treaties, 4th Edition, pages, 57-64.

CHAPTER IV.

NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE.

Political agitation in South Arcot began with the rise of the Home Rule, the Non-Co-operation and the Khilafat Movements. These movements, coming, as they did, in the wake of the commotions caused by the First World War, and inspired, as they were, by outstanding national leaders, created everywhere in the whole State, a political consciousness which speedily became powerful.

The Home Rule Movement, which agitated Madras between 1915 and 1918, had for its objects, swadeshi, boycott of foreign goods, temperance, national education, labour welfare and home rule (responsible Government),—objects similar in essence to those preached by the Indian National Congress since 1885.¹ Under the inspiring zeal of Mrs. (Dr.) Annie Besant, and the untiring efforts of her colleagues like Mr. Arundale, Sri Wadia and Sri Subramania Ayyar, it captured the imagination of many intellectuals, young and old alike, and spread its ideals far and wide through its newspaper, the "New India", through its numerous pamphlets and through the various branches of the Theosophical Lodges scattered in the State. It resulted in speeches, processions and strikes and gave an immense amount of trouble to the Government. The Government endeavoured to repress this "red-hot agitation for Home Rule", by the Press Act and the Defence of India Rules.² But it was of no use; the more the movement was sought to be repressed, the more it gained momentum. Home Rule meetings were held in many districts and Mrs. Besant herself came to South Arcot to attend the Madras Provincial Conference held at Cuddalore (Gudalur) on 9th May 1917 and the succeeding days and carried on an effective propaganda for Home Rule. This conference which was, however, actually convened by the Congress, was presided over by Sri V. P. Madhav Rao, the ex-Dewan of Travancore, Mysore and Baroda. And his violent attack upon "the Bureaucratic Government" was warmly applauded by "The Hindu" and the "New India", which praised him as the

¹ For an account of the latter see the Histories of the Non-Co-operation and Khilafat Movements by P.C. Bamford (Confidential).

² See the Secret Files on Mrs. Besant and the Home Rule.

Also Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), dated 29th September 1915.

Idem, 18th December 1915.

Idem, 19th August 1916.

Idem, 16th September 1916.

Idem, 31st October 1916.

Idem, 17th November 1916.

Idem, 17th March 1917.

Idem, 1st May 1917.

"doughty champion" of immediate "Self Government" or Home Rule.¹

The Home Rule Movement soon merged itself into the Non-Co-operation and the Khilafat Movements—movements which took the whole country by storm and gave a permanent character to nationalism. It is not pertinent here to trace their origin and development. Suffice it to state that the ideal of nationalism inculcated by the Indian National Congress since 1885 received a tremendous fillip during the First Great War, owing to various causes. The arrival of Gandhiji from South Africa after his successful prosecution of the Satyagraha Campaign (1915), the capture of the Congress by the extremists at its Lucknow Session (1916), the declaration of war by England and her Allies against Turkey (1914), the endangering thereby of the suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey, the Khaura (hence the Khilafat), the occupation of the holy places of the Muslims in Asia Minor and Arabia by the Allies and the enemies of the Khalifa, and finally the passing of what is known as the Rowlatt Bills (1919) which armed the Government with powers of arrest and detention without trial of persons suspected of anti-Government activities—all these combined to draw the Hindus and the Muslims, the Congress and the Muslim League together and enabled leaders like Gandhiji, Sri Shaukat Ali and Sri Muhammad Ali to start the nation-wide Non-Co-operation and Khilafat agitation.

In February 1919, Gandhiji who had by now become the unquestioned leader of the Hindus as well as the Muslims, launched the famous Satyagraha Campaign, as a result of which, non-co-operation with the Government and passive resistance to the Government were preached everywhere with unprecedented vigour. Shortly afterwards he came down on a propaganda tour to the south and delivered a series of speeches. In these speeches he emphasized that civil disobedience signified the force of truth or the force of the soul, that its acceptance involved the rejection of all physical violence, and that in view of the passing of the Rowlatt Acts all people who worked for Swaraj should make it a point to observe 6th April as a day of fast, hartal and peaceful meetings. His advice was followed in South Arcot, as well as in other districts.² He visited South Arcot in September 1921, by which time the Non-Co-operation Movement was in full swing in the whole State.

The first phase of the movement commenced in South Arcot in 1919-1920, with the convening of meetings at several important places for the purposes of delivering speeches on swaraj, temperance, and boycott of foreign goods. Thus in July 1920, a Congress

¹ *Fortnightly Report* (Confidential), dated 17th May 1917.

² G. O. No. 222, Public (Confidential), dated 24th April 1919—See also Newspaper cuttings.

meeting was held at Villupuram at which Sri S. Satyanmurti, a prominent political leader, delivered a speech on Swaraj¹. And in the very next month a district conference was held at the same place at which 800 delegates attended and a resolution on Non-Co-operation was passed by a majority². The second phase of the movement commenced in 1921 with the virulent outburst of an anti-drink campaign, a campaign which was intended not only to further temperance but also to hit the abkari revenue and thereby cripple the resources of the Government. The campaign reached its zenith at the time of the auction sales of toddy shops in August 1921 and lasted till the end of that year. Picketing of the liquor shops took place in numerous parts of the district. The non-co-operators posted themselves in front of the liquor shops, jeered and tarred the faces of the customers, and sometimes even assaulted them. In Bhuvanagiri (Chidambaram taluk), they tarred the faces of many; in Panruti, Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk, they tied donkeys before the liquor shops and threatened the customers with free donkey rides with the accompaniment of the music of drums; in Annivur (Villupuram taluk), they erected two poles on either side of the liquor shop, tied a shoe to the one and a broomstick to the other, and threatened to beat the customers with these decorations. Nor is this all. They induced the servants employed in the liquor shops to leave their masters. They prevented the cartmen from conveying liquor to the depots and shops. They burnt down a few arrack shops. And, immediately after the auction sales of toddy shops in August 1921, they persuaded the owners of coconut trees not to give the trees to the renters for tapping and, where such persuasion failed, they instigated the breaking of pots on the trees and the cutting off of spathes. They even went further and threatened the renters, the tappers as well as the consumers with social boycott. All this, naturally, affected toddy sales so much, that in several places re-sale of shops had to be ordered. It was not till the prosecutions were started on a large scale in October 1921, that the movement could be brought under control³.

Meanwhile the awakening of the political consciousness in the country led to the introduction of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms (1919). By the Morley-Minto Reforms (1909) the Madras Legislative Council had secured more members, both nominated and elected, and acquired the right of asking questions and criticising the doings of the Executive. It had the rights to move resolutions, to raise points of order and to take notes. But nevertheless its resolutions had not been binding on the Executive Government, nor had it any control over any department of the Government. By the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms the powers of the Legislative Council and the proportion of elected members in it were increased

¹ *Newspaper Reports for 1920*, page 868.

² *Idem*, page 990.

³ Secret File No. 407, dated 6th May 1922, pages 226-229.

and a system of Dyarchy in the Executive Government was set up. Provincial subjects were now classified as 'reserved' and 'transferred', and while the former were administered by the Governor in Council, the latter were administered by the Governor acting with the Ministers appointed from and responsible to the Legislative Council.

The introduction of these reforms brought in its wake other parties than the Home Rule and the Congress parties. The chief among these parties in the south was no other than the Non-Brahmin Party which came to be called the South Indian Liberal Federation or the Justice Party. This party was equally nationalistic in its outlook as the Congress and Home Rule parties. But it was more moderate, more liberal, as its name implies, and hoped to attain its goal gradually by constitutional methods. It came into being in this State towards the end of 1916, and gathered strength gradually during the Home Rule, the Non-Co-operation and the Khilafat agitations. Its first pillars were Sri P. Theagaraya Chetty, President of the South Indian Chamber of Commerce, the oldest member of the Corporation of Madras and an ex-member of the Legislative Council and Dr. T. M. Nair, both of whom enjoyed the confidence of several Non-Brahmins. In December 1916, Sri P. Theagaraya Chetty issued a manifesto attacking the Home Rule Movement in trenchant language, charging it with being a scheme devised by the Brahmins who were not content with having secured the practical monopoly of political power and high Government appointments, and calling upon all non-Brahmins to assert and press their claims against the domination of the Brahmins. The party thus ushered into this State was backed by a journal called the 'Non-Brahmin' and shortly afterwards by a newspaper of its own called 'The Justice', with Dr. T. M. Nair as editor and Sri Theagaraya Chetty as publisher. The party lost no time in making propaganda. Thus, in 1917, it attacked the Madras Provincial Conference held at Cuddalore (Gudalur) as a Brahmin-ridden conference and propagated its own views there by arranging for lectures¹. Indeed, what gave the Justice Party its strength was the appeal which it made to the large sections of Non-Brahmins that the predominance of the Brahmin leaders in the Home Rule and the Congress movements and the over-representation of the Brahmins in the services were matters demanding the notice of all Non-Brahmins. It was this appeal combined with its moderate views on reforms that made this party carry on its propaganda with some effect against the Home Rule and the Non-Co-operation movements and co-operate with the Government. The reforms of 1919 were by no means palatable to this party. When they were on the anvil and even afterwards, it agitated for separate electorates for the non-Brahmins and for communal representation for them

¹*Fortnightly Report (Confidential)*, dated 17th May 1917.
Idem, dated 31st May 1917.

in the services as well as in the educational institutions. But after the reforms were introduced, although they failed to set up separate electorates for the Non-Brahmins, it accepted office and tried to work the reforms with as much co-operation with the British as was possible.¹

When all this agitation and counter-agitation were going on, the Non-Co-operation and the Khilafat Movements suddenly came to an end. The Congress split over the question of Council entry and the Muslims beheld with dismay the abolition of the Khalifa by Kemal Pasha, the great deliverer of Turkey. Still the agitation for swaraj continued; and gradually the Congress creed hardened into several important demands such as the renunciation of titles, honours, and honorary offices; the resignation of posts in the civil, police and military services; the boycott of foreign goods; the boycott of the reformed Councils and of local bodies; the removal of untouchability; the prohibition of liquor and drugs; the encouragement of khadi; the formation of kisan sabhas and trade unions to improve the conditions of agricultural and industrial labour and the insistence on complete independence for India.²

From the time of the Non-Co-operation Movement of 1919-1921 to the time of the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-1931, interest in the Congress creed was kept alive in South Arcot by the propaganda carried on by the Congress organizations. One important contribution made by the Non-Co-operation Movement was the starting of Congress Committees, the District, Taluk and even Village Committees, all over the State.³ And these committees in South Arcot carried on a silent propaganda, and sometimes arranged important public meetings or invited prominent Congress leaders. Thus, for instance, an important public meeting was convened at Cuddalore (Gudalur) (Old Town), in August 1922 at which Sri M. Singaravelu Chettiar and other speakers demanded swaraj and exhorted the people to follow Gandhiji's lead implicitly⁴. In May 1923, Sri Devadas Gandhi, accompanied by Sri C. Rajagopalachari and other leaders came to South Arcot and created

¹ G.O. No. 339, Public, dated 17th April 1918.

G.O. Nos. 854-855, Public, dated 19th September 1918.

G.O. No. 980, Public, dated 31st October 1918.

G.O. Nos. 1019-1020, Public, dated 7th November 1918.

G.O. No. 142, Public (Confidential), dated 28th February 1920.

G.O. No. 155, Public, dated 6th March 1920.

Newspaper Reports (Confidential), dated 1st January 1917.

Idem, dated 1st March 1917.

Idem, dated 2nd April 1917.

Idem, dated 2nd November 1917.

Idem, dated 19th April 1918.

Idem, dated 1st May 1918.

² *Histories of the Non-Co-operation and Khilafat Movements* P.C. Bamford (Confidential), 1925.

³ *The Non-Co-operation and Khilafat Movements in the Madras Presidency* (Confidential), page 32.

⁴ *Newspaper Reports* for 1923, pages 1042-1044.

enthusiasm for the Congress creed¹. In the same year, a District Conference was held under the presidency of Sri Krishnaswami Sarma who demanded swaraj, threatened satyagraha and deplored the attitude of the British over the Khilafat question². In 1926, the moment the Tamil Nad Congress Committee issued an election manifesto calling upon the electorate to return the Congress-Swaraj Party candidates, condemning Dyarchy, as a costly and futile experiment and pledging itself to fight for prohibition and to stand for equal rights and opportunities for all classes and castes, Sri S. Srinivasa Ayyangar, ex-Advocate-General and a staunch supporter of the Congress, addressed a number of meetings in South Arcot with the object of organizing the Swaraj Party³. In 1927, two important public meetings were held at Chidambaram. At the first meeting Sri M. S. Subramanya Ayyar blamed the Government for not solving the food problem and advocated agitation for swaraj. At the second meeting Sri Annamalai Pillai said that swaraj was the only solution for all ills, that the Civil Disobedience Movement was not far off, and that, when it came, the people should follow the lead of Gandhiji⁴. And Gandhiji himself visited the district in September 1927, when he came on a tour to the south, for collecting Khadi purses, for extolling the merits of non-violent non-cooperation and for preaching total prohibition. Gandhiji, as may be expected attracted, large crowds and produced a deep impression on the masses⁵.

The Civil Disobedience Movement, as is well known, was forged by Gandhiji and introduced at the Lahore Session of the Congress in 1929. The Resolution on this movement framed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the rising leader of India, and issued on behalf of the Congress Working Committee, charged the British Government with having not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but also "ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually and declared in emphatic terms that "India must, therefore, sever the British connection and attain purna swaraj or complete independence". The way to swaraj, it further declared, was not through violence but through civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes.⁶ A manifesto like this issued to the numerous Congress organizations throughout India and a movement like this led by no less a leader than Gandhiji could not but be expected to produce widespread political agitation. A wave of nationalism, the like of which had never been witnessed before, spread over the whole of India and the Congress leaders everywhere began to organize mass meetings, salt satyagraha, no-tax campaigns, boycott of the Government and the village servants, boycott

¹ *Fortnightly Report* (Confidential), dated 16th May 1923.

² *Newspaper Reports* for 1923 page 1394.

³ *Fortnightly Report* (Confidential), dated 17th February 1926.

⁴ *Newspaper Reports* for 1927, pages 679 and 790.

⁵ *Fortnightly Reports* (Confidential), dated 16th September 1927.

⁶ *The Civil Disobedience Movement (India)*, 1930-1934, pages 29-30.

of British goods, boycott of liquor shops, the seducing of troops and police from loyalty to the Government and anti-Government propaganda. The Government for the first time realised the national significance of the movement and introduced a series of repressive laws to meet the extraordinary situation².

The movement was started in South Arcot on 26th January 1930. That day was called "the Independence Day" and on that day mass demonstrations were organised. Important meetings were held on that day in Cuddalore (Gudalur), Panruti and Chidambaram. In Cuddalore (Gudalur) the meeting was organised by the Congress Secretaries, Sri Kumaraswami Pillai and Sudarsanam Nayudu, both of whom had taken part in the Non-Co-operation Movement. In Panruti it was organised by Sri Ratnam Pillai, who later became the President of the South Arcot District Congress Committee and Sri S. A. Deivanayagaiya. In Chidambaram it was convened by Sri Nainappa Pillai who had by that time earned a reputation as a staunch Non-Co-operator. Leaflets containing Tamil translations of the declaration of independence were also freely distributed everywhere and a procession was staged by the students of the Annamalai University. An ominous simmering of unrest in the press went on till March when Gandhiji decided to start his famous march to Dandi to break the salt laws. In April (13th April) Sri C. Rajagopalachari began his salt satyagraha march to Vedaranyam. About the same time (9th April) Sri Nainappa Pillai decided to break the salt laws at Kille, in Chidambaram taluk but subsequently, on Sri C. Rajagopalachari's advice, changed his venue of operations to Cuddalore (Gudalur). At Cuddalore (Gudalur), for more than three months the salt satyagrahis, under impulsion of Sri Nainappa Pillai, Sri Sudarsanam Nayudu and Sri Kumaraswami Pillai, persistently almost every day, tried to manufacture salt, but were persistently harassed by the police. Here the movement went on peacefully but at Tindivanam, where the salt satyagrahis began to manufacture salt in June, the movement took a serious complexion. For, when the police arrested the principal satyagrahis and secured their conviction, the people showed their resentment by declaring a hartal and by moving in a large body (over a thousand) towards a place called Eachangal Odai, to gather salt earth and, when ordered to disperse, by attacking the police party and putting it to flight. This led to the arrest of eighty persons.

Meanwhile more and more volunteers came forward, some from the district and others from Tirunelveli, Madurai, Tanjore, Madras and even Ceylon and began to picket the liquor shops in Cuddalore (Gudalur). The Collector had not only to prohibit meetings but also to close down the local Congress Office (4th July) in Cuddalore (Gudalur) New Town. Nor was this all. Soon after the arrest

¹ *The Civil Disobedience Movement (India)*, 1930-34, page 1.

² *Idem*, pages 4-8, 15-16.

of Gandhiji, the Cuddalore (Gudalur) Municipality passed a resolution condemning the incarceration, while the Congress volunteers started a society in Cuddalore (Gudalur) New Town called the 'Sidha Satweeka Maha Sabha' and launched a campaign against drink and preached the use of Khadi. Their activities had to be put down by arrests and counter-propaganda. About this time a band of Congress Volunteers started manufacturing salt at Lalji Chowk in Chidambaram. The men formed a ring round the fire and effectually frustrated all attempts of the salt peons to put down the fire. They also made a large bonfire of foreign cloth. Their activities too had to be put down by arrests. The same weapon of arrest had also to be used against some Congress volunteers who went from village to village in the various taluks doing propaganda for khadi and prohibition. On the whole there were 71 convictions in the district¹.

Meanwhile by a settlement reached by Gandhiji on behalf of the Congress, with Lord Irwin the Viceroy, on behalf of the Government, the Congress agreed to participate in the discussions in the Round Table Conference in London. The British Government agreed to withdraw all the repressive ordinances banning the Congress bodies, etc., and to release all prisoners convicted in connection with the movement. Gandhiji then agreed to call off the Civil Disobedience Movement. The Civil Disobedience Movement was started again by the Congress early in January 1932 on account of the repressive ordinances passed by the Government to put down agitation in the North-West Frontier Province (now in Pakistan), in the United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh) and Bengal².

Even before the movement was started, South Arcot showed no disposition to submit meekly to the suppression of Congress activities. Thus, when in October 1931 a play entitled 'The Victory of Chastity', formerly called 'the Victory of Charka' was prohibited at Panruti, the organisers persisted in their arrangements and a large crowd assembled and tried to enter the building where the play was to be staged, in spite of the lathi charges made by the police. The crowd threw stones at the police and was dispersed only with the aid of the reserve police³. After the movement was started, although all Congress organizations in the district were declared unlawful, they secretly distributed printed or cyclostyled leaflets exhorting the people to boycott British goods, to manufacture salt, to picket the liquor shops and to refuse to pay taxes. Some of these leaflets, it is said, were printed in Pondicherry⁴. However no serious incidents occurred, until the Civil Disobedience Movement was called off by the Congress in April-May 1934

¹ *The Civil Disobedience Movement (Madras)*, 1930-31, pages 71-77.

² *The Civil Disobedience Movement (India) 1930-1934, (Confidential)*, page 16.

³ *Formidably Report (Confidential)*, dated 4th November 1931.

⁴ *Idem*, dated 19th February 1932.

and the Unlawful Association Ordinances were cancelled by the Government¹.

During all this time, from the end of the Non-Co-operation Movement to the end of the Civil Disobedience Movement, other parties in the State were not idle. The Justice Party, although it co-operated with the British in running the Dyarchy, now began to demand full provincial autonomy and Indianisation of services. This party, under leaders like the Raja of Panagal and Sri A. P. Patro, having run the Ministry till 1926, was defeated by the Swaraj Party (the party of the Congress which believed in Council entry) in the elections held in that year. But the Swaraj Party, though it had a majority, refused to form the ministry and, as a result, an Independent Ministry under Dr. P. Subbarayan having the support to the Swaraj Party was formed. The Justice Party tried to unseat this Ministry by a vote of no-confidence in the Legislative Council, but the motion was defeated by the Swaraj Party. And yet the Justice Party did not lose heart. It condemned the scheme of dyarchy, demanded complete provincial autonomy and allowed its individual members to enter the Congress with the object of swamping the Congress and working on the feelings of Non-Brahmins inside the Congress. As a result of this, some of the prominent Justicites joined the Congress. And in the 1930 elections, the Congress (both the Congress Party and the Swaraj Party) having refused to contest the elections, the Justice Party easily obtained a majority and again formed a Ministry, this time headed by Sri B. Muniswami Naidu. This Ministry was succeeded in 1932 by the Ministry of the Raja of Bobbili. Meanwhile, finding from the elections that the Non-Brahmins had little to fear politically from the Brahmins, it threw open its membership to the Brahmins with a view to strengthening its organization. But it was of no avail. In the 1934 elections, the Justice Party was completely defeated by the Congress Party, the Congress Party having now lifted the ban on Council entry and won every seat that it contested². The Congress, however, did not accept office and accordingly a Justice Party Ministry under the Raja of Bobbili was again formed.

It was also during this period that the Self-Respect and the Communist Movements came into existence. The former, which was led by Sri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker and which was avowedly a Non-Brahmin Movement, had the backing of the Justice Party. Originally started for the purpose of abolishing caste distinctions,

¹ G.O. No. 609, Public, dated 11th June 1934.

² *Fortnightly Report* (Confidential), dated 16th July 1923.

Idem, dated 19th July 1927.

Idem, dated 4th Nov 1927.

Idem, dated 4th Oct or 1934.

Madras Presidency Administration Reports for the year, 1930 to 1934.

G.O. No. 547, Public (Confidential), dated 3rd April 1935.

it gradually drifted towards Communism and began to attack religion and property¹. It made intensive propaganda in all the Tamil districts, in 1933 and 1934². The latter which received a fillip by the visit of Sri Saklatwala, a prominent Labour leader and a member of the British Parliament, to Madras in 1927, gave rise to several associations of workers. It refused to have anything to do with the Congress and denounced the Congress as "the stronghold of landlordism, capitalism and private ownership." The Congress found it impossible to conciliate the Communists (or the Socialists as they called themselves) who organized a spate of strikes in Madras and elsewhere³.

In July 1934 the Communist Party and its organizations were banned by the Government of India on the ground that they constituted a danger to the public peace. What was called the Meerut Conspiracy Case revealed to them that the party aimed at nothing less than the violent overthrow of the existing order of society. Its aims were said to be the hatred of god and all forms of religion, the destruction of private property, absolute social and racial equality, promotion of class hatred, destruction of all forms of representative government, including civil liberties such as freedom of speech and trial by jury, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat by means of a world revolution. Its objects were said to be the complete independence of India by the violent overthrow of the British rule, the cancellation of all debts, the establishment of a Soviet Government, the abolition of the Indian States, the confiscation without compensation of all the lands, forests and other properties of the ruling princes, the landlords, etc. It sought to achieve these objects, it was said, by developing a general strike of workers culminating in a general political strike, by developing a peasant movement for the non-payment of rents and taxes into an All-India agrarian revolution, by organizing a nation-wide movement for complete independence by attaching to it all the workers, peasants and petty bourgeois and by spreading revolutionary propaganda in the army and the police and inciting them to revolt against British rule⁴. In Madras, the Government declared unlawful the Young Workers League (November 1934) which had for its avowed object the overthrow of British

¹ *Fortnightly Report (Confidential)*, dated 2nd June 1923.

Idem, dated 20th July 1933.

Idem, dated 9th October 1933.

Idem, dated 19th June 1934.

Idem, dated 18th July 1934.

Madras Presidency Administration Report for 1933-34, page XIII.

² *Fortnightly Report (Confidential)*, dated 20th March 1933.

Idem, dated 2nd June 1933.

Idem, dated 18th May 1934.

Idem, dated 5th June 1934.

Idem, dated 18th December 1934.

³ *Madras Presidency Administration Report for 1926-1927*, pages XIII-XV.

⁴ G.O. No. 671, Public, dated 17th April 1935.

G.O. No. 2111, Public, dated 18th December 1935.

Imperialism by mass action, and which, it was believed, was in no sense a bonafide trade union and was in touch with Communist International¹. All this created a storm of protest in the left wing press². Nor was this all. The banning of the Communist Party created a great deal of uneasiness in the Self-Respect Party which had, as has been seen, imbibed some of the Communist ideas. Sri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, the leader of this party, thought that the Government might ban his party also; but he wished the Government to know that his was a socialist party, that it worked always within the bounds of law, that violence had no place in it, that its aim was the establishment of the British system of administration and failing that alone "a Communist system of administration". His party, however, was not banned. Nor were the other socialists' organizations in the State banned, though some of them, like the All-India Congress Socialist Organization, agitated for complete independence, no-compromise with British Imperialism, the socialization of important industries, the elimination of the princes, landlords and other classes of exploiters and the redistribution of lands to the peasants⁴.

Then came the Reforms Act of 1935, by which dyarchy in the State was abolished and the Executive was made responsible to the Legislature, except in certain matters over which the Governor exercised individual control. In Madras the Legislature consisted of a Legislative Assembly and a Legislative Council, both based on a much wider franchise than before. Strenuous efforts were now made by the Congress and Justice Parties to increase their strength and to carry on an effective propaganda for the forthcoming elections⁵. In South Arcot, the Congress Party organised a District Political Conference at which prominent Congressmen who had come from outside the district, addressed large audiences. Congress meetings were also held in many places in the district, and, at one of these meetings at Cuddalore (Gudalur), Sri S. Satyamurti, Mrs. Lakshmi pathi and Sri C. S. Nataraja Ayyar attracted about 5,000 to 6,000 people, while a Justice Party meeting held at the same place and about the same time attracted only about 500 people⁶.

¹ G.O. No. 621, Public, dated 17th April 1935, page 7.

² G.O. No. 324, Public (Confidential), dated 23rd February 1935, pages 12, 31, 60 etc.

³ *Idem*, 1935, pages 25-27

⁴ *Idem*, 1935, page 101.

⁵ *Fortnightly Report* (Confidential), dated 6th August 1935.

Idem, dated 5th September 1935.

⁶ *Idem*, dated 19th January 1935.

Idem, dated 5th April 1935.

Idem, dated 19th July 1935.

Idem, dated 5th August 1935.

Idem, dated 6th December 1935.

But no leader attracted a large audience and none produced a greater impression than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who arrived in Madras on 5th October 1935 and immediately afterwards started on a whirlwind tour of the Tamil districts. Wherever he went in South Arcot, as also in other districts, he was given an enthusiastic reception. In almost every village en route, all the villagers gathered and cheered him on his arrival; in more important villages, welcome arches were erected, festoons were hung and Congress slogans were displayed. He was received with flowers, fruits and music, and sometimes with 'vedis' fired in his honour. In towns in which he stayed for a time, very large crowds assembled consisting of both townsmen and villagers of the surrounding areas. They did not mind any inconvenience; they waited for hours to have his 'darsan'; and they brushed aside the feeble hostile demonstrations carried on in some places by the members of the Self-Respect Party. They presented him addresses of welcome and with small purses and thanked him for his campaign against poverty and unemployment. Indeed, he literally achieved mass contact and became exceedingly popular by frequently stopping his car while passing through the villages, by talking freely with all who came to see him, by mixing freely with them, by showing extreme solicitude for their welfare and, by distributing the flowers and fruits presented to him to the women and children.

It was, however, by his speeches that he sought to win all people to the Congress side. The general trend of his speeches was the same throughout his tour. He laid emphasis on the prevailing poverty and unemployment in India and attributed them largely to the policies followed under British Imperialism. He remarked that so long as British Imperialism remained, the masses could not hope to better their condition, and that, therefore, it must be brought to an end. He pointed out that to achieve this object all classes should strengthen the hands of the Congress, which was the only powerful, organised, disciplined body in India. And he invariably wound up by saying that the Congress was working for independence, and that once independence was gained, the problems of poverty and unemployment could be solved by introducing socialism in the country¹.

Pandit Nehru's tour strengthened not a little the electioneering campaign of the Congress Party. The Justice Party's campaign lost all vigour, but then by this time new parties having come into existence, such as the People's Party and the Madras Provincial Scheduled Caste Party, and the Provincial branch of the Muslim League having been revived², the opponents of the Congress fondly hoped to undermine its strength. In the General Elections held in 1937, however, the Congress Party won a decisive victory over the other parties. The fact that the anti-Congress vote was split made

¹ See the Secret Files Nos. 981 and 982, dated 10th January 1937.

² Madras Administration Report for 1935-1936, pages viii-ix.

little or no difference and the Congress Party secured 159 out of the 215 seats in the Legislative Assembly and 26 out of the 46 seats in the Legislative Council¹. The Congress Party, however, having refused to accept office without securing assurances against the misuse of the Governor's discretionary powers under the new constitution, an Interim Ministry was formed under Sri K. V. Reddy². But in the first half of July, the Congress Party being satisfied with the assurances given by the Viceroy, accepted office and formed a Ministry under Sri C. Rajagopalachari³.

Of all the measures introduced by Sri C. Rajagopalachari's Ministry none came in for so much opposition from his political opponents as the introduction of Hindustani (Hindi) compulsory in certain schools as an experiment. The opposition to this measure came mostly from the Self-Respect Party led by Sri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, but it was backed alike by the Justice Party, the Muslim League and the Scheduled Castes Federation⁴. Meetings were held in Madras and in all the Tamil districts, including South Arcot, at which speeches were made attacking the Brahmins and alleging that the introduction of Hindi was an attempt to impose Aryan influence on Dravidian culture in order to perpetuate Brahmin domination⁵. Picketing by successive batches of volunteers of the Self-Respect Party was conducted before the Premier's residence and before certain schools. More than a thousand arrests were made in the city and most of the picketers were convicted. Sri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker himself was arrested, convicted and sentenced to one year's imprisonment⁶. But still the agitation went on, it ended only when the Congress Ministry laid down office in 1939 and the succeeding Government abolished the teaching of Hindi and released all anti-Hindi prisoners⁷. Notwithstanding all this political opposition, the Congress Party won popular support and became stronger and stronger, while the other parties became weaker and weaker, except perhaps the Communist Party on whose strength there is no definite information. The Justice Party now found a new leader in Sri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker and in December 1938 elected him as its President, although he was then in Jail⁸.

¹ *Fortnightly Report* (Confidential), dated 4th March 1937.

² G.O. No. 835. Public, dated 16th May 1938.

³ *Fortnightly Report* (Confidential), dated 5th May 1937.

Idem, dated 23rd July 1937.

⁴ *Idem*, dated 10th June 1938.

Idem, dated 24th June 1938.

Idem, dated 9th August 1938.

Idem, dated 29th August 1938.

⁵ *Fortnightly Report* (Confidential), dated 6th July 1938.

Idem, dated 20th July 1938.

Idem, dated 5th September 1938.

⁶ He was, however, released after six months on medical grounds.

⁷ See the *Fortnightly Report* (Confidential) from 20th July 1938 to 16th March 1940.

⁸ *Fortnightly Report* (Confidential), dated 4th January 1939.

But it was not so much the open agitation of the Self-Respect Party or the Justice Party as the underground agitation of the Communist Party which was rapidly becoming powerful, that caused much concern to the Congress Government. It was at this period that many of the Communists under the guise of Socialists formed unions "embracing all branches of industry and husbandry" and began to foment labour troubles. It was also at this period that they stirred up troubles among students. Between 1937 and 1939, a spate of strikes occurred everywhere in the State. In South Arcot the peasants became restive, waited on the revenue authorities and submitted long lists of their grievances². The students of the Annamalai University again and again resorted to acts of hooliganism, picketed class-rooms, organised processions and compelled the University authorities to take severe action and even to close the University for a time. The Premier as well as the Education Minister had to interfere to calm the situation³. And to add to this, the workers of the East India Sugar Distilleries, Nellikuppam, under the instigation of Communist leaders, struck work, molested all who came to take their place, arranged speeches and marches and forced the authorities to resort to lathi charges and to arrest their ringleader. It was, however, not till the Premier made an appeal to the workers over the heads of their leaders that the strike was called off⁴.

The Second World War now broke out and commenced a new chapter in the history of independence. The Congress having decided not to participate in the war, Sri Rajagopalachari's Ministry resigned in October 1939, and the Government was carried on by the Governor with the aid of Civilian Advisers⁵. The moment this took place and individual satyagraha was permitted by the Congress, South Arcot once more became Congress-minded. Congress Committees were formed everywhere in the district; Satyagraha pledges were taken, anti-war speeches were made, anti-war slogans were shouted; anti-war posters were displayed in prominent places; and all this anti-war propaganda led to a large number of arrests.

² G.O. No. 835, Public, dated 16th May 1935—See the report of the Inspector General of Police.

Fortnightly Report (Confidential), dated 8th October 1937.

Idem, dated 8th October 1937.

Idem, dated 6th December 1937.

Idem, dated 21st December 1937.

Idem, dated 16th March 1939.

Idem, dated 4th March 1939.

³ *Fortnightly Report* (Confidential), dated 4th February 1939.

⁴ *Idem*, dated 19th December 1938.

Idem, dated 3rd February 1939.

Idem, dated 16th February 1939.

Idem, dated 4th March 1939.

Idem, dated 18th March 1939.

Idem, dated 4th April 1939.

⁵ *Idem*, dated 5th May 1939.

Idem, dated 19th May 1939.

⁶ *Madras Administration Report for 1939-1940*, page 1.

Here, as elsewhere, not only all Congress leaders, but also most of the Congress workers courted imprisonment, with the result that the Government were eventually compelled to ignore all small fry and to arrest only such as wielded any influence¹. The situation in South Arcot was further complicated by the agitation against the Government continually carried on by the students of the Anna-malai University². It was not till the Satyagraha movement was withdrawn by the Tamil Nad Congress Committee in January 1942, that the things quietened down everywhere³.

Events soon moved towards a crisis. The interminable waiting for the fulfilment of the pledges by the British, the failure of the Cripps's Mission, the danger of the conversion of India into a theatre of war by Britain and her Allies, all these induced Gandhiji and the Congress to make an all-out effort to get rid of British rule. The nation having waited long enough could not now wait any longer for independence. The Civil Disobedience Movement, or the Quit India Movement, as it was called, was fashioned by Gandhiji in May-June 1942, was put into shape by the Working Committee by the Wardha Resolution in July and was launched by the All-India Congress Committee by its Bombay Resolution on 8th August. This Resolution which was a long one demanded, in short, the immediate withdrawal of Britain from India, the setting up of a Provisional Government representing all the parties, the pooling of all resources for fighting the struggle for freedom against the aggression of Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism and thereby strengthening the cause of the United Nations and, after the war was over, the establishment of a World Federation of Free Nations. And, in order to secure the preliminary step, the immediate withdrawal of Britain, it sanctioned a nation-wide non-violent mass movement under the leadership of Gandhiji⁴.

¹ See, for instance, *Fortnightly Report* (Confidential), dated 3rd May 1940.

Idem, dated 17th May 1940.

Idem, dated 4th November 1940.

Idem, dated 19th November 1940.

Idem, dated 2nd December 1940.

Idem, dated 20th December 1940.

Idem, dated 4th January 1941.

Idem, dated 21st January 1941.

Idem, dated 3rd December 1941.

Idem, dated 25th February 1941.

Idem, dated 4th March 1941.

Idem, dated 18th March 1941.

Idem, dated 3rd April 1941.

Idem, dated 19th April 1941.

Idem, dated 3rd May 1941.

Idem, dated 21st September 1941.

² *Idem*, dated 3rd December 1940.

Idem, dated 20th December 1940.

Idem, dated 21st January 1941.

Idem, dated 3rd February 1941.

³ *Idem*, dated 23rd January 1942.

⁴ *History of the Indian National Congress by Sri Pattabhi Sitaramayya*.
Vol. II, 1947, pages 342-346.

This clarion call was no sooner made than Gandhiji and a large number of prominent Congress leaders were arrested and imprisoned and all the Congress Organizations throughout India were banned¹. This was a signal for the outbreak of a national uprising throughout India, in which violence was freely used side by side with non-violence to paralyse the activities of the Government. The British Government held the Congress responsible for the violent outbreaks, stating that the Congress must have known that the incitement to mass action on such a wide scale was bound to lead to violence, but the Congress held the Government responsible, stating that it was the arrest of the leaders and the repressive policy of the Government that were responsible for violence². So far as Madras was concerned, Sri C. Rajagopalachari having by this time resigned from the Congress on the issue of Pakistan, before the passing of the Bombay Resolution and the other leaders having been imprisoned, the people were more or less left to themselves and they in many places resorted to violence.

In South Arcot, the national uprising was only occasionally marked by violence; for the most part, it was carried on peacefully, but persistently. Here the students, especially the students of the Annamalai University, exhibited strong pro-Congress sympathies, though the latter, as we have already seen, had formerly been more than once misled by the Communists. School students in several places continually stayed away from schools and went in procession through the streets. The University students convened meetings, condemned the action of the Government, staged anti-Government demonstrations, picketed class-rooms, went on strikes, hoisted Congress flags within the University premises and eventually forced the University authorities to close the University for 40 days (10th September to 20th October 1942). The people at the same time, in several places, convened protest meetings in defiance of prohibitory orders, shouted anti-war slogans or pasted them on prominent buildings, distributed proscribed literature, picketed toddy shops, declared hartals and persuaded the Government servants not to attend their offices, and the lawyers not to attend the Courts. This was, however, not all. In some places they cut off telegraph and telephone wires, burnt down post-boxes, removed fish-plates from railway tracks or attempted to stop trains. In one place they burnt the motor car of a police official. The total number of persons detained up to 31st December in connection with the movement was 25 and the total convicted up to the same date was 44³.

¹ G.O. No. 2541, Public, dated 9th August 1942.

G.O. No. 2543, Public, dated 9th August 1942.

² *Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43.*

Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi, August 1942-April 1944.

³ *District Calendar of Events of the Civil Disobedience Movement, August-December 1942 (Secret), pages 15-20.*

From this time onwards there was no Congress agitation on any extensive scale in the district or in the State or in India. The political atmosphere in India, however, continued for a time to remain dark and sullen, what with the detention of the Congress leaders in jail and the unhelpful attitude shown by the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow and Lord Wavell, and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the implacable leader for the Muslim League. The Viceroy insisted on the solution of the communal and minority problems as a preliminary to the consideration of the grant of any reforms, while Mr. Jinnah insisted on Pakistan. Gandhiji having been released in May 1944 tried his best to solve the tangle but in vain. From 1945, however, the sky began to clear. The formation of the Labour Government in Britain, the end of the Japanese war, Lord Wavell's visit to England for consultation with the Labour Government, the arrival first of the Parliamentary Delegation and then of the Cabinet Mission to hammer out a constitution for India, all these led to a succession of rapid political changes. Then it was that the ban on the Congress was lifted, that the Congress leaders were released and that they resolved to accept the reforms offered in good faith by the British. This speedily led to the holding of the general elections, the formation of the Interim Government at the centre consisting of Indian leaders drawn from the major political parties (1946), the convening of the Constituent Assembly, the decision of the British to withdraw from India by June 1948, the arrival of the new Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten (March 1947), the partition of India into India and Pakistan, the declaration of independence (July 1947) with effect from August 15th, and finally, the making of the constitution and the inauguration of the Indian Republic (January 1950).

In Madras, the Governor's rule which, as has been seen, was established in October 1939, continued till the end of March 1946 when the Congress, having contested and won the general elections, accepted office again. During this period when the Congress Party was fighting for freedom, the Justice Party and the Communist Party pursued their own programmes. Sri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, now the recognized leader of the Justice Party, offered support to the Adviser Government in the prosecution of the war¹ and carried on anti-Brahmin and pro-Dravidanad propaganda. He threatened to start another agitation like the anti-Hindi agitation for the removal of caste and social disabilities in temples, restaurants, railway refreshment rooms, etc². He convened a

¹ *Fortnightly Report* (Confidential), dated 19th October 1939.

Idem, dated 18th December 1939.

Idem, dated 5th January 1940.

Idem, dated 17th February 1940.

² *Fortnightly Report* (Confidential), dated 16th March 1940.

Idem, dated 4th January 1941.

Justice Party conference at Kancheepuram for urging the establishment of Dravidanad and at this conference, it is said, he unveiled a map of Dravidanad "comprising the areas where Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam are spoken¹." He courted the Muslim League, supported the scheme for Pakistan, inveighed against the Congress and continued to stir up anti-Brahmin feelings in South Arcot and other Tamil districts².

The Communist Party, on the other hand, under leaders like Sri Mohan Kumaramangalam, Sri P. Ramamoorthy, Sri M. R. Venkataraman and Sri K. Anandan Nambiar cast its net wider and endeavoured to secure a more permanent hold over the workers and the rising generation. It found the time and circumstances eminently propitious for its propaganda. In July 1942 the ban on the Communists was removed³ and in August 1942, as has been seen, the ban on the Congress was imposed. This gave the Communists a free hand and a free field to carry on their activities and their activities bore abundant fruit amidst the economic distress caused by the war, amidst the rise in prices and the scarcity of foodstuffs. The ban on the Communists was removed by the British Government, hoping that they would fully co-operate with the war effort, since Russia had by then become a firm ally of Britain. And indeed, they whole-heartedly co-operated with the British. Their attitude is best described in a speech made by one of their leaders, Sri Mohan Kumaramangalam, in July 1942, at a meeting held by the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Employees' Union, Perambur. He said that, though the attitude of Britain towards Communism had, until recently, been hostile, it was now the duty of Indians to co-operate actively in the war. If Japan conquered India, he went on, it was not the British Imperialism but Indians who would suffer most and the National Movement would be smashed. He, therefore, appealed to his audience to join the army in large numbers, so that, after the war, they would be able to achieve independence easily⁴. Holding views such as these, they not only helped the war effort but undermined the Congress by carrying on extensive underground propaganda in all districts and seducing the workers as well as the

¹ *Fortnightly Report* (Confidential), dated 19th June 1940

² *Idem*, dated 18th June 1941.

Idem, dated 4th August 1941.

Idem, dated 18th June 1942.

Idem, dated 9th September 1944.

³ G.O. No. 2152, Public, dated 23rd July 1942.

⁴ *Fortnightly Report* (Confidential), dated 7th August 1942.

students from the Congress into the Communist fold¹. In South Arcot they captured the South Indian Labour Union of Vriddhachalam², the Nellikuppam Labour Union³ and the Indian Labour Union of Villupuram⁴—three of the important labour unions of the district. They also continued to attack the Congress for not accepting the Muslim League terms and often came into clash with the Congressmen. They even tried to force an entrance into a conference of District Congress workers at which Sri Kamaraj Nadar, the President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee, and other important leaders were to speak⁵.

The secret as well as the open propaganda which they carried on everywhere against the Congress and the ruthless manner in which they tried to seize control over the workers, the students and the kisans, finally in 1945, compelled the Congress to expel them from the Congress Party. The Congress Party now tried its best to consolidate its position by formulating constructive programmes in regard to workers, kisans, students, food, etc., and by making intensive propaganda⁶.

Then came the general elections and, Sri C. Rajagopalachari, having by this time left the Congress on account of his differences with the Congressmen over the Pakistan issue, the leadership in Tamil Nad passed into the hands of Sri Kamaraj Nadar, the President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee. There is plenty of evidence to show that he wielded at this time the most powerful influence in the Tamil districts. He had there the largest following and even the most prominent Congressmen found it impossible

¹ *Fortnightly Report* (Confidential), dated 5th October 1942.

Idem, dated 5th December 1942.

Idem, dated 21st December 1942.

Idem, dated 25th January 1943. ममव नयने

Idem, dated 8th February 1943.

Idem, dated 22nd February 1943.

Idem, dated 24th July 1943.

Idem, dated 21st December 1943.

Idem, dated 6th March 1944.

Idem, dated 9th October 1944.

Idem, dated 6th November 1944.

Idem, dated 25th January 1945.

Idem, dated 9th April 1945.

Idem, dated 22nd May 1945.

Idem, dated 7th September 1945.

Idem, dated 6th January 1946.

² *Idem*, dated 18th February 1944.

³ *Idem*, dated 19th July 1945.

⁴ *Idem*, dated 19th July 1945.

⁵ *Idem*, dated 24th August 1945.

⁶ See, for instance, *Fortnightly Report* (Confidential), dated 8th November 1943.

Idem, dated 22nd February 1943.

Idem, dated 22nd May 1945.

Idem, dated 25th October 1945.

Idem, dated 26th November 1945.

to go against him¹. He now inaugurated a National Youth Federation in Madras for co-ordinating the activities of all youth organizations with the object of carrying on the constructive programmes of the Congress². And, as soon as the Congress High Command decided to contest the elections, he and his followers made strenuous tours in all the Tamil districts, including South Arcot, addressing numerous meetings, explaining the Quit India Resolution, etc., and creating enthusiasm everywhere for the Congress. The opposition parties now more or less disappeared from the field, save the Communist Party³. The Congress, however, having secured an overwhelming majority in the Legislative Assembly in the elections held in March 1946, Sri T. Prakasam, who was chosen as the leader of the Parliamentary Party, formed a Ministry in April 1946⁴. His Ministry was, in March 1947, succeeded by that of Sri O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar and this Ministry was, in turn, succeeded, in April 1949, by that of Sri P. S. Kumaraswami Raja. As for the Governor, Sir Archibald Nye, who had become the Governor in May 1946, continued to hold the office even after the declaration of independence, till September 1948, when he was succeeded by the Maharaja of Bhavanagar. As we propose to close this chapter with the year 1950 we have to cover only a portion of the rule of the Ministry of Sri Kumaraswami Raja and the Governorship of the Maharaja of Bhavanagar.

The whole period from the acceptance of office by the Congress in 1946 down to 1950 was marked by a series of political disturbances. Freedom was born in travail and had to be protected against all sorts of exceptional dangers. The war left a legacy of high prices, hoarding and blackmarketing and unusually hard times for the poor. Pakistan left a legacy of communal hatred and bitterness among the Muslims and the Hindus. The communal hatred was not a little accentuated by the All-India Movements like the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (the R.S.S.) directed against the Muslims and the provincial movements like the Razakars in Hyderabad directed against the Hindus and the Dravida Kazhagam or Black Shirts in Madras directed against the Brahmins. These

¹ See for instance *Fortnightly Report* (Confidential), dated 9th October 1945.

Idem, dated 25th October 1945.

Idem, dated 8th November 1945.

Idem, dated 11th January 1946.

Idem, dated 26th January 1946.

Idem, dated 7th March 1946.

² *Idem*, dated 25th October 1945.

³ *Idem*, dated 26th September 1945.

Idem, dated 9th October 1945.

Idem, dated 8th November 1945.

Idem, dated 26th November 1945.

Idem, dated 20th February 1946.

Idem, dated 21st March 1946.

⁴ *Idem*, dated 5th April 1946.

Idem, dated 20th April 1946.

Idem, dated 10th May 1946.

movements were promptly put down or kept within bounds by the National Government. But not so was the Communist Movement, the activities of which in Madras during the war period we have already noticed. The expulsion of the Communists from the Congress in 1945 made no difference in their activities. On the other hand it strengthened the left wing of the Communist Party which from that time onwards became all powerful. Shortly afterwards, the death of Gandhiji at the hands of a fanatic, who claimed himself as a Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh worker, removed the only man who might have opposed Communism with vigour. As soon as the Congress accepted office, therefore, the Communists, all over India, organized industrial and agrarian strikes, held demonstrations, made anti-Government speeches, disseminated inflammatory literature, terrorised their opponents and incited the people to all sorts of violent acts against the State, against the mill and factory owners, against the zamindars, against the landlords, etc.

In Madras, too, they did this both in the city and in the districts. They opened a parliamentary office in the city to collect statistics about the grievances of the workers. They endeavoured to organize a united front of all parties opposed to the Congress Ministry. They attacked and vilified the Government on every occasion. They tried to capture all the labour unions in the city, formed village food committees, fomented strikes in mills, factories, dockyards and essential services, and, what is more, incited agricultural labourers to rise against the landholders making it difficult for the authorities to maintain law and order over large and dispersed areas. And whenever they were arrested and convicted, they characterised the Government as reactionary and capitalistic¹. The anarchy let loose by the Communists compelled the Government to take stringent measures to preserve public peace and safeguard public interests. Early in 1947 they issued the Madras Maintenance of Public Order Ordinance (Ordinance I of 1947)² and followed it up by the Madras Maintenance of Public Order Act (Act I of 1947)³. In this Act, in order to deal with subversive

¹ *Fortnightly Report* (Confidential), dated 20th April 1946.

Idem, dated 10th May 1946.

Idem, dated 1st June 1946.

Idem, dated 8th July 1946.

Idem, dated 4th July 1946.

Idem, dated 9th August 1946.

Idem, dated 30th August 1946.

Idem, dated 21st August 1946.

Idem, dated 27th August 1946.

Idem, dated 30th October 1946.

Idem, dated 19th November 1946.

Idem, dated 23rd November 1946.

Idem, dated 11th December 1946.

Idem, dated 28th January 1947.

Idem, dated 12th February 1947.

² G.O. No. 13, Legal, dated 2nd January 1947.

Fortnightly Report (Confidential), dated 12th February 1947.

Idem, dated 25th February 1947.

³ G.O. No. 26, Legal, dated 12th March 1947.

activities, they provided for preventive detention, imposition of collective fines and censorship, control of meetings, processions, camps, drills and parades, requisitioning of property and control of essential services. This Act was amplified and amended in 1948¹ and re-enacted in 1949 (Act XXIII of 1949)².

The Communists by no means became so dangerous in South Arcot as in Tanjore or Malabar. But they still gave here a good deal of trouble to the authorities. They formed the Red Army Volunteer Organizations in Nellikuppam and Vriddhachalam. They smuggled arms, manufactured bombs, held army drills and threatened and assaulted all those who disagreed with them. They captured the Railway and Factory labour unions of Vriddhachalam, Villupuram, Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Nellikuppam. They organized the Railway Strike at Vriddhachalam in 1946. They took part in the Policemen's Strike in 1947. They attempted to wreck trains in 1949. They created unrest in the Nellikuppam Labour Union and fomented troubles in the Handloom Weavers' Associations of Pudupet, Veerapandy and Tiruppappuliur (Tirupadiriappuliur). They organized a kisan sabha at Veerapandy and incited the kisans to rise against the landholders. They committed rioting in 1949. They drove away the prospective bidders at the auction sales of zamin lands belonging to the zamindar of Vettavalam, assaulted his servants, throttled his manager and burgled his house. Nor was this all. They held numerous meetings in several parts of the district, made "terrorising speeches", distributed inflammatory literature, waylaid and attacked Congressmen and kept up secret contact with "the top ranking Communists of Pondicherry". And in 1950, they gained additional strength, by welcoming to their fold several Communists who had been repatriated by the Malayan Government and who had taken a violent part in the Singapore Dock Workers' Strike of 1948. These came with fire-arms, hand-grenades and revolvers³.

Without the special laws passed against them, it was quite evident that their activities would have assumed very serious proportions and led to utter chaos in the fields of kisan and industrial labour. But it is worth remarking that the Government, though

¹ G.O. No. 199, Legal, dated 29th December 1948.

² G.O. No. 173, Legal, dated 15th October 1949.

G.O. No. 188, Legal, dated 29th October 1949.

³ G.O. No. 1071, Public (General), dated 14th April 1949.

G.O. No. 321, Public (General), dated 4th February 1949.

G.O. No. 2203, Public (General), dated 12th July 1949.

G.O. No. 3112, Public (General), dated 10th April 1949.

G.O. No. 4606, Public (General), dated 28th December 1949.

G.O. No. 4607, Public (General), dated 28th December 1949.

G.O. No. 147, Public (General), dated 1st January 1950.

G.O. No. 215, Public (General), dated 16th January 1950.

G.O. No. 900, Public (General), dated 27th February 1950.

G.O. No. 1464, Public (General), dated 11th March 1950.

G.O. No. 1947, 1948, Public (General), dated 28th April 1950.

G.O. No. 3383, Public (General), dated 3rd October 1950.

they took stringent measures to put down Communist activities, did not show any undue harshness towards the Communists. Their action in most cases of detention under the Acts mentioned above, was upheld by the Advisory Boards set up to review such cases. And yet, they released all such detenus as gave an undertaking not to take part in subversive activities¹. They granted allowances to the families of many of the detenus and also released on parole a good number of detenus to attend on their sick relations, to perform obligatory ceremonies, etc.²

While the Communists gave infinite trouble to the Government, the Black Shirts or the Dravida Kazhagam gave them not a little headache. They carried on in South Arcot and in other Tamil districts their usual tirade against the Brahmins, preached against Hindi and demanded Dravidastan. In 1947 they convened an important conference, called the Dravida Separation Conference at Cuddalore (Gudalur), in which Sri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, Sri Muthiah Mudaliar and Dr. A. Krishnaswami took a prominent part³.

¹ G.O. No. 2339, Public, dated 19th July 1949.

² See, for instance, G.O. No. 1346, Public, dated 6th May 1947.

G.O. No. 2492, Public, dated 7th October 1948.

G.O. No. 1795, Public, dated 23rd July 1948.

G.O. No. 1797, Public, dated 23rd July 1948.

G.O. No. 1944, Public, dated 17th August 1948.

G.O. No. 2035, Public, dated 24th August 1948.

G.O. No. 2350, Public, dated 20th July 1948.

G.O. No. 4613, Public, dated 28th December 1949.

G.O. No. 5, Public, dated 3rd January 1950.

Fortnightly Report (Confidential), dated 10th May 1948.

Idem, dated 11th October 1947.

CHAPTER V.

THE PEOPLE.

South Arcot has a population of 2,776,767. Of the eight taluks which it comprises, Cuddalore (Gudalur) has nearly four hundred and forty thousand people; Chidambaram, Tirukkoyilur and Kallakurichchi have over three hundred and fifty thousand; Tindivanam, Vriddhachalam and Villupuram have over three hundred thousand; and Gingee (Senji) has about two hundred and fifty thousand¹. The density of population in the district is high being 600 to 700 persons per square mile; and in the deltaic portion (in the Chidambaram taluk) it is 900 to 1,000 persons per square mile which is the highest figure in the State².

During the decade 1941-51, there was an increase of 6·4 per cent of the population in the district as a whole, 4·7 per cent in the rural and 21·2 per cent in the urban areas. The small increase in the rural population is to be ascribed to the severe effect of the adverse seasons under which the district suffered as a result of the failure of the north-east monsoon from 1947 to 1951. There was at the same time an increase of 5·5 per cent in the non-deltaic and 12·5 per cent in the deltaic portions. And, there was, as is well known, a large migration of labouring classes from the district to Madras during the Second World War period, particularly from the northern taluks of Tindivanam, Gingee (Senji) and Villupuram³.

Of the total population of 2,776,767, Tamil is spoken by the majority, by no less than 2,537,541 persons; Telugu is spoken by 179,893, Kannada by 6,459, Urdu by 44,505, Hindi by 3,536, Malayalam by 2,343 and Marathi by 1,494 persons. The rest speak Sourashtra, Tulu, Konkani, English, etc.⁴ Of these major languages other than Tamil, Telugu is the language of the Komati traders, of the Devangas and some other weaving castes, of the Reddi or Kamma cultivators who are so common in the centre of the district, of the Woddah earth-workers, the Baliya shop-keepers and bangle-makers and the Chakkiliyar leather workers. Kannada is the language of some of the weavers and of the Kurumbars who mostly reside in the south-western corner of the district and are shepherds and makers of woollen blankets. Urdu is the tongue of the Muslims of purer descent; those of mixed descent, the Labbais

¹ 1951 *Census Handbook. South Arcot District*, 1953, page 5.

² *Census of India*, 1951. *Madras and Coorg*, Part I, Report—See the map opposite page 24.

³ 1951 *Census Handbook. South Arcot District*, 1953, page 5.

⁴ *Ibidem*, pages 275-280.

and Marakkayars, however, speak Tamil¹. As may be expected, the Hindus form the majority of the people, numbering as they do 2,620,066. The Muslims come next with 87,536 persons; the Christians number 64,218; the Jains number 4,337; while the rest consists of a few Sikhs and Buddhists². As compared with the other Tamil districts, the Jains form a considerable number in this district, and this is because of the historical association of Jainism with this district which has already been indicated in the chapters on history.

In a book like this it is not possible to describe the philosophical tenets of the various religions. All that can be done is to give a general account of the people who profess these religions and a particular account of their castes, where such castes exist, and their customs. It may, however, be stated here that we have no up to date statistics showing the number of persons belonging to the different castes of Hindus, inasmuch as such information was not collected during the last two censuses.

The social and religious customs of the people have remained the same through centuries in this as in the other districts, though latterly they have been undergoing some important changes in matters like untouchability, temple entry, etc. Several of the people who live in towns have caught a veneer of European manners and customs in dress and behaviour; and some of the people who live in villages too, have to some extent, become affected by it. But the great mass of the people, whether living in towns or villages, still continue to follow the ancient customs and usages in matters like dress and behaviour. And all people, whether townsmen or villagers, still continue to adhere to their ancient religious customs and practices, in matters like marriages, funerals, festivals, etc. Modern amenities, however, such as the motor cars, buses, radios and newspapers, are enjoyed by all who can afford them and the towns have naturally become the centres of these amenities. In the towns also, people of all castes and persuasions, irrespective of their caste or hereditary occupations, have taken to all sorts of professions. Here are to be found among them lawyers, doctors, officials, merchants, artisans and so on. Here again they wear all kinds of dresses, European as well as Indian; the hat, the coat, the trousers and the shoes are as commonly seen here as the turban or the cap, the shirt, the dhoti and the chappals. This is, however, not so in the villages. There, the caste distinctions are more marked. There, the Brahmin, the Non-Brahmin and the Harijan quarters are more clearly distinguished. There, the caste avocations are more rigidly followed. There, decent houses are possessed by only a chosen few, and the small houses and huts are commonly met with. And there, the people wear mostly the traditional South Indian dress.

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District*, [by W. Francois, Volume I, 1900, pages 75-76.

² *1951 Census Handbook, South Arcot District, 1953, pages 281-282.*

In conformity with this traditional dress, the men everywhere wear white dhotis; the more respectable among them, the long dhotis in the form of panchakacham or mulakacham, while the others, the short dhotis tied round their waists. The former put on also shorter cloths or towels over their shoulders or wear shirts. The boys wear the small under-cloth (komanam) and a waist cloth or put on shirts and shorts. The girls wear the pavadai. The women usually wear handloom sarees or silk sarees of various colours and patterns, six to nine yards in length. Among the Non-Brahmin castes, the saree is passed round the waist and a knot is tied to keep it in place and then a fold (kusavam) is made for ornament's sake over one of the hips or in front. The saree is then passed tightly round the waist and the end of it is brought up in front of the breast, thrown over the left shoulder and tucked into the waist behind. The higher caste women show only a little of the ornamental fold, the rest being concealed beneath the saree, while the lower caste women let it drop round the hip to the length of about a foot. All the Brahmin women pass the saree between their legs, but some of them, like the Kannada Brahmin women, do this by passing one corner of the ornamental fold above the lower part of the saree, pulling this up to show a part of their legs and leaving the portion of the saree passing between the legs visible; all others conceal this portion by bringing the saree again round the waist. The Smartha Tamil women make the ornamental fold on the left side, the Vaishnava Tamil women do not wear it at all, and others put it in front. The Paraiyar women wear the saree rather high above the knee. The Brahmin widows who shave their heads wear white or red sarees and always bring the end of the saree over their heads. Most of the younger women nowadays wear choli, bodice and petticoats. Tattooing was formerly common among some castes, but now it is fast disappearing¹. All Hindu women of whatever caste or sect, except widows, wear a tilakam of kum kum while the girls prefer tilakams of 'chandu'. They are also fond of jewellery. The higher castes go in for a variety of ornaments like neck chains, pendants, girdles, bangles, ear-rings, nose-screws, etc., made of gold and often studded with diamonds, rubies or other precious stones. The lower classes go in for similar cheaper jewellery of silver or gilded silver and artificial stones. All women love flowers and all of them, except widows, adorn their hair with them on almost all occasions. The Christian and the Muslim women do not put on the tilakam.

The food of the mass of the people consisted formerly of ragi, and cumbu and varagu²; but nowadays rice is fast becoming the staple food except in villages where paddy is not grown and where the staple food continues to be ragi, cumbu and varagu. All

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District*, by W. Francis, 1906, page 91.

² *Idem*, page 91.

Brahmins and some of the higher caste Non-Brahmins such as Vaisyas and Saiva Vellalas abstain from meat. Some of the lower castes eat beef and pork. The other Non-Brahmins, the Christians and the Muslims generally eat mutton, fish and the ordinary edible birds, and the Muslims eat beef in addition. The grown-ups among the Brahmins and other higher castes generally take two meals a day, one at mid-day and the other at night, but they supplement these meals by tiffin and coffee or tea in the morning and in the afternoon. The meals among the well-to-do classes commonly consist of ghee, dhal, rasam, sambar made of vegetables, appalams, pickles, curds or buttermilk. On festive occasions these are supplemented by sweet and special savoury dishes and fruits. Orthodox Brahmin widows do not take meals at night, but take only light food like cakes of rice and blackgram. The lower classes take usually three meals, breakfast in the morning of cold rice, a lunch at mid-day of hot or cold rice and a dinner at night of hot rice, meat, soup or curry. Cold rice at breakfast is nowadays widely replaced by coffee.

A variety of indigenous games are played by the young and old of all castes and communities. The children play with dolls of different kinds and at odd and even. The boys and girls play the blind-man's buff, the otti (tossing up and catching tamarind seeds), tip-cat and rounders, the kuttam (a game played with pieces on a board), the pachaikudirai (a kind of leap frog), the balchitangadu (catching while holding breath), marbles, kite-flying, etc. The girls play, in addition, kolattam and do dancing of various kinds. The women play various games with cowries on a board and the men play chess and cards, and sometimes take part in stick play¹. As to pastimes in the hot weather when all agricultural operations are at a standstill, the villagers take delight in dramatic performances conducted by the local companies of players; the performances are held at night in improvised theatres, usually on the village maidan. They constitute mostly the scenes from the Ramayana, the Mahabharatha and the Bhagavata and the adventures of the local hero Desing Raja. The women seldom act, female parts being taken by the younger and more comely of men².

The Hindus observe a variety of festivals. The most important of these common to almost all castes and sects are the New Year's Day, the Saraswathi or Ayudha Puja, the Deepavali and the Sankaranti or Pongal. The New Year's Day for Tamilians falls generally in the middle of April and for the Kannadigas and Telugus in the latter part of March. The Saraswathi Puja falls in October and is dedicated to Saraswathi, the goddess of learning.

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District*, by W. Francis, 1908, Pages 91-92. See e.g., *Gazetteer of the Tanjore District*, Vol. I, 1915, pages 64-65.

² *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District*, by W. Francis, Volume I, 1908, page 92.

On this day the Brahmins offer worship to the books and the other castes to their tools and instruments. The Deepavali which commemorates the destruction of the demon Narakasura by Sri Krishna falls in October or November. It is observed by having an oil bath in the early morning, by putting on new clothes and by firing crackers and other fire-works. The Sankranti or Pongal is the day on which the sun passes from Dakshinayana to Uttarayana, i.e., from Sagittarius to Capricorn. It comes in the middle of January. On this day pongal or sweetened rice is offered to the sun and other gods. The day following this festival is called the Mattu Pongal, or the festival of the cows and oxen. On this day the animals are well washed and decked with flower garlands and their horns are painted. Of the other festivals which are observed by many may be mentioned the following. Sri Rama Navami, the birth-day of Sri Rama which falls in the end of March, is usually celebrated by all Vaishnavites. Upakarmam or Avaniavittam which comes in August or September is observed by all Brahmins; on this day they have to put on a new sacred thread. Sri Jayanti, the birth-day of Sri Krishna which comes in the latter half of August, is observed by all Vaishnavites. Vinayaka Chaturthi which follows shortly afterwards and which is dedicated to Ganesa or Pillayar is celebrated by most Hindus. Navarathri and Vijaya Dasami which come in October and last for ten days and which commemorate the victory of the goddess Durga over the demon Mahishasura are observed mostly by the Brahmins. It is celebrated by the display of dolls and by the puja to Durga. Karthikai which occurs in the Tamil month of Karthigai (November-December) is celebrated by many Tamilians by decorating the front of their houses by numerous tiny oil lamps. Vaikunta Ekadasi which falls in December and which is sacred to all Vaishnavites, is observed by most classes of the people also by fasting and prayer. Maha Sivarathri which falls in the beginning of March and which is sacred to all Saivites is likewise observed by other classes as well by fasting and prayer¹. Besides these festivals there are also several other temple festivals observed by the people, and these will be described in the chapter on the Gazetteer.

The orthodox gods of the Hindus, as is well known, are Siva, Vishnu and a whole hierarchy of lesser gods who form the Hindu pantheon. These gods, as is equally well known, are worshipped in the shape of images as the visible symbols of an invisible Supreme. They need no description here. An account of such of them, however, as are usually worshipped in the famous temples at Chidambaram, Mailam, Tirukkoyilur, Tiruvadi, Tiruvendipuram. Srimushnam and Vriddhachalam, is given in the chapter

¹ *Tanjore District Manual*, pages 220-225. This is applicable to the South Arcot District also.

on the Gazetteer. But here we may give a description of the unorthodox gods or minor deities who have only a local reputation in this and in some other southern districts.

Among these unorthodox deities, Draupadi, Aiyanar, Madurai-viran and Mariamman occupy prominent place in the district. Draupadi, the wife of the famous Pandava brothers, is the special favourite of the Palliars. Her image is invariably accompanied by the image of Dharmaraja, the eldest of the Pandava brothers, and her temples are therefore commonly known as Dharmaraja kovils. They are very numerous and the priests in them are generally Palliars by caste, and all Palliars take a leading part in the temple ceremonies. Outside the temple there is often a figure of Pothuraja, or 'the King of buffaloes', a person of ferocious aspect who holds a dagger in his right hand and a human head in his left. Festivals to Draupadi always involve two points of ritual, the recital or acting of a part of the Mahabharatha which lasts for several days and a fire-walking ceremony. The first of these is usually done by the Palliars; the second of these is done by others as well, and has been introduced at the festivals to some other goddesses also¹.

Aiyanar is even more popular with the masses. There is, indeed, hardly any village in the district which has not a shrine to him. Even the Brahmins venerate him and give him an Aryan descent, calling him Hariharaputra. His temple is either a rude shrine or a spot marked by a trident or an image in a grove. It is heinous to remove even a twig of these groves. Besides him are usually the images of his two wives, Paranai and Pudukali, and outside his shrine stand a number of huge figures of virans and demons and terracotta animals, like horses, elephants and tigers. He is supposed to keep watch over the villages by riding on these animals at night. It is, however, considered unlucky to meet him when he is so engaged and in consequence his shrine is always erected at some little distance from the village.

In big towns his worship may be conducted in a perfunctory manner, but in the smaller villages it is performed sometimes daily with a piety which is at once impressive. At the approach of twilight, the pujari rings a little bell at the shrine when the villagers wend their way to the place. The congregation assembled, he sprinkles water over the images of the god and his two wives, places flowers upon them and burns camphor before them, making many obeisances as each act is performed. The simple ceremonies concluded, he hands round to the villagers a tray of sacred ashes and each man then solemnly smears a little of this between his brows and on either side of his neck and silently goes his way.

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District*, by W. Francis, Volume I, 1906, page 90.

The horses and elephants which signify an Aiyandar shrine are made either of wood or stone or more commonly of painted brick and chunam. They are sometimes over twenty feet in height. Simpler offerings are usually smaller images, some eight feet or so in height, made by the village potters of hollow burnt clay. Sometimes, as at Mailam in the Tindivanam taluk and at Veludaiyanpattu in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk, huge sandals are presented to the god for his nocturnal wanderings and are hung to the trees in front of his shrine. *Ex Voto* figures of children who are supposed to have been granted by him in answer to the prayer of childless wives, of legs and arms and other portions of the body which he is supposed to have cured of pain, and of people of all ages and of both sexes who have been freed from disease by his good offices, are found mingled among the horses and elephants and the total number of all these images often runs into scores and even hundreds.

Besides guarding the village and curing the sick, Aiyandar is also held in some villages (at Maradandal, three miles east of Vriddhachulam, for instance) to have the privilege and power of settling disputes. One of the two contending parties draws up a statement of his case and affixes it to the trident of the Aiyandar's shrine. If the statement is true and he has justice on his side, the other party, it is believed, will soon, unless he speedily comes to terms, find himself, his relations or his property, affected with some evil. A settlement is accordingly usually made without loss of time before the god and is ratified by offerings at his shrine.

The Virans or demons outside Aiyandar's shrines are enormous figures of painted brick and plaster of semi-human shape, but possessing fearsome attributes such as huge dog-teeth and so on. They are usually put up in fulfilment of vows and there are several kinds of them, each with his own name and story. The most popular of them is Madurai Viran, or the demon of Madurai. He is the deification of a historical person. It is said that he was the servant of one of the palayagars of Madurai, that he ran away with his master's daughter, married her and performed several daring deeds near Madurai. His image is always accompanied by that of his wife Bommanayaki and by the head of her father, whom he is said to have killed, under his feet.

Yet another deity who is worshipped by many is Mariamman, the goddess of smallpox whose temples are scattered in numerous places. Other minor deities are Ponnammal (golden lady) Mutammal (pearl lady), Gangammal (goddess of cholera), and the Sapta Kanniya (seven Virgins)¹.

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District*, by W. Francis, Volume I, 1906, p. 99-102.

See also *Gazetteer of the Madurai District*, by W. Francis, Volume I, 1906, pages 85-86.

Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Volume I, 1915, pages 48-60.

Among the trees and plants, the margosa and the tulasi are commonly worshipped in the district. The margosa is considered sacred and worshipped as the abode of Mariamman. The tulasi, as is well known, is worshipped by all Brahmin women. As to the cobra, the higher castes consider it a sin to kill it, believing as they do that the man who does so will have no children. Childless wives also take a vow to install a cobra (naga) if they are blessed with offspring. And the ceremony of installation and worship consist in having a figure of a cobra cut on a stone slab, placing it in a well for six months, 'giving it life' by reciting mantrams and performing certain rites over it and then setting it up under a pipal tree which has been 'married' to a margosa. Worship, by going round the tree 108 times, is then performed for 45 days. The child which is supposed to be born by performing this worship, is, in this as in other districts, given a name bearing reference to serpents, such as Seshachala, Seshamma, Nagappa, Nagamma and so on¹.

The belief in vows is, indeed, widespread among many classes here as elsewhere. Vows are made to gods as well as minor deities and they take various forms. Parents desiring offspring make a vow that, if a child is born, they will perform the ceremony of the first shaving of its head in the temple of the deity which granted the boon. Sometimes they vow that, if a child is born, they will hang a miniature cradle in the temple. Similarly when a child is ill, they vow that, if it recovers, its jewels will be presented to the deity. More often when a person falls ill, he vows to brand his body or to go round the temple a certain number of times, sometimes by rolling himself over and over on the ground, after he recovers. Vows are also taken in anticipation of boons, in which case, until the boon is granted, the devotee undertakes to forgo salt in food or to offer models of affected limbs in silver or other metal².

But perhaps more numerous than vows are the superstitious beliefs of the people. Thus an owl or a vulture brings ill luck to the house on which it perches; a tortoise in a house or in a field which is being ploughed is inauspicious. The cawing of a crow on a house indicates the arrival of a guest. The dream of a temple car in motion or burglary foretells the death of some near relation. To hear some one sneezing, or to be questioned as to the business on which one is going, is bad omen. So is the catching sight of either one Brahmin or two Non-Brahmins or a widow or oil, or a snake, or a huntsman or a sanyasi. It is

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District*, by W. Francis, Volume I, 1906, page 102.

See also *Gazetteer of the Tanjore District*, Volume I, 1915, pages 70-71.

² *Gazetteer of the Tanjore District*, Volume I, 1915, pages 71-72.

good omen to hear a bell ringing, a cannon sounding, an ass braying, a garuda crying, or, on first leaving the house, to catch sight of a married woman, a corpse, flowers or water. Evil spirits can be warded off by talismen and houses and persons haunted or possessed by evil spirits can be exorcised by professional sorcerers. A clay building fly's nest in the house predicts the birth of a child; if a mud nest, of a male child, if a jungle lac nest, of a girl. The going out of lights during a meal or on auspicious occasions foreshadows evil. The hissing noise of the oven indicates the arrival of a guest. The entrance of a viper inside the house or in the field is an ill omen. The fighting of crows in front of the house foretells news of death. The effects of an evil eye can be warded off by adorning houses in the course of construction by some object to attract it¹.

Nor is this all. In several places stone slabs may be seen set up on the outskirts of the villages. These are thought to be able to ward off sickness and other harm which threaten to enter the villages and are revered accordingly. Some of these slabs are quite blank, others have letters cut on them, while some others again bear the rude outline of a deity and are accordingly given the names such as Pidari or Ellai Amman (the goddess of the boundary). To these last, periodical worship is performed, whereas, in the case of the others, annual ceremonies are performed by breaking coconuts, burning camphor and placing a light on the slab. Moreover, in several villages in the west of the district, in Tiruvarangam and Kallipadi in the Kallakurichchi taluk and Palaiyam and Jambai in the Tirukkoyilur taluk for instance, there are magical slabs which are supposed to cure cholera and cattle disease. On them, surrounded by a border of 'trishulas' are cut a series of little squares in each of which is some Tamil letter. These slabs are said to have been put up there about a century ago by an ascetic. Again, at cross roads may sometimes be seen pieces of broken pots, saffron, etc. They too are thrown there at dead of night to ward off diseases. Further, amulets are worn by many villagers and rain is invited by some by burning the effigies of sinners upon the earth².

It would, however, be a great mistake to suppose that this belief in demons, vows and superstitions constitutes the essence of the religion of the Hindus. A belief in these has never prevented them from professing also a belief in all the higher gods of the Aryan pantheon. Nor has it prevented such of them as are sincere aspirants and deep thinkers from rising to the higher levels of philosophy, even to the highest summit of Vedanta philosophy. It should not be forgotten that the same religion which has produced simple, pious and believing souls has produced

¹ *Gazetteer of the Tanjore District*, Volume I, 1915, pages 66-67.

² *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District*, by W. Francis, Volume I, 1906, pages 92-94.

also spiritual giants like Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhva. The truth is, Hinduism is all-embracing, a happy blending and fusion of both the Aryan and Dravidian cultures; and all that is great as well as all that is small in them, all that is sublime as well as all that is simple in them, in fact, all faiths and all beliefs that have crystallized in all these ages, find a place in it, making it at once, attractive, alluring and satisfying to all types of temperaments.

Coming now to the principal castes of the district, the Brahmins, though they constitute a very small percentage of the population, occupy a conspicuous position in society. They are the repositories of Vedic knowledge, priests, purohits, astrologers, etc. They are also the persons who have made much headway in modern education and taken to all sorts of professions, medicine, law, Government service and so on with an enviable facility and success. They are primarily divided into two well-known religious sects, the Saivites and the Vaishnavites. The Saivites are either the Saivites proper or the Smarthas. The Saivites proper believe that there is only one God Siva who is self-existent and that he is not liable to lose his personality. The Smarthas, on the other hand, recognise the Trimurtis, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, as equal manifestations of the supreme spirit and believe that the soul of man (jiva) is only a portion of the infinite spirit (atman) and that it is capable of being absorbed into the atman. Among the Vaishnavites there are two principal sects in the south, those who are the followers of Sri Ramanuja and who call themselves Sri Vaishnavites, and those who are the followers of Sri Madhva-charya and who call themselves Madhvas. All Brahmins, whether Vaishnavites or Saivites, have, according to the sutras, to go through the following Samskaras (rites): Garbhadanam, Pumsavanam, Simantham, Jatakaranam, Namakaranam, Annaprasanam, Choulam, Upanayanam and Vivaham. These rites are believed to purify the body and spirit, but not all of them are in practice performed at the present day. The Garbhadana or impregnation ceremony should be performed on the fourth day of the marriage ceremonies. But, if the bride is a young girl, it is omitted or Vedic mantras are repeated. The Pumsavanam and Simantham are performed together during the sixth or eighth month of the first pregnancy. The Jatakaranam, Namakaranam, Annaprasanam and Choulam are ordinarily celebrated one after the other on the Upanayanam day. The Upanayanam is essentially a ceremony of initiation. From the orthodox point of view it should be performed before the age of eight, but in practice it is performed much later. The wearing of the sacred thread is a sign that the boy has gone through the ceremony. The Vivaham, or the marriage ceremony, resembles, even today, that of the Vedic times in all essentials. All sections of Brahmins closely follow the Grihya Sutras relating to their Sakha. In addition to these ceremonies all Brahmins perform funeral ceremonies and

the annual Sraddha. The Brahmins are all expected to perform the Abanikams such as the bath, the Sandhya prayers, Brahma Yagna, Devapuja, Tarpana, etc.¹

The Tamil Brahmins are mostly Smarthas and Vaishnavas. Each of these sects is divided and subdivided into a number of smaller groups based on sectarian, occupational, territorial, ritualistic and other differences. Among the Smartha subdivisions may be mentioned the Vadama (the Northerners), the Brahacharanam, the Ashtasahasram, the Vattima or the Maddhima, the Kaniyalar, the Cholia, the Viliya, the Kesika, the Prathamasaki and the Gurukkal. The Vadamas claim to be superior to the other classes; they worship both Siva and Vishnu but follow the smartha customs in every way. The Brahacharanams are more Saivite and more orthodox than the Vadamas. The Ashtasahasrams are considered to be inferior to the Vadamas and the Brahacharanams; they are, however, like the Brahacharanams more Saivite than the Vadamas. The Vattimas are said to be noted for their economical habits and for their sense of corporate unity. The Kaniyalars are mostly temple servants and wear Vaishnavava marks. The Cholias are mostly temple priests and temple servants. The Viliyars are supposed to be descended from an ancestor who offered his eye to Lord Siva for want of flowers. The Kesikas or Hiranyakesikas, as they are sometimes called, closely resemble the Vadamas but are an exclusive endogamous unit and are highly orthodox. The Prathamasis follow the White Yajur Veda; they are also sometimes called Katyayanas and are considered inferior by the other sects. So also are considered inferior the Gurukkals who are temple priests. All these sects are further subdivided into smaller sects. In regard to the Vaishnavas, or Sri Vaishnavas as they are sometimes called to distinguish them from the Madhvas, they are all supposed to be converts from Smarthas. There are two distinct groups of Vaishnavas, the Vadagalais (northerners) and the Tengelais (southerners) who are easily distinguished by the marks on their foreheads. The Vadagalais put on a U-shaped mark and the Tengelais a Y-shaped mark. Each one of these groups is divided into the Vaikhanasas, the Pancharatras² and the Hebbars. The Tengelais group also consists of the Mandyas. The orthodox Sri Vaishnavas are very exclusive and hold that they co-existed as a separate caste of Brahmins with the Smarthas. All Vaishnavas are expected to undergo a ceremony of initiation into Vaishnavism, after the Upanayanam ceremony. There are various points of difference between the Tengelais and the Vadagalais which sometimes lead to bitter quarrels in connection with temple worship and temple processions³.

¹ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Volume I, 1909, pages 269-278.

² According to J. N. Farquhar, the terms Pancharatras and the Vaikhanasas refer to the mode of worship in Sri Vaishnava temples.

³ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Volume I, 1909, pages 333-349.

There are also the Telugu Brahmins, the Kannada Brahmins and the Tulu Brahmins. The first are divided into two sections, the Niyogis and the Vaidicks; the second are divided into two other sections, the Smarthas and the Madhvas, while the third are divided into six sections, the Shivallis, the Kotas, the Kandaravas, the Haiviks, the Panchagramis and the Koteswars¹. It is not necessary to say more about these Non-Tamil Brahmins as they are not many in number in the district.

The marriage rites in vogue among the Brahmins resemble those of the Vedic times in all essentials; and, as has already been stated, each section of the Brahmins closely follows the Grihya Sutras relating to the Sakha. A marriage is usually arranged only if the horoscopes of the boy and the girl agree, if they do not belong to the same gotra, and if the girl is not older than the boy. The horoscopes are examined by professional astrologers. In former days it was usual for the bridegroom to pay a small sum of money as a bride price, but nowadays the opposite practice of paying a handsome dowry by the bride's father to the bridegroom has become the rule. The marriage ceremony is performed in the bride's house, the bride's father generally bearing all the expenses. Formerly the ceremony invariably used to last for four or five days but nowadays it is completed even in a day.

The ceremony begins with the Nischayartham or betrothal and is followed by the performance of various vratams consisting of oblations to the sacred fire by the bridegroom. He then dresses himself like a married man and proceeds on a mock pilgrimage called Paradesapravesam or Kasiyatra and is met and brought back by the bride's father. The bride is now brought out, decked in her wedding clothes and the pair are brought face to face and made to exchange garlands. Formerly they used to be taken up on the shoulders of their maternal uncles for the purpose of exchanging garlands. The couple then sit on a swing and married women go round them thrice carrying water, light, fruits and betel. After this the couple are conducted into the house and seated on the marriage dais. The ceremony proper now begins with the proclamation of the gotras of the bride and the bridegroom so as to ensure that they do not belong to the same gotra. The bridegroom does puja to Ganapathi if he is a Saivite and to Vishwakshena if he is a Vaishnavite. He then performs the Ankurarpana. Four earthen pans are arranged in the form of a square, east, west, north and south and a fifth pan is set down in the centre of the square. The pan to the east represents Indra, that to the west Varuna, that to the south Yama and that to the north Soma. In each of these pans are placed nine kinds of grain soaked in water and the devatas are invoked.

¹ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, by Edgar Thurston, Volume I, 1909, pages 356-386.

The next stage is the tying of the wrist thread. Two cotton threads are laid on a vessel representing Varuna, and after the recitation of Vedic verses, the bridegroom takes one of the threads and dipping it in turmeric paste, holds it with his left thumb, smears some of the paste on it with his right thumb and forefinger and ties it on the left wrist of the bride. The purohit ties the other thread on the right wrist of the bridegroom who, facing the assembly proclaims, "I am going to take the bride". He then invokes the gods Indra, Surya and Bhaga to bless the marriage. The purohit once more proclaims the marriage and those assembled bless the couple. The fathers of the bride and the bridegroom now wash each other's feet with milk and water after which the bride sits on her father's lap and her mother stands at her side. The father then places the bride's hand in that of her bridegroom and both the father and mother pour water over the united hands of the couple, the father reciting the sloka, "I am giving you a virgin decorated with jewels to enable me to obtain religious merit". This is called the *dhara* ceremony. It forms the binding portion of the marriage ceremony among Telugu Brahmins and some Non-Brahmin castes. The couple then sit in front of the sacred fire and the bride's father after pouring ghee as an oblation and reciting some mantras pours some water over the hands of the bridegroom and offers him a mixture of honey, plantain fruit and ghee and, afterwards, a coconut and plantains. The bride next sits on a heap or bundle of paddy and the bridegroom invokes the gods to bless her. A yoke is now brought and one end of it is placed on the head of the bride and some mantras pronounced. The bridegroom then gives a new and costly silk cloth (*Kurat*) to the bride who puts it on and sits on her father's lap. This is followed by the bridegroom tying the *tali* on the bride's neck when all the Brahmins bless the couple by throwing rice over their heads. A *darbha* waist cord is passed around the waist of the bride and the couple now perform a *homam*. The bridegroom takes hold of the bride's right wrist and pressing the fingers passes his hand over the united fingers three times. This is called *Panigrahanam*. The next item is *Sapthapathi* or the taking of the seven steps which is generally considered the most binding part of the ceremony. In this the bridegroom lifts the left foot of the bride seven times repeating certain mantras. A *homam* is then made. The bride then treads on a stone thrice and some fried paddy is put into the sacred fire each time. The *darbha* girdle is now removed from the bride's waist when everybody disperses.

Towards evening, the bride and the bridegroom sit before the sacred fire while the Brahmins recite the vedic mantras. A male child which has not lost his brothers or sisters is now made to sit on the lap of the bride and given a plantain fruit and the bridegroom invokes prosperity and progeny to bless the house.

The couple are then shown Druva (the Pole Star) and Arundathi (smaller star, Ursa major) and these are worshipped. The Stalipaka ceremony is afterwards performed. In this the bride should cook some rice and the bridegroom should offer it as an oblation to the sacred fire. In practice, however, some food is brought and placed in the fire. The purohit now decorates a ficus stick with darbha grass and gives it to the bridegroom. It is placed in the roof or somewhere inside the house near the seed pans.

On the second and third days homams are performed in the morning and evening and the Nalangu ceremony is gone through. In this ceremony the couple sit before trays containing betel leaves, arecanuts, fruits, flowers and turmeric paste, and the women sing songs. Taking a little of the turmeric paste mixed with chunam the bride makes marks by drawing lines over the feet (Nalangu idal) of the bridegroom. Arathi is then offered followed by the distribution of tambulam (pan-supari). On the fourth day the Brahmin priests make the couple sit beside them and, after the recitation of vedic verses, bless them. The shoulders of the couple are then smeared with turmeric paste, made red with chunam and a mark is made with the same paste on their foreheads. This is called Pachai Kalyanam. It is peculiar to Tamil Brahmins, both the Smarthas and the Vaishnavas. The bride and the bridegroom are then made to exchange garlands. Towards the evening a procession called Amman Kolan is got up at the expense of the maternal uncle of the bride. The bride is dressed up as a boy and another girl is dressed up as the bride. They are taken in procession through the streets and, on their return, the pseudo-bridegroom is made to speak to the real bridegroom in somewhat insolent terms and some mock play is indulged in. The real bridegroom is sometimes treated as a thief. Among Srivaishnavas, after the Pachai ceremony the bridal couple are made to roll a coconut to and fro across the dais amidst the chanting of the songs of Andal by the assembled Brahmins. Tambulam (of which a little together with some money is set apart for Andal) is then distributed to all. The family priest now calls out the names and gotras of those who have become related to the couple; and, as each person's name is called out, he or she is supposed to make a present of clothes, moneys, etc., to the couple. Among Telugu and Kannada Brahmins, instead of the Pachai Kalyanam, another ceremony called Nagavalli is performed. In this ceremony thirty-two lights and two vessels representing Siva and Parvati are arranged in the form of a square. Unbleached thread soaked in turmeric paste is passed round the square and tied to the pandal. The couple sit in front of the square and after doing puja cut the thread and take their seats within the square. The bridegroom then ties a tali of black beads on the bride's neck symbolically in the presence of all the gods which are here represented by a number of small pots round the fire. Close to the pots are designed

the figures of two elephants, one in rice grains and the other in salt. After going round the pots the couple bargain as to the prices of the animals. This is followed by a burlesque on domestic life and the introduction of the bride to her new relations by marriage and the making of the present of tambulam and turmeric.

A mock marriage is occasionally celebrated among the Brahmins when a person marries a third wife. As the third marriage is considered inauspicious, as the bride thereby is believed to become a widow, the man is first made to marry the Arka (Erukku) plant and then the bride, so that his real marriage becomes the fourth. In orthodox fashion it is celebrated on a Sunday or a Monday when the constellation Hastham is visible. The bridegroom accompanied by the priest and another Brahmin repairs to the place where the Arka plant is growing. The plant is decorated with cloth and a piece of string and invoked by the bridegroom to avert the evils of the third marriage. The bridegroom then asks the plant to marry him and become his third wife. After this all the ceremonies such as the homam, tali-tying, etc., are performed by the Brahmins as at a regular marriage. The plant is then cut down and the marriage is declared to be over¹.

As to the funeral ceremonies among the Brahmins, when a person is about to die, he is removed from his bed and laid on the floor. If he dies on Danishtapanchami (inauspicious) day, he is taken out of the house and placed in the courtyard or the pial. Some prayers are then uttered and sometimes a cow is presented (godhanam) to the Brahmin priest so as to render the passage of life through the various parts of the body as easy as possible. As soon as he is dead, his body is washed, religious marks are made on the forehead and parched paddy and betel are scattered over and around it by the son. The sacred fire is then lighted, rice is cooked in a new earthen pot and a new cloth is thrown over the corpse. A simple bier of bamboos and straw is then prepared and four bearers are selected. To each of the bearers darbha grass is given in token of his office to carry the corpse to the burning ground. The eldest son who is the funeral celebrant and his brothers, if any, are shaved and the last respects are paid by the widow and the female relations by going round the corpse three times. The funeral procession then starts consisting of men alone, preceded by the eldest son carrying a mud pot containing fire. On the way to the burning ground the corpse is sometimes placed on the ground and some mantras are recited and cooked rice offered to propitiate evil spirits. At the burning ground certain mantras are again recited and rites performed,

¹ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Volume I, 1909, pages 278-298.

after which the body is placed on the funeral pyre and the pyre set fire to by the eldest son. He then carries a pot filled with water, having a hole at the bottom through which water trickles out on his shoulders, three times round the corpse and at the end of the third round throws it down and breaks it. Sometimes, in the case of respected elders, the son and all the relations present scatter darbha grass repeating certain vedic verses. The son then pours a little water on a stone and sprinkles himself with it and the rest follow him. After this they pass through a bundle of darbha grass held aloft by the priest and gaze for a moment at the sun. Everybody then goes to a tank and bathes. All these rites are performed and the corpse is cremated in the course of a few hours. No food is cooked in the house on the day of death.

On returning home, the son performs the rites of Nagna Sraddham and Pashana Sthapanam; the former by presenting clothes, lamp and money to a Brahmin and offering balls of cooked rice to the spirit and the latter by setting up two stones, one in the house and the other on the bank of a tank. For ten days libations of water mixed with gingelly seeds and balls of cooked rice are offered to the stones. On the day after cremation, the relations assemble at the cremation ground for performing the ceremony called Sanchayanam which consists in extinguishing the burning embers and removing the fragments of bones from the ashes. These bones are taken away in a mud vessel and later thrown into a sacred river or buried in the ground. On the tenth day, a large quantity of food is cooked and heaped on plantain leaves when all the female relations go round it wailing. The food is thrown into a tank and the tali of the widow is then removed. In former days her head used to be clean shaved on that day but nowadays most of the widows do not undergo this operation. All the agnates should be present on the tenth day to perform tarpanam or oblation of water. After a bath, a homam is performed. On the eleventh day a Brahmin is fed after going through Sraddha rites. On the twelfth day an important Sraddha like ceremony is performed; and, at the close of this ceremony, six balls of cooked rice are offered to their ancestors. The balls are arranged in two rows with some space between them and some cooked rice is placed between them. This is divided with darbha grass into three portions and each portion is arranged close to the balls of rice. A cow is now sometimes presented to a Brahmin to render the crossing of the river Vaitarani easy for the departed soul. On the thirteenth day a feast is held and domestic worship is carried out at the close of which verses composed in praise of the deceased called Charama Slokas are read. In the course of the year following the death, twelve monthly and four quarterly Sraddhas are performed by the son. Annual Sraddhas are performed thereafter but, if the son performs the Sraddhas at Gaya, it is not obligatory upon him to perform the annual Sraddha. The annual Sraddhas consist of homam, offering

of cooked rice to the pitris and the feeding of one or two or three Brahmins.¹

Turning to the Non-Brahmins who form the bulk of the population of the district, we may first say something in general about their customs and then describe separately the peculiar customs followed by each caste. Usually, among the Non-Brahmins, a boy should not marry the daughter of his maternal aunt or his paternal uncle, but he has a right to marry the daughter of his sister, his maternal uncle or his paternal aunt. Ordinarily an eldest son should not marry an eldest daughter, nor should a boy marry a girl older than himself. The bride's mother is paid a *parisappanam* or *mulaippal kuli* by the bridegroom. Usually the dead are cremated by the higher castes and buried by the lower castes. And, usually the *Karumantarani* ceremony takes place on the sixteenth day. With these few general remarks we may plunge straightaway into the descriptions of the various castes.

The Vellalars, the famous cultivating classes of the Tamil country, form an important community in the district. The word Vellalar is derived from *Vellanmai* (*vellam* or water plus *anmai* or management), meaning cultivation or tillage. Essentially a peace-loving and industrious people, they have taken to the cultivation of rice, betel and tobacco with excellent results. Among them are to be found also merchants, shop-keepers, Government servants, etc., but they do not generally take up any degrading avocation. They are considered to occupy the first place in the social scale among the Non-Brahmins. They call themselves Pillays, Chettiars and Mudahars. There are among them four main divisions named after the tract of country in which the ancestors of each originally resided; the Tondamandalam or the dwellers of the Pallava country, the Solia (or Sozia) or men of the Chola country, the Pandya or the inhabitants of the Pandyan kingdom and the Konga or the residents of the Kongu country. The Tondamandalam Vellalars are subdivided into the Tuluvas who came from the Tulu country; the Poonamallee (or Pundamalli) Vellalars who came from Poonamallee; and the Kondaikattis who tie their hair with a knot. The Pandya Vellalars are subdivided into the Karkattars or the Karaikattus who, notwithstanding the legends about their origin, are probably a territorial subdivision named after a place called Karaikadu; the Nangudis and the Panjais, whose origin is not clear; the Arumburs and the Sirukudis, so called from the villages of those names; the Aganudaiyars who are probably recruits from the caste of that name; the Nirpusis, meaning the wearers of sacred ashes; and the Kottai Vellalars or fort Vellalars. The Solia Vellalars are subdivided into the Vellalar Chettiars (merchants), the Kodikkals

¹ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Volume I 1909, pages 299-305.

(growers of betel vine), and the Kanakkilinattar or inhabitants of Kanakkilinadu. The Kongas are subdivided into the Sendalais (red-headed men), the Padaitalais (leaders of armies), the Vellikkai (the silver hands), the Pavalamkatti (wearers of coral), the Malaiyadi (foot of the hills), the Tollakadu (ears with big holes), etc. In addition to these divisions and subdivisions of the Vellalar caste proper there are nowadays many groups which, though they belong to quite distinct castes, pretend to be Vellalars.

The Vellalars, whatever division or subdivision they belong to, observe in common some essential customs. Their marriage ceremonies are usually performed in the puranic fashion with the Brahmins officiating as priests (except among the Konga Vellalars). They all burn their dead, observe fifteen days pollution and perform the Karumantaram ceremony to remove the pollution on the sixteenth day. Each division of them contains both the Vaishnavites and the Saivites, and contrary to the rule among the Brahmins, the differences of sects among the Vellalars are not of themselves any bar to inter-marriage. Each division has pandarams or priests recruited from among its members who officiate at funerals and minor ceremonies and some of these wear the sacred thread, while the other Vellalars wear it only at funerals. All the Vellalars perform Sraddhas and observe the ceremony of invoking their ancestors on the Mahalaya days. All of them abstain from alcohol and refuse to eat in the houses of any but the Brahmins. All of them may dine together but no member of the four main divisions and the various subdivisions may marry into another. The Karaikat Vellalars are said to have some peculiar customs. It is said that they associate freely with the Kunnavars and can eat food dressed by them; but if a Kunnavar is invited to the house of a Karaikat Vellalar, he must not touch the cooking utensils or enter the kitchen. It is also said that they observe a ceremony called Vilakkidu Kalyanam or the auspicious ceremony of lighting the light. It is performed by girls in their seventh or ninth year or later but before marriage and it consists in worshipping Ganesa and the Sun at the house of the girl's parents. At this ceremony her maternal uncle gives her a necklace of gold beads and coral and a new cloth, while the other relatives make other presents. The girls wear this necklace called Kodachimani even after marriage.

Some Vellalars observe the Brahminical custom with regard to second and third marriages. A man marrying a second wife, after the death of his first, has to marry a plantain tree and cut it down before tying the tali and, in the case of a third marriage, he has to tie a tali first to the erukku plant. The idea is that the second and the third wives do not prosper and the tree and the plant are therefore made to take their places. Some Vellalar women observe a ceremony called Sevvai Pillayar or as it is sometimes called Avvai Nombu, because the famous poetess Avvai

observed it. This ceremony takes place twice in the year, once on a Tuesday in the month of Thai (January-February) and again on a Tuesday in the month of Adi (July-August). It is held at midnight and no males, even babies in arms, are allowed to witness it. A number of women join together and provide the rice required, and at the house where the ceremony is to be performed, it is pounded into flour and mixed with leaves of *Pongamia glabra* and margosa. The mixture is then made into cakes, some flat and some conical to represent Pillayar and the rites are performed with these cakes and flowers, fruits, betel, turmeric, combs, kumkum, etc.¹

The Kapus or Reddiars are also an important caste of cultivators. They seem to have been a powerful Dravidian tribe in the early centuries of the Christian era, before the time of the Pallavas. They are split up into a number of sections, some say, fourteen, of which the Panta Reddiars form the most important section. Other sections bear the names such as Ayodhya, Baliya, Bhumanchi, Desur, Gandhi Kottai, Guzulu, Kammapur, Morasa, Nerate or Nervati, Oraganti, Paknati Palle, and Pedaganti or Pedakanti. The Panta Reddiars are said to be divided into two endogamous divisions, namely the Perma Reddiar or Madurn Kapu. There are a number of exogamous sects among the Reddiars some of which are totemic.

In their marriage ceremonial, the Panta Reddiars of this district appear to follow the Brahminical form. In the disposal of their dead, they follow the ceremonial in vogue among the various Tamil castes. The news of a death in the community is conveyed by a Paraiyar toti. The dead man's son receives a measure containing a light from a barber and goes three times round the corpse. At the cremation ground, the barber, instead of the son, goes thrice round the corpse, carrying a pot of water, and followed by the son, who makes holes in the pot. The water which trickles out is sprinkled over the corpse. The barber then breaks the pot into small fragments. On the day after the funeral the barber extinguishes the fire and collects the ashes together. A washerman now brings a basket containing various articles required for worship, and, after the puja has been performed, a plant of *Leucas aspera* is placed on the ashes. The bones are then collected in a new pot and thrown into a river, or carried to Banaras and thrown into the Ganges.

In religion they are both Vaishnavites and Saivites. They worship also a variety of deities such as Thallamma, Nagarapammun, Putalamma, Ankamma, Muneswara, Poleramma and Dasamma.²

¹ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Vol. VII 1909, pages 361-389.

² *Madurai District Manual* by J. H. Nelson, Part II, 1868, pages 27-34.

Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 81-82.

² *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Vol. III, 1909, pages 222-249.

The Kammas, like the Kapus or Reddiars, are mainly agriculturists and traders. They have several subdivisions and a number of sects among them. They have also gotras and caste councils. Some of them are Saivites and others are Vaishnavites. They worship the orthodox gods as well as minor deities, like Gangamma, Ankamma, Poleramma, etc.

Prior to the betrothal ceremony among them, female ancestors, Vigneswara and the Grama devatas are worshipped. After this a near relation of the bridegroom proceeds with a party to the home of the future bride. On the way thither they look for omens such as the crossing of birds in an auspicious direction; and immediately on the occurrence of a favourable omen burn camphor and break a coconut. One half of the coconut is sent to the would-be bridegroom and the other half taken to the bride's house and given to the bride. The bride's lap is then filled with flowers, coconuts, turmeric, plantains, betel leaves and arecanuts, combs, sandal paste and kumkum and a wedding day is fixed. Marriage is generally celebrated at the house of the bridegroom, but, if it is a case of kannikadanam, at the house of the bride. On the first day of the marriage rites, what is called the box-lid ceremony is performed. The new cloths for the bridal couple, five plantains, nuts and pieces of turmeric, one or two combs, four rupees and the bride's price in money or jewels, are put in a box which is placed near the parents of the contracting couple. The contents of the box are then taken out, laid on the lid and examined by the sammandhis (new relations by marriage). The bride's father next gives betel leaves and arecanuts to the father of the bridegroom saying "the girl is yours and the money is mine". The bridegroom's father hands them back saying, "the girl is mine and the money is yours." This is repeated three times, after which the officiating priest announces the marriage before the Brahmins and in the presence of light, Agni, and the Devatas. This ceremony is binding and should the bridegroom perchance die before the bottu is tied, she becomes and remains a widow. The milk post is then set up; the marriage pots are arranged and the nalangu ceremony is performed. This consists of anointing the bridal couple with oil and smearing the shoulders with turmeric flour. After they take their bath, the bridegroom is decorated and taken to a specially prepared place to worship the heroes, which are represented by five bricks. This completed, wrist threads (kankanam) are tied on the bride and bridegroom. The bridegroom next goes to the temple and on his return, the purohit lights the sacred fire and the couple sit side by side on a plank. After some time they stand up with a screen spread between them when the bridegroom, with his right big toe on that of the bride, ties the bottu round her neck. On the following day the usual nagavalli, sacrifice to the Devas, is offered and a nagavalli bottu tied. Then all the relations make presents to the bridal pair. On the third day, pongal'

(rice) is offered to the pots and the wrist threads are removed. Like the Palliar bridegroom, the Kamma bridegroom performs a mimic ploughing ceremony but at the house instead of at a tank.

Their dead are usually cremated. As the moment of death approaches, a coconut is broken, and camphor is burnt. The thumbs and great toes of the corpse are then tied together. If the corpse is that of a married man, his widow exchanges betel with it, while the other women put rice into its mouth. The corpse is then carried to the burning ground on a bier with the head towards the house. Half way up it is placed on the ground, when a Paraiyar repeats certain formulas and directs that it be taken up again and burnt with the feet towards the house. When it is placed on the pyre, the relations throw rice over it and the chief mourner goes three times round the pyre carrying on his shoulder a pot of water in which a barber makes holes. During the third turn, he lights the pyre and, throwing the pot, goes off to bathe. On the following day, a stone is placed on the spot where the deceased breathed his last and his clothes are put up close to it. The women pour milk over the stone and offer milk, coconuts, cooked rice, betel, etc., to it. These are taken by the men to the burning ground. On the way thither they offer some food at Harischandra's temple, and at the burning ground they collect the charred bones and out of the ashes make an effigy and offer it food on four plantain leaves. The first leaf is subsequently taken by the Paraiyar and the other three are given to the barber, the washerman and the Panisavan (a mendicant caste). The final death ceremonies are performed on the sixteenth day. They commence these with the punyaham or purification ceremony and the giving of presents to the Brahmins. Inside the house, the dead man's clothes are worshipped by the women. The widow is then taken to a well or tank where her nagavalli bottu is removed. The males proceed to a tank, make an effigy on the ground, set up three small stones near it and pour oblations of water to these stones and offer them cooked rice, vegetables, etc. The chief mourner next goes into the water, throws the effigy into it and dives as many times as there have been days between the funeral and the Karumantaram. The ceremony closes with the presents to the Brahmins and agnates. Towards the evening, the widow sits on a small quantity of rice on the ground and her marriage bottu is now removed.¹

The Komatiars or the Arya Vaisyas form the great trading caste of this State and are to be found in almost all the districts. The word 'Komati' is said to have been derived in several ways. Some say that it came from ko-mati, meaning fox-minded; this has reference to the astuteness of the Komatiars in business. Others say that it is derived from go-mati, meaning the possessor of cows; this has reference to one of the ordained duties of the Vaisyas, that

¹ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Vol. III, 1909, pages 94-105.

of protection of cows. Some others say that it originated from the phrase *go-mati*, meaning cow-minded; this has reference to a legend which says that they exhibited as much fear as a cow when a conflagration took place in a divine world built for them by God Siva. Yet another derivation for Komati is from Gamati or Gumti, a place on the banks of the Godavari where they are said to have originally lived.

They speak Telugu but they are conversant with Tamil and Kannada in the Tamil and Kannada districts. They have caste headmen and caste panchayats. They have also several subdivisions, such as Garava, the Kalinga, the Trinika, the Lingadri, etc., and many septs which are strictly exogamous. The septs are based on totems and are variously termed *gotram*, *vamsam* and *kulam*.

A Brahmin purohit officiates at their marriages and each purohit has a number of houses attached to his circle. On the first day of their marriage ceremony, where what is called the ' *puranokta* ' ceremonial is in vogue, the ancestors are invoked. On the second day, the *ashtavarga* is observed, according to which the bride and the bridegroom worship eight of the principal gods of the Hindu pantheon. On this day the marriage pandal is erected. On the third day, the *mangalyam* is tied, sometimes by the officiating Brahmin purohit, and sometimes by the bridegroom. On the fourth day, the Brahmins of the place are honoured and on the following day, in most places, a festival is held in honour of the Goddess *Kannika Parameswari*. The bride and the bridegroom's mother then go to a tank or river with copper vessels and bring back water at the head of a procession. The vessels are placed in a special pandal and worshipped with flowers, turmeric powder, etc., and finally coconuts are broken before them. On the next day, or on the same day, in most places, a festival is held in honour of the Goddess decked with jewellery and taken in procession to the local temple whence they are conducted to the bride's house and fed. On the following day, the ceremony called ' *thotlu puja* ' is performed, a doll is placed in a cradle connected with two poles and rocked to and fro. The bridegroom then hands over the doll to the bride saying that he has to go on a commercial trip. The bride, however, hands it back to him with the remark that she has to attend to her kitchen work. On the next day, the bridal couple are taken in procession which brings the marriage ceremony to a close. According to another form of marriage ceremonial, called ' the *vedokta* ', the contracting couple, on the first day, have an oil bath and the bridegroom goes through the *upanayanam* ceremony. He then pretends to go off to Kasi (Banaras) and is met by the bride's party who take him to the bride's house, where the *mangalyam* is tied by the bridegroom before the *homam*. On the second day, the *homam* is continued and a caste dinner is given. On the third day the *gotra puja* is performed. On the fourth day the

homam is repeated and, on the following day, the pair are seated on a swing and rocked to and fro. Presents are made to the bridegroom but no bride's price is paid.

Widow re-marriage is not permitted among any sections of the caste; and, except among the Saivites, a widow is not compelled to have her head shaved, or to give up wearing jewellery or chewing betel. The Vaishnava widows always retain their hair.

The Komatiars wear the sacred thread and utter the Gayatri and other sacred mantrams. There are among them Saivites as well as Vaishnavites. The Saivites daub themselves with ashes; the Vira Saivites or Lingayats wear the Linga in a silver casket, and the Madhivas put on the sect marks of the Madhiva Brahmins. In bygone days they used to take part in the fights between the Right and Left Hand Castes. They belong to the former caste. They venerate, as has already been stated, the deified virgin Kaunka Parameswari, and worship also other gods and goddesses. They employ the Brahmins for the performance of their ceremonial rites and recognize the Brahmin Guru, Bhaskaracharya. The dead among them are cremated, except in the case of the children and the Lingayats, and their death ceremonies closely resemble those of the Brahmins. They are, as is well known, not only traders but also money lenders.¹

The Caste Chettians belong to several groups, and their occupation is generally trade. Of these, the Beri Chettians claim to be superior to the Komatiars. They are said to have come originally from Kaveripuram near Kumbakonam in the Tanjore district. They have a number of endogamous divisions, but they all belong to the Left Hand Section. They have also caste panchayats presided over by a headman called Perithanakkaran. Some of them worship Siva and some Vishnu and some of them are Lingayats. Some of them bury, while others burn their dead. All of them wear the sacred thread and do not tolerate widow re-marriage. Some of them follow the pure Vellalar customs and abstain from animal food.²

There is a lot of controversy over the origin and status of the Pallars or the Vanniyars or the Padayachis as they are commonly called. The name Palliar is said to denote their Pallava origin and the name Vanniyar is said to denote Vannikula Kshatriyas which means Kshatriyas of the fire or Agnikula race. Some of them also claim descent from the Solar or Lunar race. They regard themselves as superior to all other Non-Brahmin communities and some of them wear even the sacred thread. They are also known by several names such as Nayakar, Varma, Nayanar, Odayar, and Gounder. Some of them claim to belong to the Chola race and call

¹ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Vol. III, 1909, pages 306-348.

² *Idem*, pages 211-218.

themselves Chembiars. These names, however, do not denote subdivisions or sects and all the Palliars freely inter-dine and inter-marry. They are said to be strict in matters of caste and social customs. Their occupation is generally agriculture and trade.

They have among them several subdivisions such as Rudra Vanniar, Krishna Vanniar, Sambu Vanniar, Brahma Vanniar, Indra Vanniar, the Agamudaiyars, the Agni, the Arasu, the Nagavandam, (cobra head or ornament of that shape), the Nattumar, the Pandamuttu, the Perunal and the Kallaveli. It is stated that the wives of the Palliars side with the Left Hand Section, while the husbands help in fighting the battles of the Right Hand Section. They are either Saivites or Vaishnavites; but they also worship demons like Mutyalamma, Mariamma, Aiyandar, Muneswara and Ankalamma. During the festivals the goddesses are frequently represented by a pile of seven pots called Karagam, decorated with garlands. They have their caste beggars called Nokkars who receive presents at marriages, funerals, etc.

Among some of the Palliars at the betrothal ceremony, the future bridegroom goes to the house of his prospective father-in-law where the headman of the future bride is present. The bridegroom's headman or his father then hands over betel, flowers, the bride's price (pariyam), the milk money (mulapal kuli) and a coconut to the father or headman of the bride saying, "the money is yours, the girl is mine". The bride's father or the headman, while receiving them, says, "The money is mine, the girl is yours". This performance is repeated thrice and afterwards thambulam is distributed first to the maternal uncle and then to others. The marriage ceremony follows close on the betrothal; but if, in the interval, the girl's prospective husband dies, she may marry some one else. A girl normally, however, may not marry without the consent of her maternal uncle and, if he disapproves of a match, he has the right to carry her off even when the marriage ceremony is in progress and to marry her to a man of his selection. Among some Palliars, the bride, after her betrothal, is asked to touch the bow and sword of the bridegroom.

For the marriage ceremony the bridegroom goes with much pomp, sometimes mounted on a horse, to the bride's house. In ordinary cases the ceremony is performed in a day but in some cases it is spread over three days and performed with the puranic form of ritual. On the day preceding the wedding day, the bride is brought in procession to the house of the bridegroom and the marriage pots are purchased. On the morning of the wedding, the pots, the milk post and the light are placed on the marriage dais. The bride and bridegroom then go separately through the nalangu ceremony. They sit on a plank, while five women smear them with oil and afterwards with green gram paste. Coloured water is then waved before them to avert the evil eye. They then go to bathe and, when they are bathing, five small cakes are placed on their head, knees, shoulders,

etc. When the bridegroom is about to leave the bath room, cooked rice is waved before him and thrown away. The couple then go three times round the dais and offer pongal to the village gods, house gods and the ancestors. The tying of the tali is next performed before the milk post or the handle of a plough which has been set up, in the midst of a grindstone, a large pot and two lamps called kudavilakku and alankara-vilakku. The Brahmin purohit ties the threads (kankanam) round the wrists of the bride and the bridegroom. The tali is now passed round to be blessed by the assembled persons and handed to the bridegroom who ties it on the bride's neck, while his sister holds a light called kamakshi vilakku by his side. All this is done amidst music and the blowing of conches. The couple then change their seats and the ends of their clothes are tied together and rice is thrown on them. They next go round the dais and the milk post and at the end of the second turn, the bridegroom lifts the bride's left foot and places it on the grindstone. At the end of the third turn, the brother-in-law places the bridegroom's foot on the grindstone and puts on a toe ring, for which he is paid some money and betel. The couple are then shown the Pole star and Arundhati and milk and fruit are given to them. In the evening, after their wrist threads are removed, they proceed to a tank for a mock ploughing ceremony and afterwards worship the Pillayar. They remain in the bride's house for about a week and then go to the bridegroom's house. Before they enter the house, coloured water and coconut are waved in front of them and, as the bride puts her foot within her new house, she is made to touch pots containing rice and salt with her right hand.

The dead are sometimes burnt and sometimes buried by them. As soon as a person dies, his son goes round the corpse three times, carrying an iron measure (marakkal) in which a lamp rests on paddy. The corpse is then washed while the widow bathes in such a way as to make the water fall upon it. The dead man and the widow then exchange betel three times, after which, the corpse is carried to the burning or burial ground on a bamboo stretcher. On the way thither, it is set down near a stone representing Harischandra, the guardian of the burial and cremation grounds, and food is offered to the stone. By some Padayachis a two-anna piece is placed on the forehead and a pot of rice is placed on the breast of the corpse; and these are taken away by the officiating barber and the Paraiyar respectively.¹

In this district, the Palliars take, it is said, a somewhat higher rank than in other places. They are also tending to approach here the Brahminical standard of social conduct, discouraging meat-eating and widow remarriage. Some of them also wear the sacred thread and tie their cloths in the Brahmin fashion².

¹*Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Vol. VI, 1909, pages 1-28.

²*Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 104-105.

The Agamudaiyars are another cultivating class. The word Agamudaiyar means a householder or a landholder. The more important subdivisions among them are said to be, the Aivali, the Nattu, the Kottaipattu, the Malainadu, the Nattumangalam, the Rajabhoja, the Rajakulam, the Rajavasal, the Kallar, the Maravar, the Tuluvar and the Servaikarar. They have no exogamous sects or kilais.

Their marriage ceremonies are generally very simple. The sister of the bridegroom goes to the house of the bride on an auspicious day accompanied by a few women carrying cloth, jewels, flowers, etc. The bride is then dressed up in the cloth and seated on a plank close to the wall, facing east. Betel, arecanuts and flowers are presented to her by the bridegroom's sister who also places round her neck the turmeric dyed string or garland amidst the din of conches. On the same day, the bride is conducted to the home of the bridegroom and a feast is held. The more prosperous Agamudaiyars, however, celebrate their marriages according to the Puranic fashion with, of course, some variations.

The dead are either buried or cremated and as the Agamudaiyars are Saivites, pandarams assist at their funeral ceremonies. On the second or third day after death, the son and the others go to the spot where the corpse was buried or burnt, offer food to the deceased and leave a pot of water behind. Those who are particular about performing the death ceremonies on an elaborate scale offer cooked food to the deceased until the fifteenth day and carry out the death ceremonies on the sixteenth day. Presents are then distributed to the Brahmins and after the death pollution has been removed by sprinkling holy water, a feast is given to the relatives.¹

The Udaiyars are a caste which is specially numerous in the district. Most of them are cultivators and, in the Kallakkurichchi taluk, many of them are also money-lenders on a large scale. They adopt numerous titles in an indiscriminate way, and four brothers have been known to call themselves respectively Nayak, Pillai, Mudali and Udaiyar. They have three subdivisions, namely, Malaiyaman, Nattaman and Sudarman, which all admit that they are descended from one common stock. The men of these subdivisions usually dine together but do not inter-marry. Some of them, however, are vegetarians and these will not only not eat with the others but will also not let their girls marry them. They do not, nevertheless, object to their sons taking brides from the meat eating classes and thus provide an interesting instance of the unusual practice of hypergamy. In all general matters the ways of the three subdivisions are similar. Sudarmans are, however, not common in this district and are stated to be chiefly found in Tiruchirappalli and Thanjavur.

¹ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Volume I, 1909, pages 5-16.

Madurai District Manual by J. H. Nelson, Part II, 1868, pages 42-43.

The Udaiyars say that the three groups are the descendants of a king who once ruled at Tirukkoyilur, the first of whom took the hilly part of his father's country and so was called Malaiyaman; the second took the level tracts, and was therefore named Nattaman, and the third became the scholar of the family and learned in the holy books (Sutras) and was accordingly called Sudarman. The Udaiyars were the caste from which were drawn some of the Kavalgars who, in pre-British days, were appointed to perform police duties and keep the country clear of thieves.

Among them a man has a right to marry the daughter of his father's sister, and, if she is given to another man, the father's sister, it is said, has to return to her father or brother the dowry which she received at the time of her marriage and this is given to the man who had the claim up on the girl. The eldest son in each family is to be named after the god of the village which gives its name to the kani or sept to which the family belongs and the child is usually taken to that village to be named. Widow remarriage is forbidden. The Brahmins are employed for their ceremonies but these are not received on terms of equality by the other Brahmins. Both cremation and burial are practised by them.¹

The Idaiyars or the Yadavas are the great cowherd caste of the Tamils. This caste has many subdivisions of which the Kalkatti and Pasi Idaiyars are so called from their custom of wearing sixteen glass beads on either side of the tali; the Semban Idaiyars take their name from Sambu or Siva; the Kallar Idaiyars take their name from the Kallars; the Podumattu Idaiyars claim to have come to Madurai from Tirunelveli; and the Pancharamkatti Idaiyars derive their name from the customs prevalent among their women of wearing a neck ornament called Pancha-haram or Pancharam. Among the Pancharamkatti Idaiyars widow marriage is practised and this is because it is said Sri Krishna used to place a similar ornament round the necks of the Idaiyar widows of whom he was enamoured, in order to transform them from widows into married women. The Idaiyars take a higher social position than they would otherwise do owing to the tradition that Sri Krishna was brought up by their caste and to the fact that they are the only purveyors of milk, ghee, etc., and so are indispensable to the community. All the Brahmins, except the most orthodox, drink butter milk and eat butter brought by them. In some places they enjoy the privilege of breaking the butter-pot on Sri Krishna's birthday; and, for doing this, they are given a new cloth and paid some money. They eat in the houses of Vellalars, Palliars and Nattamars. They either burn or bury their dead. They assume titles like Kone or Konar, Pillai, Pongadan and

¹ *Gazetteer of South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I. 1906, Page 109.

Caste and Tribes of Southern India by Edgar Thurston, Vol. VII 1909 pages 206—216.

Karaiyalan. They consider Saturday as a holy day and, being Vaishnavites, they brand themselves like the Vaishnava Brahmins and observe Sri Jayanti as their important festival.

Among some Idaiyars, a man has the right to marry his paternal aunt's daughter. But, if the woman's age is much greater, she is usually married to his cousin or some one else on the side of his family. A Brahmin priest officiates at their weddings and the sacred fire is used, but the bridegroom's sister ties the tali. Caste affairs are settled by a headman called the Nattamaikkarar. This headman has the management of the caste fund which is generally utilized in the celebration of festivals of the larger temples of the district. Some Idaiyars again observe an uncommon rule of inheritance according to which a woman who has no male issue at the time of her husband's death has to return his property to his brother, father or maternal uncle. She is, however, allotted a maintenance, the amount of which is settled by the caste panchayat. According to another odd form of inheritance observed by others among them, a man's property descends to his sons-in-law who live with him and not to his sons. The sons merely get maintenance until they are married.

The Idaiyars observe some peculiar customs in performing their marriages and funerals. It is said that, when a bride enters the room decorated for the marriage ceremony, her followers pay to the **sister** of the bridegroom, the money called the 'Bride's room gold'; and that when the bridegroom goes to the house of his mother-in-law, his young companions arrest him on the way and do not release him until he pays a piece of gold. On the third day of the marriage ceremony when the sprinkling of saffron water on the guests is over, the whole party repair to the village tank. Here the friend of the husband brings a hoe and a basket and the husband fills three baskets with earth from the bottom of the tank, while the wife takes them away and throws out the earth. The couple then say "we have dug a ditch for charity". At their funerals, in the Madurai district, it is said, a Maravar who styles himself "the father of the grandfather", comes amidst the assembly and addresses it in the following enigmatical words: "the slave who intrudes himself of his own accord spreads his foot over the way and will thrust a spear into the breast of the strong¹."

The Kaikolars or the Sengundars are a caste of Tamil weavers. The word Kaikolar is said to be the Tamil equivalent of the Sanskrit Virabahu, mythical hero from whom the caste is supposed to have sprung. It is also said to be derived from Kai (hand) and Kol (shuttle). The Kaikolars are also called Sengundar (red dagger).

¹ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Vol. II, 1909, pages 352-366.

Census of India, 1901. Vol. XV, Part I, 1902, page 155.

Gazetteer of the Madurai District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 96-97.

Madurai District Manual by J. H. Nelson, Part II, 1868, pages 60-63.

They consider the different parts of the loom to represent various devatas or rishis. There are among them several subdivisions. In religion, most of them are Saivites and some of them have taken to wearing the Lingam; but there are also Vaishnavites among them. Their hereditary headman of the caste is called Perithandakarakar or Pattakarakar and is, as a rule, assisted by two subordinates entitled Sengili or Gramani and Ural. It is said that every Kaikolar family was formerly expected to set apart one girl to be dedicated as Devadasi to a temple. The Kaikolars were said to belong to the Left Hand faction but Dasis, save those engaged to the Beri Chettians and the Kammalars, were said to belong to the Right Hand faction.

Some of the Kaikolars observe a peculiar method of selecting a bride, called 'siru tali kattu' (tying the small tali). A man who wishes to marry his maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter, has to tie a tali, or simply a bit of cloth torn from her clothing round her neck and report the fact to his parents or the headman. If the girl eludes him, he cannot claim her, but should he succeed, she belongs to him. In some places the consent of the maternal uncle to a marriage is signified by his carrying the bride in his arms to the marriage pandal. The milk post is used in the wedding ceremony; and after the tali has been tied, the bridegroom has to lift the bride's leg and place it on a grinding stone. Widows are allowed to re-marry if they have no issue, but not otherwise. On the final day of the death ceremonies among them, a small hut is erected and inside it stoves brought by the barber are set up and offerings are made to them¹.

The Devangas are a caste of Kannada and Telugu weavers of the Tamil districts. They are also called Senniars and Sedars. The name Devanga means 'body of the gods' and the caste people say that they originally sprang from a Brahmin Rishi called Devalar or Devanga. They employ generally their own castemen as priests but some of them also employ Brahmin priests. Some of them wear also the sacred thread. Their title is usually Chetti, but some of them call themselves by the Brahminical titles of Sastri and Aiyar. They have several endogamous as well as exogamous septs. The majority of them are Saivites and wear the Lingam. They belong to the Left Hand faction and have their own dancing girls called Seda Dasis. They have also a class of beggars of their own called Jatipillais.

Their tribal goddess is Chaudeswari, a form of Kali or Durga, who is worshipped annually at a festival in which the entire community takes part either at the temple or at a house or grove specially prepared for the occasion. Their headman is called Pattagar. Their marriage ceremonies are either carried out according to the Puranic ritual or performed with some modifications to it. The ceremony usually commences with the distribution of tambulam and

Castes and Tribes of Southern India by Edgar Thurston, Vol. III, 1909 pages 31-44.

Vigneswara worship. The bride is then presented with a new cloth and sits on a three-legged stool, or dhonige when her maternal uncle puts round her neck a bondhu dipped in turmeric. On the first day of the actual wedding ceremony a post of *odina wodier* is set up and various rites are performed, which include tonsure, upanayanam, padapuja, kasiyatra, dharadattam and mangalyadharanam. The proceedings then conclude with pot searching. A pap-bowl and ring are put into a pot. If the bride picks out the bowl, her first born will be a girl, and if the bridegroom gets hold of the ring, it will be a boy. On the fifth day a square design is made on the floor with coloured rice grains and between the couple and the square, a row of lights is placed. Four pots are set, one at each corner of the square and eight pots are arranged along each side of it. On the square itself two pots representing Siva and Uma are placed with a row of seedling pots near them. A thread is wound nine times round the pots representing the god and goddess and tied above to pandal. After the pots have been worshipped, this thread is cut and worn with the sacred thread for three months. This ceremony is called Nagavalli. The dead among them are generally buried in a sitting posture. Before the grave is filled in, a string is tied to the hair knot of the corpse and by its means the hand is lifted. Over it a Lingam is set up and worshipped throughout the death ceremonies¹

The Kammalars, or the Visvabrahmins as they are now called, are made up of five occupational sections, namely, the Tattar the Kannar, the Tac'char the Kal-Tac'char and the Kollar or Karumar. The name panchala which is sometimes used by the artisan classes has reference to these five-fold occupations. The five sections intermarry but, it is said, the goldsmiths have, especially in towns, ceased to intermarry with the blacksmiths. There are also three endogamous tribal groups among them, the Pandya, the Sozia (the Chola) and the Kongar. The Pandya Kammalars live principally in the Madurai and the Tirunelveli districts, the Sozias live in this district as well as in Tiruchirappalli, Tanjore, Chingleput and North Arcot districts, while the Kongas are found chiefly in the Salem and Coimbatore districts.

The Kammalars have adopted Brahminical gotras and the five sections among them have five gotras called the Visvagu, the Junga, the Ahima, the Janardhana, and the Ubhendra (the Upendra). Each of these gotras, it is said, has twenty-five subordinate gotras. In their marriages they closely imitate the Brahminical ceremonial and their marriage ceremonies last for three or five days. But contrary to the Brahminical custom the bride's money is paid among

¹ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Vol. II, 1909 pages 154-166.

Gazetteer of the Madurai District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 109-111.

them and their widows are allowed the use of ordinary jewellery and betel and not required to make the usual fast.

Their dead are as a rule buried in a sitting posture but cremation is now a days more and more coming into vogue among them. Death pollution among them, as among the other Non-Brahmin castes, is observed for sixteen days. It is usual for a pandaram to officiate at their death ceremonies. On the first day the corpse is anointed with oil and given a bath. On the third day five Lingams are made of mud and of these, four are placed in the four corners at the spot where the corpse is buried and the fifth is placed in the centre. On the fifth day, food is distributed to the pandarams and the castemen. Some of them observe also sraddha ceremonies.

They profess the Saiva faith and hold Pillayar in great reverence, but their special goddess is Kamakshi Amman who is commonly spoken of as a Vritthi Daivam. She is worshipped by all the subdivisions and female children are frequently named after her. On auspicious occasions the first betel and dakshina are set apart in her name and sent to the pujari of the local temple dedicated to her. Oaths are taken in her name and caste disputes settled before her temple. Besides Kamakshi Amman, they worship also various grama devatas such as Saptha Kanniar, Kocade Periyandavan (Vishnu) and Periyar Nayanar (a manifestation of Siva). They claim to be descended from Visvakarma, the architect of the gods, and on that account they consider themselves superior to the Brahmins, and call the latter as Gobrahmins and themselves as Visvabrahmins. Visvakarma is said to have five sons named Mann, Maṇḍa, Silpa, Trashtra and Daivagna; and these are said to be the originators of the five castes among the Kammalars. Accordingly, some of them who do smithy work are called Manuṣ; some who do carpentry work are named Mayas; some who do stone carving are known as Silpis; some who do metal work style themselves as Trashtras; and some who do jewellery work call themselves Visvagnas or Daivagnas. According to another story, however, the Kammalars are the descendants of Brahmin and a Beri Chettiar woman. They belong to the Left Hand as opposed to the Right Hand faction. Sometimes they call themselves Achari and Paththar which are equivalent to the Brahmin, titles Acharya and Bhatta and claim a knowledge of the Vedas. Their pandarams officiate at their marriages, funerals and other ceremonies. They wear the sacred thread and most of them claim to be vegetarians. Their women, unlike those of the other castes, throw the end of their sari over the right shoulder.

The Kammalars are a highly organized caste. Each of their five subdivisions has at its head a Nattamaikkarar or headman and a Karyasthar or chief executive officer under him who are elected by the members of the subdivision. Over them all is Anjivittu Nattamaikkarar (also known as Andivittu Periyathanakkarar or

Anjjati Nattamaikkarar) who is elected by lot by the representatives chosen from among the five subdivisions¹

The Baliyas or the Kavarais are a Telugu trading caste who have settled in the Tamil country. The name Kavarai is said to be a corrupt form of Kauravar, descendants of Kuru of the Mahabharatha, or it is said to be the equivalent of Gauravatu, sons of Gouri, the wife of Siva. The name Baliya is said to derive from bali (fire) jaha (sprung), i.e., men sprung from fire. They have exogamous septs like tupaki (gun), petti (wrestler) pagadala (coral) bandi (cart), simaneli, etc. Their common titles are Chettiers and Nayakkars. Some of them trace their ancestry to a chieftain called Dora Krishnamma, who ruled near Manjakuppam, tamed a wild elephant at Tiruchirappalli and subdued Tirunelveli. Their marriage ceremonies are based on the type common to many Telugu castes, but those who belong to the simaneli sept, and believe themselves to be the direct descendants of Krishnamma, have two special forms of ceremonial, called Krishnamma perantalu, and the carrying of pots on the heads of the bride and bridegroom when they go to the temple before the kasiyatra ceremony. The former is performed on the day prior to the tali-tying day, and consists in the worship of the soul of Krishnamma and the presentation of a new cloth, some money and betel to a married woman²

The Vaniyars are the oil-pressers or oil-mongers among the Tamils. For some reason Manu having classed oil-pressing as a base occupation, they are held in small esteem in some places, but in consequence of their services in lighting lamps in temples, they are held in considerable esteem in several places. Their caste contains four subdivisions called Kamakshiamma, Visalakshiamma, Ac'chu-tali and Toppa-tali, the first two referring to the goddesses worshipped by each, and the last two to the peculiar kinds of talis worn by their women. There is nothing peculiar in their customs. They employ the Brahmins as priests, prohibit widow re-marriage, usually burn their dead and decline to eat in the houses of any caste below that of the Brahmins³

The Kurumbars are a shepherd caste; there are, however, some among them who are cultivators, weavers and stone-masons. Their language is akin to Kannada and they are subdivided into clans or 'gumpus' each of which has a headman. Their clans are again

¹ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Vol. III, 1909, pages 106-125.

² *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. XV, Part I, pages 159-160.

Gazetteer of the Madurai District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 99.

³ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Vol. III, 1909, pages 263-266.

⁴ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Vol VII, 1909, pages 312-314.

subdivided into gotras or septs which are mostly of totemic origin. Their titles are usually Nayakkar, Gauda or Heggade.

As the preliminary to the marriage among them the bridegroom's father observes certain marks or curis on the head of the proposed bride. Some of these are believed to bring prosperity and others only misery to the family into which the girl marries. The marriage is celebrated in the bridegroom's house and, if the bride belongs to a different village, she is escorted to the village of the bridegroom and made to wait in a particular spot outside it, selected for the occasion. On the first day of the marriage, purna kumbam, a small decorated vessel containing milk or ghee, with a two anna piece and a coconut placed on the betel leaf spread over the mouth of it, is taken by the bridegroom's relations to meet the bride's party. There the distribution of pan-supari takes place and both parties return to the village. Meanwhile the marriage booth is erected and twelve twigs of 'naval' (*Eugenia jambolina*) are tied to the twelve pillars, the central milk post, under which the bridal pair sit, being smeared with turmeric and tied with a yellow thread. At an auspicious hour on the third day, the couple are made to sit in the booth, the bridegroom facing the east and the bride facing the west. On a blanket spread near the kumbam, $2\frac{1}{2}$ measures of rice, a tali, or bottu, one coconut and betel leaf and camphor are placed. The priest places a ball of vibhuti thereon, breaks a coconut and worships the kumbam while camphor is burnt. The priest then takes the tali, blesses it and gives it to the bridegroom who ties it round the bride's neck. He next throws some rice over the couple and asks the bride to remove her veil, which she does, when the men and women assembled throw the rice on the couple. The ends of the garments of the couple are then tied together and two girls and three boys are made to eat out of the plates placed before the couple. A feast to all the relations completes the ceremony. Remarriage of widows is permitted among them.

Their dead are buried. The son or the near relative goes round the grave three times, carrying a pot of water in which he makes a hole at each round. On the third round he throws down the pot and returns home straight, without turning his face towards the direction of the grave. For three days the four carriers of the bier are not admitted into their houses but they are fed at the cost of the heir of the deceased. On the third day cooked rice, a fowl and water are taken to the burial ground and placed near the grave to be eaten by the spirit of the dead. Then the son and all the relations return home beating on their mouths. Pollution is observed for ten days and, on the eleventh day a grand feast is given to the Kurumbars of the village.

Their patron Saint is Birappa or Biradevaru and they will not ride on horses or ponies as these are the vehicles of the god. But they worship, in addition, various minor deities such as Uligamma, Mallappa, Antaragathamma, Mariamma and have their house gods

who are worshipped either by a house or by an entire exogamous sept. As to their religion they are mostly Lingayats ¹.

The Shanars or the Nadars are best known as the great palmyrah climbing and toddy drawing caste of the Tamil districts. They claim to be Kshatriyas and their pretensions have formerly led to severe riots and disturbances especially in the Madurai and Tirunelveli districts. They have also taken to other avocations such as agriculture, trade and Government service. They have several subdivisions, the members of which do not intermarry. There is nothing peculiar about their marriage or death ceremonies. Their tali-tying ceremony, however, takes place just before sunrise. Widow remarriage is permitted in some subdivisions and not allowed in others. Questions of divorce are decided by their caste headman. The dead, except the first born infant children, are generally buried, not burnt. They are mostly Saivites but they also believe in minor deities ².

The Vannars are the washermen of the community. The name is said to be rather an occupational term than a caste title. The Pandya Vannars, or Vannars proper, include the Vaduga Vannars, "northern washermen", or washermen of the Telugu country and the Palla, the Pradara and the Tuluka Vannars who wash for the Pallars, the Paraiyars and the Muslims respectively. The Pandya Vannars have a headman called Periamanushar (big man) who has the usual powers and privileges. As to their marriage customs, a man can claim the hand of his paternal aunt's daughter and at the weddings the bride's price is paid and the bridegroom's sister ties the tali and the Nambis officiate. Divorce is allowed among them on payment of twice the bride's price and the divorces may marry again. Their caste god is Gurusathar and they have their own pujaris. They generally burn their dead and observe the sixteenth day ceremony.

The Kusavars are the Tamil Potters. The name Kusavar is said to be derived from the Sanskrit word 'ku' signifying earth the material in which they work and 'avan', a personal termination. They wear the sacred thread and profess both Saivism and Vaishnavism. Their ceremonies are somewhat like the ceremonies of the Vellalars. Some of them have priests of their own caste, while others employ Brahmin priests. They have usually Velan as their title. They are divided into three territorial sections. Chola, Chera and Pandya and they say that they are descended from the three sons of Kulan, the son of Brahma. Kulan, they say,

¹ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Vol. IV, 1909, pages 133-155.

² *Gazetteer of the Tirunelveli District* by H. R. Pate, Vol. I, 1917, pages 125-131.

Castes and Tribes of Southern India by Edgar Thurston, Vol. VI, 1909, pages 363-378.

Gazetteer of the Madurai District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1909, page 101.

prayed to Brahma to be allowed, like him, to create and destroy things daily and Brahma accordingly made him a potter.

A Kusavar can claim the hand of his paternal aunt's daughter. Among them the bride's price is paid and the tali is tied by the bridegroom's sister. Their marriage ceremonies last for three days and one of their curious ceremonies consists in the bridegroom's sister sowing seeds in a pot. On the last day of the wedding, the seedlings which have sprouted are taken with music to a river or tank and thrown into it. When the bride attains maturity, their caste priest conducts a ceremony and consummation follows on the next auspicious day. Both divorce and widow marriage are normally forbidden among them. Their special deity is Aiyandar¹.

The Ambattans or the Ambattars are the Tamil barbers who have been for ages also village medicine men, surgeons and musicians. Their women used to be regarded as the village midwives. They have adopted Brahmin ceremonies to a large extent and at their marriages a Brahmin priest officiates. On the first two days of the marriage ceremony a homam is made. On the third day the tali is placed on a circular silver or brass tray and touched with the forefinger of the right hand, first by the presiding Brahmin and then by other Brahmins, men of superior castes and the castemen headed by the Perithanakkarakar or the headman. It is then, amidst much music, tied to the bride's neck before the sacred tire. During the ceremony no widows are generally permitted to be present. The relations of the bride and the bridegroom scatter rice on the floor in front of the couple, after the Brahmin priest and headman of the family. This rice is afterwards given to the Perithanakkarakar. The Brahmin receives as his fee some money and a pair of silk bordered cloths. He receives also the first pansupari, plantains and coconuts. During the fourth and fifth days, the homam is completed and shadangu or merry making between the bride and bridegroom before the assembled people takes place, in which the bride sings songs. On the fifth day the removal of the Kankanam, or the threads which have been tied round the wrists of the bride and bridegroom is performed. Widow marriage is forbidden.

The dead among them are cremated, with the exception of children who are buried. Their death ceremonies are conducted by a Brahmin priest who is remunerated for his services with money and a cloth. Gifts of money and cloth are made to other Brahmins as well when the days of pollution are over. They also perform sraddhas.

They are either Saivites or Vaishnavites. The Vaishnavites among them who have been branded by their Brahmin guru with

¹ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Vol. IV, 1909, pages 188—197.

Gazetteer of the Madurai District by W. Francis, Vol. II, 1906, pages 101—102.

the chank and chakram, abstain from meat. Intermarriages between the two sections is allowed and commonly practised. They belong to the Right Hand faction ¹.

The Sembadavars are the fishermen of the Tamil country who carry on their calling in fresh water tanks, lakes and rivers and never in the sea. Some of them are ferrymen and the name has perhaps been derived from sem (good), padavan (boatmen). There is, however, a legend which runs to the effect that the goddess Ankalamman, who is their special deity, was a Sembadavar girl, of whom Siva became enamoured and Sembadavar is said to be accordingly derived from Sambu (Siva) or a corruption of Sivan padavan (Siva's boatmen). According to another legend the name is derived from Sambu padavor or copper boatmen. Parvatha Raja, the story goes, disguised as a boatman, when sailing in a copper boat, threw out his nets to catch fish. The four Vedas then assumed the form of the nets and the rakshasas assumed the form of fishes. Within the nets a rishi was also caught and, getting angry, he asked the boatman his pedigree, and, on learning it, cursed him saying that his descendants should earn their living by fishing. It is this that explains why the Sembadavars call themselves as Parvatha Rajavamsam.

Some of them have now taken to agriculture, weaving and other avocations. All of them consider themselves superior to sea-fishermen or Pattanavars. They usually take the title of Nattar, Kavandar, Maniyakkarar, Paguththar or Pillai. Some of them assumed the title of Guha Vellalar, to connect themselves with Guha who rowed the boat of Sri Rama. A large number of them also call themselves Pujari and wear a lingam enclosed in a silver casket or pink cloth and the sacred thread. At Malaiyanur, in this district all of them call themselves Pujari and seem to belong to a single sept known as Mukkali (three-legged).

Most of them are Saivites and, at Chidambaram, they point out with pride their connection with the famous temple of that place. Here, on a particular day, they are deputed to carry the idol in procession through the streets and their services are paid for by a modest fee and balls of cooked rice. Some respect is shown to them by the temple authorities as the goddess, when being carried in procession, is allowed to be detained for some time in their quarters and presented with female clothes. They also worship their caste goddess Ankalamman who has a famous temple at Malaiyanur.

They have exogamous septs named after various heroes. The office of Nattar or Natamaikkarar (headmen) is confined to a particular sept, and is hereditary. In some places he is assisted by officers

¹ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Vol. I, 1909, pages 32-41

called Sangathikkar or Sangathipillai, at their caste council meetings. These meetings are attended by representatives of the seven nadus (villages) into which the Sembadavars of various localities are divided. At Malaiyanur, these nadus are replaced by seven exogamous septs, namely, Devar, Seppiliyar, Ethinayakar, Sangili, Mayakundali, Pattam and Panikkar. If a man under trial pleads 'not guilty' to the charge brought against him, he has to bear the expenses of the members of the council. Sometimes, as a punishment, a man is made to carry a basket of rubbish, with tamarind twigs as emblems of flogging and a knife to denote the cutting of the tongue. Women are said to be punished by being made to carry a basket of rubbish and a broom round the village.

Those among them who are ferrymen by profession perform special puja to Ganga, the goddess of water. Usually when a girl reaches puberty in this caste, meat is forbidden to her, but eggs are allowed. To ward off devils twigs of *Vitex negundo*, margosa, and *Eugenia jambolana* are stuck in the roof. During the marriage ceremonies, a branch of *Erythrina indica* is cut and tied with sprays of the pipal and a piece of a green bamboo to one of the twelve posts which support the marriage pandal. A number of sumangalis bring sand and spread it on the floor near the marriage dais and place over it several pots, two of which are filled with water. The bride and the bridegroom then go through a ceremony called 'sige kazhippu' with the object of warding off the evil eye, which consists in pouring a few drops of milk on their foreheads from a fig or betel leaf. To their foreheads are tied small gold or silver plates of which the most conspicuous are those tied by the maternal uncles. The plate for the bridegroom is V shaped like a namam and that for the bride is like a pipal leaf. The bride and the bridegroom next go through a mock ceremony. Seven rings are dropped into a pot; if the bride picks up three of these, her first born will be a girl, and if the bridegroom picks up five, it will be a boy. Married women then go in a procession to an ant-hill and bring to the marriage booth a basket-load of earth which they heap round the posts. Offerings of balls of rice, cooked vegetables, etc., are thereafter made, and after the Kankanam have been removed, the couple go to a tank and perform a mock ploughing ceremony. In some places the purohitis give the bridegroom a sacred thread which is finally thrown into a tank or well. By some Sembadavars a ceremony called 'muthugunir kuththal' is performed in the seventh month of pregnancy. The woman stands on a dais and red-coloured water and lights are waved. Bending down she then places her hands on two big pots while milk is poured over her back by all her relations.

The Saivites among them bury their dead in a sitting posture, while the Vaishnavites burn their dead. Fire is carried to the burial ground by the barber. Before burial, the face is covered by a cloth in which a slit has been made, so that the top of the head

and a portion of the forehead are exposed. A figure representing Ganesa is made on the head with ashes. All present then throw sacred ashes and a copper coin into the grave before it is filled in. While this is being done, a bamboo stick is placed upright on the head of the corpse, and as the grave is filled in, an oblong space is cleared round the stick. The stick is then removed and water is poured through the hole left by it and a lingam is made and placed over the opening ¹.

The Muttiriyars are a Telugu caste who were formerly employed by the Vijayanagar kings as palayagars to defend the frontiers of their dominions. Their titles are Dora and Naidu and they claim to be Kshatriyas. Their special goddess is Ankamma. There is a saying current among them that they were formerly as good as a pearl but became degraded as they began to catch fish. This is based on a legend which says that some of them on their way home, after a hunting expedition, halted by a pond and were tempted by the enormous number of fish in it, to use their sacred thread as lines for catching fish. While thus engaged, they were, it is said, seen by the Brahmins and from that time onwards their degradation followed. They are now employed mostly in agriculture. There is nothing peculiar about their marriage or funeral ceremonies ².

The Odders or Voddars are a Telugu people who, as their name indicates, originally came from Orissa. They are found in some of the Tamil districts, including South Arcot. They are said to be good at quarrying stone, sinking wells, constructing tank bunds, making roads, etc. There are Saivites as well as Vaishnavites among them; and they worship also the minor deities such as Ellamma, Ankamma, etc.

In their marriage ceremony in its simplest form, the bride and the bridegroom walk three times round a stake placed on the ground. In the more elaborate ritual, on the betrothal day, the bride price is fixed and a feast is held. Their other ceremonials resemble those of the Baliyas. On the third day, the contracting couple go in procession to a tank, where the bridegroom digs up some mud and the bride carries three basketfuls of it to some distance. The dead among them are generally buried. By some Odders the corpse is wrapped up in a new cloth and carried to the burial ground in a dhubati (thick coarse cloth) by four men. On the way to the grave it is laid on the ground and rice is thrown over

¹ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Vol. VI, 1909, pages 350-359.

Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 109-110.

² *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Vol. V, 1909, page 127-131.

its eyes. It is then washed, and the namam is painted or the vibhathi is smeared on the forehead if it is that of a man, and the Kumkum-mark is made, if it is that of a woman. Earth is thrown by those assembled into the grave before it is filled in. On the Karumantaram day, or the last day of the ceremonies, the relations repair to a tank or well outside the village where an effigy is made with mud and cooked rice, etc., are offered to it. If a married woman dies, the widower cuts his waist thread, but if a married man dies, the widow sits on a winnow near the water's edge and her brother breaks her bangles and removes her *bottu*¹.

The Malaiyalis (literally hill-men) are the inhabitants of the Kalrayan Hills; they are also found on the Shevaroy's, Pachaimalais and Kollimalais in Salem, and on the Javadis; in none of these places, however, are they really a 'hill-tribe' in the ordinary sense of that expression; they are Tamilians who had emigrated to the hills at some remote period. They speak Tamil and worship the ordinary gods of the low country. They say that they are Vellalars—in South Arcot they say they are Kerala Vellalars—who emigrated to these various hills from Kancheepuram, bringing with them their god Kari Raman; and at their weddings on the Kalrayans the presiding priest signs a kind of chant just before the tali is tied which begins with the words 'Kanchi, the (sacred) place, and Kari Raman in front'. Tradition says that the hills were originally inhabited by the Vedars and that the Malaiyalis, when they went there, killed the Vedar men and wedded the Vedar women. At marriages a gun is still fired in the air to represent the death of the Vedar husband.

The Malaiyalis get all their requirements mostly from the plains. They have no endogamous or exogamous divisions among them to serve as bars to marriage, and there is no theoretical objection to unions between the Malaiyalis of the various hill ranges mentioned above. Formerly marriage among Malaiyalis had to be sanctioned by the Palayagar of the locality. Their marriage ceremony is unusual on one or two points. After the tali is tied, the couple crook their little fingers together and a two anna bit is placed between the fingers and water is poured over their hands. The priest offers betel and nut to Kari Raman and then a gun is, as has already been stated, fired into the air. Widows may remarry and in their case the ceremony is simpler and shorter. The dead are buried, the reason given being that it is not good to pollute the air below the dwelling of the god of the famous temple at Chinna Tirupati situated on the south-east corner of the Kalrayans.

The Pongal is celebrated by them with much ceremony. On the third day, they turn out and beat the jungle up with guns and it is inauspicious if nothing is shot. They also take part in a

¹ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Vol. V, 1909, pages 422-436.

kind of bull-baiting game, in which cattle are enclosed in a specially constructed pen, worried until they become wild and then captured one by one and dragged into a smaller pen alongside. They have many shrines to the lesser gods on the Kalrayans at which they themselves do the puja. Their deities include Mariamma, Draupadi, and many other similar village goddesses. In some of their shrines or temples they place the pre-historic cells and other stone implements which are found on the hills. They take oaths before those shrines to settle disputes among them¹.

The Irulars (also called Villiyars. 'bowmen') are the only approach to a forest-tribe in the district. They have, however, so long left the jungles and lived among the ordinary villages that they have lost almost all traces of any unusual customs which they may have once possessed. They are chiefly found round about the Gingee (Senji) hills. They have a very dark skin and very curly hair. They talk a corrupt Tamil and live and dwell in scattered huts. They subsist by watching crops, by baling water from wells and sometimes by crime. A few of them own land, mostly dry land. They snare hares now and again and collect the honey of the wild bees by letting themselves down the face of the cliffs at night by ladders made of twisted creepers.

They have no exogamous or endogamous subdivisions in this district. There is little ceremony at their weddings. The old men of the caste fix the auspicious day, the bridegroom brings a few small presents, a pandal is made, a tali is tied and there is a feast to the relations. Their rites at births and deaths are equally simple. The dead are usually buried (lying face upwards), a stone and some thorn being placed over the grave to keep off jackals. On the eleventh day after the death, the eldest son ties a cloth round his head and a little rice is coloured with saffron and then thrown into water. This is called "casting away the sin" and ill luck would befall the eldest son if he were to omit the ceremony.

They pay homage to all grama devatas, but the Seven Kannimar are their favourite deities. They indulge in sooth-saying and are credited by other castes with supernatural powers and are applied to for advice in difficulties. On such occasions they beat a small drum, worship the Kannimar, work themselves up into a state of excitement and utter oracular sentences².

The paraiyars or as they are commonly called Pariahis, some say, derive their name from parai which means a drum, since certain sections of the Paraiyars act as drummers at marriages,

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francois, Vol. II, 1909, pages 106-108.

² *Idem* 110-111.

Castes and Tribes of Southern India by Edgar Thurston, Vol. II, 1909, pages 389-391.

funerals, festivals, etc. Others, however, question this derivation remarking that it is only some of the Paraiyars, and not all, who act as drummers. The term Paraiyar is said to be not found in ancient Tamil literature; instead, the term used in those days is said to be Pulayar or Eyinar. In ancient times they are said to have held a higher social status but to-day they rank low in society and are employed as agricultural labourers, grave diggers, village watchmen, scavengers, etc. They are most numerous in the district.

It is usual among them to give the father's name when distinguishing one person from another; as, for instance, Tamburan son of Kannan. They also delight in giving nick names such as Nondi (lame), Kallan (thief), Kullan (dwarf), etc. There are some occupational subdivisions among them such as the barbers, the washermen, the play-actors, the priests and the scavenger and outside these subdivisions any Paraiyar may marry any Paraiyar girl. They generally live in a cheri (gathering place) or, as it is sometimes called, paracheri, away from other communities. Such of them as live in the village of Veppur to the west of Vriddhachalam are noted for their crimes. They belong to the Right Hand faction, have priests of their own called Valluvars and a few important individuals known as Panakkarars and Periya Nattars or Tangalars. The Panakkarars form a committee or council to decide ordinary quarrels and caste disputes, and exercise the rights of imposing fines, dissolving marriages, passing sentences of ex communication, etc. The ex communicated Paraiyars are said to go to a mythical place called Vinnamangalam.

Among the Paraiyars it is usual for a man to marry his father's sister's daughter or his mother's brother's daughter. Marriage contracts are generally made by parents and marriage presents, such as a few cloths, jewels, rice, etc., are exchanged between the families of the bride and bridegroom. Their actual marriage ceremony is very simple. A lucky day is fixed by the Valluvar. A bride price of varying amount is paid. A part of the marriage ritual consists in setting up a pole of the *Odina Wodier* tree at the place appointed for the ceremony and afterwards planting it near the house and seeing if it will grow. The bride and the bridegroom having been dressed—the latter wearing a thread in the Brahmin fashion—the Valluvar hands the tali to the bridegroom who ties it round the bride's neck. A series of feasts are then given to all the relatives of both the parties by the parents of the couple. The rites at the marriage of a widow are far simpler and are performed inside the house and sometimes at night. The removal of the tali of a widow is effected in a curious manner. On the sixteenth day after the husband's death, another woman stands behind the widow who stoops forward and unties the tali in such a way that it falls into a vessel of milk placed below to receive it. Adoption ceremonies are also odd. The adoptee's feet are washed in turmeric

water by the adopter, who then drinks a little of the water. Adoption is accordingly known as 'manjanir kudikkiradu' or the drinking of turmeric-water' and the adopted son as the 'manjanir pillai or the turmeric-water boy'.

As for funeral rites, these are also very simple. The corpse is carried on a litter of palm leaf mats and bamboos, wrapped in a new cloth and, on the third or fifth day after death, a *pal sudangu*, or milk ceremony, is performed when some milk is poured out by the relatives as an offering to the spirit of the deceased. The spirit is then supposed to depart to a place of respite till fate decrees that it should be reborn. This ceremony is accompanied by a family feast. On the fifteenth day the *Karumantaram* ceremony is held. Occasionally, for some months after death, a few flowers are placed on the grave and a coconut is broken over it. Sometimes, however anniversaries are held.

The Paraiyars are nominally Saivites or Vaishnavites but in reality, devil worshippers. They acknowledge the existence of a supreme, omnipresent, spiritual being, the source of all, whom they call *Kadavul*. But *Kadavul* possesses no temple, nor is He worshipped. The devatas whom they generally worship are called *Ammas* (mothers). Sometimes the *Ammas* are worshipped as Virgins (*Kanniyamma*) or the Seven Virgins. Some stones representing the Seven Virgins are placed on a little platform under *margosa* tree sheltered by a wattle hut or a small brick temple. This temple is called *Amman Koil*. More usually they worship in a similar temple one particular mother called *Grama Devata*, such as *Ellamma*, *Mungilamma* *Padaiyattal* or *Pidariyamma*. The goddesses whom they specially revere as titular deities are *Gangamma* and *Mariyattal*. The former is considered the goddess of cholera, while the latter is considered the goddess of small-pox. Festivals are held in their honour whenever cholera or small-pox makes its appearance. Besides these goddesses they worship also a number of ghosts and goblins (*pei* or *pisasu*)¹

The Valluvars, as has been already stated, are the priests of the Paraiyars. Tiruvalluvar, the famous Tamil poet and author of the *Kural*, belonged to this caste. They include in their ranks both the Vaishnavites and saivites; the former are called Valluva Tadars and the latter Valluva Pandarams. The two classes, however, intermarry and dine together. The Saivites, both men and women, wear the lingam.

At their betrothal ceremony, the bride's money (*pariyam*), betel, jewels, flowers and fruit are placed on the future bride's lap. The bridegroom's party also pays fees for a feast to the relations. On the wedding day, the milk-post consisting of a

green bamboo pole is set up and a number of pots are placed near it. On the dais are set four lamps, namely an ordinary brass lamp, a kudavilakku, an alankara vilakku and paligai vilakku. The bride and the bridegroom bring some sand, spread it on the floor near the dais and place seven leaves on it. Cotton threads dyed with turmeric are tied to the pots and the milk-post. On the leaves are set cakes and rice, and the contracting couple worship the pots and the family gods. The priest then ties the kankanams (threads) on their wrists. They are then led into the house and garlanded with jasmine or 'Nerium' flowers. The pots are now placed on the dais and while one of them is planted with seedlings by the female relations, four others are filled with water by the bridegroom's party. A small quantity of seedlings is usually wrapped in a cloth and placed over the seedling pot. Next morning the bundle is untied and examined to see if the seedlings are in good condition. If they are so, the bride is considered a worthy one; if not, the bride is considered unworthy or liable to premature death. The usual nalangu ceremony is then performed, the bride and the bridegroom being anointed with oil and smeared with *Phaselous mungo* paste. This is followed by the offering of food on eleven leaves to the ancestors and house gods. Towards the evening, the couple sit on planks kept on the dais and exchange betel and paddy nine or twelve times, and rice twenty-seven times. The priest then kindles the sacred fire, and pours some ghee into it from a mango leaf. The bridegroom is now asked thrice whether he sees Arundhathi (Ursa Major) to which he replies in the affirmative. The tali is then shown to the sky, smoked over burning camphor and placed on a tray together with a rupee. After being blessed by those present, it is tied round the bride's neck by the bridegroom. On the second day there is a procession through the village and, on the third day, the wrist threads are removed.

The Saivite lingam wearers bury their dead in a sitting posture. After death has taken place, a coconut is broken and camphor is burnt. The corpse is washed by the relations who bring nine pots of water for the purpose. The lingam is then tied to the head and a cloth bundle containing a rupee, seven bilva leaves and nine *Leucas aspera* flowers, is tied to the right arm. The corpse is then carried to the grave on a cart surmounted by five brass vessels. After it is buried, the priest is given a fee for his services. On the third day after death, the female relations of the deceased pour milk into a vessel which is taken by the male relatives to the burning ground and offered at the grave. A lingam is then worshipped here. The final death ceremonies are celebrated on the seventeenth day¹.

The Chakkiliyars are the leather workers of the Tamil districts. They appear to be immigrants from the Telugu or Kannada dis-

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 106.

Castes and Tribes of Southern India by Edgar Thurston, Vol. VII, 1909 pages 303-310.

tricts and a very large proportion of them speak Telugu or Kannada. In social position they occupy the lowest rank, though there is much dispute on this point among them and the Paraiyars. The avaram plant, the bark of which is a tanning agent, is held in much veneration by them and the tali is tied to a branch of it as a preliminary to marriage. Their marriage ceremonies closely resemble those of the Paraiyars. Their widows can remarry. Divorce can be obtained among them by the payment of a certain sum to the other in the presence of the local head of the caste. Their women are said to be handsome and it is a woman of this caste who is generally selected for the coarser form of Sakti worship. Formerly they indulged freely in intoxicating liquors. They eat any flesh, including beef, pork, etc. The men among them belong to the Right Hand faction, while the women belong to the Left Hand faction. Nominally they are Sarvites but in reality devil worshippers. Their gods include Aiyansai, Madurai Viran, Mariamman, Muneswara, Draupadi and Gangamma¹.

Among the Non-Hindus, the Muslims form an important community in the district. They are mostly found in the Chidambaram, Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Kallakurichi taluks. The great majority of them call themselves as Sheiks, and many more as belonging to the other subdivisions of pure descent which claim to have sprung from the north country Muslims, who came with the conquering armies of the Deccan and Delhi. The rest of them are mostly either Labbais or Marakkayars, or Panjukottis of mixed Muslim and Hindu blood. Most of the Muslims are Sunnis but there are a fair number of Wahabis (or Ahl-i-Hadis). These are the purists and regard the Mohurram as an occasion for fasting instead of feasting and prohibit the Hindu customs which have crept into Muslim ceremonies, such as music during marriage ceremonies. There are likewise some Navayats who are said to have originally come from Bhatkal in North Kanara, and who are said to occupy a high place among the Muslims.

The Panjukottis are, here as elsewhere, cotton cleaners and weavers of coarse fabrics by profession. The Labbais are often betel growers or traders in skin or shop-keepers. Their women are clever at weaving mats from the leaves of the screw-pine which grows so abundantly along the sandy shore of the Bay of Bengal. The Marakkayars are largely big overseas traders and own most of the coasting craft.

The word Labbai seems to be of a recent origin; formerly the Labbais were called Sonagars, meaning natives of Sonagam (Arabia). They are, as has been said already, of mixed blood, partly the descendants of Arab traders or refugees who were married with the women of this coast and partly the descendants of the Hindus who were forcibly converted to Islam by Tipu Sultan and the previous

¹ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Vol. II, 1909, pages 2-7.

Muslim invaders. They belong to the Shafi sect but their mother-tongue is Tamil and they follow in their domestic ceremonies, in their customs of inheritance and in their methods of dress, manners which are rather Hindu than Muslim. Their marriage ceremony closely resembles that of the lower caste Hindus, the only difference being that they cite passages from the Koran and their females do not appear in public even during marriages. Some of the Labbais set up a bamboo as a milk-post and tie a tali round the neck of the bride while the Nikkadiva is being read.

The name Marakkayar is derived from the Arabic 'markab', a boat. They are also a mixed race and belong to the Shafi sect. They admit converts from various Hindu classes called Pulukkais, but they generally do not intermarry with them. Their marriage ceremonies have also taken a tinge of Hindu customs. Contrary to the usual Muslim practice, the parents of the bride look about for a suitable bridegroom, instead of waiting until her hand is sought in marriage. Having found one, they settle with his parents the amount of money which they will give with their daughter and this dowry is called Kaikuli or 'the price of her hand'. On the day fixed the whole or part of it is publicly paid to the bridegroom's people in the bride's house. In the courtyard of the house is planted a pole called muhurta kainbu or auspicious post round which is twisted a piece of silk and to the top of which is tied a bunch of mango leaves. After the betrothal is concluded, both parties throw handfuls of saffron water on this post, the "fatiha" or reading of the prescribed verses from the Koran is done and the assembly adjourns to the bridegroom's house where a similar post is planted.

The actual marriage may occur some time later. Normally, on the first day, the Meher (bride price, i.e., the price to be paid by the bridegroom to the bride) is fixed in the presence of vakils and the Nikka rite is performed by the Khazi. The Nikka Khudba is read and the hands of the contracting couple are united by male elders, the bride standing behind a screen. During the reading of the Khudba, the bridegroom ties a string of black beads round the bride's neck, when the women present sometimes raise a shout called Kulavi-idal. On the second day the couple sit among women and the bridegroom ties a golden tali on the bride's neck. On the third or fourth day, a ceremony called Papparakkolam is sometimes performed. The bride dressed like a Brahmin woman, holding a brass vessel in one hand and a stick in the other, approaches the bridegroom and strikes him gently and says "Did not I give you buttermilk and curds? Pay me for them." The bridegroom then places a few tamarind seeds in the vessel, but the bride objects to them and insists on money, accompanying the demand with strokes of the stick. The bridegroom now places copper, silver and gold coins in the vessel and the bride retires in triumph to her chamber.

The Muslims of pure descent hold themselves to be socially superior to the Marakkayars and the Marakkayars consider them-

selves to be superior to the Labbais. There is, however, no religious bar to intermarriages between these different subdivisions, but such unions are rare. Again, the pure-bred Muslims differ from those of mixed descent by dressing themselves and their women in the strict Muslim fashion and by speaking Urdu at home among themselves. Some of the Marakkayars and Labbais follow their example in both these matters ¹.

The Christians of the district are most numerous in the taluks of Tindivanam, Villupuram and Tirukkoyilur. A great proportion of them are Hindu converts and a great proportion of these converts are Roman Catholics.

The Roman Catholic Mission is the oldest in the district. It was an offshoot of the famous Madurai Mission of the Jesuits founded by Robert de'Nobili in 1606. In 1640, Father Emmanuel Martinz of that society, being driven out of Tiruchirappalli, took refuge in the Gingee (Senji) country, where he set to work to proselytize. About 1670, Father Philippe Erandi, who was in charge of the Gingee (Senji) Mission, fixed his headquarter for a time at Kolei, but he soon abandoned this to wander about the country preaching. He was followed in 1675 by Father Andre Freire. In the years which followed, the work of the mission greatly extended. In 1692, a Father Paulo obtained grants of land at Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Devanampattanam and built two small churches in them. Several churches were thereafter built but most of them suffered during the invasion of the Marathas in 1740. Among the oldest churches now existing is that built by the famous Beschi at Konankuppam, that at Marakkanam which was given to the Jesuits by Madame Dupleix and that in Cuddalore (Gudalur) Old Town, which was built in 1760.

सत्यमेव जयते

The Catholic Missions, here as elsewhere, suffered greatly from the dissensions which arose out of the Papal decrees regarding the continuance of caste distinctions among Christians and from the abolition of the Society of Jesus by Pope Clement XIV in 1773. The Jesuits were re-established in 1814 but then arose the divided authority which resulted from the simultaneous jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa and the ordinary hierarchy. This was set at rest only in 1886 by Pope Loe XIII. The Mission is now controlled by the Archbishop of Pondicherry. It has several priests, an imposing church at Aniladi and another at Mugaiyur and many technical, educational and medical institutions ².

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 85-88.

Castes and Tribes of Southern India by Edgar Thurston, Vol. IV, 1909, pages 198-205.

Idem, Vol. V, 1909, pages 1-5.

² *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 80-82.

Idem, Vol. II, 1902, pages XIII-XIV.

Of the Protestant Missions, the earliest was that established by the Danish Lutheran Mission of Tranquebar. In 1817, the well-known missionary Ziegenbalg, who had been sent to India by the King of Denmark sometimes before, opened a school in Cuddalore (Gudalur) in connexion with the Danish Mission at Tranquebar. The school, however, was subsequently wound up. In 1837, at the request of the Deputy Governor and the English residents, two missionaries, Sartorius and Geister, were despatched by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge to Cuddalore (Gudalur), where they founded its first Protestant Mission. Sartorius having died in the following year, his place was taken up (in 1740) by J. Z. Kiernander, and under his care the mission flourished greatly for some years. He opened a Tamil school and a free school for the Portuguese, in both of which handicrafts were taught. In 1747 he was joined by another missionary Breithaupt. In 1749, the Government having expelled the Roman Catholic priests from Madras as well as Cuddalore (Gudalur) on the suspicion that they were assisting the French in the Anglo-French wars of that period, the Catholic church in Cuddalore (Gudalur) Old Town was handed over to the S.P.C.K. The Danish Missionaries at Tranquebar continued at this time to visit the various Christian centres in the south, whether established by their own society or by the S.P.C.K. and in 1750, the famous missionary Schwartz landed at Cuddalore (Gudalur) on his way to Tranquebar. Four years later he visited Cuddalore (Gudalur) again and in 1750, George Henry Hutteman joined the mission. In 1758, when Cuddalore (Gudalur) capitulated to the French under Lally, the missionaries, with many of their converts, left the place, fearing that they might be compelled to take the oath of allegiance to the French; but Lally showed every consideration, and Hutteman returned two years later and found the mission property in tact.

Kiernander had been meanwhile sent to Calcutta, and his place was taken in 1767 by William Gericke. In this year the Government helped the mission to erect a new church at Cuddalore (Gudalur). A few years later, another church was erected at "Po'llam" or Chennappanayakanpalayam. In 1781 Hutteman died and in 1782, Hyder Ali captured Cuddalore (Gudalur). The church was now turned into a powder magazine and Gericke was compelled to retire to Nagapattinam. For some years afterwards the English chaplains at Cuddalore (Gudalur) looked after what remained of the mission until in 1885 it was transferred to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel when it entered on a new lease of life. The mission has been in charge of Indian clergymen from 1850, except for brief periods between 1881 and 1895, when it was under European missionaries¹.

The Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission, formally established a station at Cuddalore (Gudalur) in 1856, though it had been work-

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 82-84. *Idem*, Vol. II, 1922, Page XIV.

ing at that place for some years before. Early in 1867, the missionary in charge, Baierlein, took up his residence there and, the next year, he obtained from the Collector of the district, the grant of a land at Semmandalam on which the church, school, parsonage and other buildings of the mission were built. At present there are mission lands at Villupuram, Semmandalam and Chidambaram. The mission also maintains several elementary schools.

In 1861 another Lutheran body, the Danish Lutheran Society of Copenhagen, began work in South Arcot. It has churches, chapels as well as several schools in the district.

The Arcot Mission of the Reformed Church in America opened a branch at Tindivanam in 1876. It has now a missionary-in-charge, several pastors, a church and several schools in the district.

The Panruti, or Highways and Hedges, Mission was founded in 1871 by C. W. Reade, Collector of the district between 1862 and 1871. It was sold to the Danish Missionary Society in 1911 and since then the Society has been managing it¹

The Jains, as has already been said, form a fairly large community in this district. They hold a high position in the Tindivanam taluk and include fairly wealthy traders and agriculturists. They use the title of Nayanar or Udaiyar but their relations in the Tanjore district call themselves Chettiars or Mudaliars. The women dress like Vellalars and wear the same kind of tali and other jewels. The men also resemble the Vellalars except that they invariably wear the sacred thread and paint on their foreheads a sect mark which is like the ordinary Vaishnavite mark but square instead of semi-circular at the bottom and having a dot instead of a streak in the middle. They are usually clean shaved.

They all belong to the Digambara Sect and the images in their temples of the twenty-four tirthankarars are accordingly without clothing. These temples, the chief of which are those at Tirunirankonrai and Sittamur are not markedly different in external appearances from the Hindu shrines, but within them are images of some of the tirthankarars made of stone or of painted clay, instead of the representations of the Hindu deities. The Jain rites of public worship much resemble those of the Brahm̃ns. There is the same bathing of god with sacred oblations, sandal and so on, the same lighting and waving of lamps and burning of camphor, and the same breaking of coconuts, playing of music and the recitation of sacred verses. Worship in the Jain temples is conducted by the members of the Archaka or priest class: but the daily worship in the houses is done by the laymen themselves before a small image of one of the tirthankarars. The Jains believe in the doctrine of rebirths and hold that the end of all is nirvana. They observe the Sivaratri and

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 84-86.

Idem, Vol. II, pages XIV-XV.

Deepavali feasts but they say that they do so, not for the reasons which induce the Hindus to revere these dates, but for the fact that on those days their first and the last tirthankarars attained beatitude. Similarly they observe the Pongal and the Ayudha Puja-day. They believe also in ahimsa and practise it as far as possible. That they might not injure even insects, they do not eat at night and filter through a cloth milk and water, take only curds, ghee or oil which they themselves or their brethren have made with due precautions and avoid the use of shell chunam.

They have four subdivisions, the ordinary laymen and three priestly classes, namely the Archakas or Vadyars, the Annams or Anurvritis and the Nirvanis or Munis. The Archakas conduct worship in the temples, the Annams are monks who are allowed to marry but have to live according to certain special rules of conduct; and the Nirvanis live a separate life apart from the world. An Archaka can rise to the position of an Annam and an Annam can rise to the position of a Nirvani. There are also among the Jains a sisterhood of nuns called Aryanganais who have taken the vow of chastity; they are sometimes maidens and sometimes women who have left their husbands. The monks shave their heads and dress in red; the nuns too shave their heads but dress in white. Both of them carry as marks of their condition a brass vessel and bunch of peacock's feathers, with which latter, they sweep clean any place on which they sit down lest any insect should be there.

They have also among them a high priest; he is elected by the representatives of the Chief Jaina villages such as Sittamur, Viranamur, Vilukkam, Peramandur, Alagramam, Velur and Taynur. He has supreme authority over all Jains south of Madras but not over those in Mysore or South Kanara with whom the South Arcot community have no relations. He travels round in a palanquin with a suite of followers to the chief Jaina centres, settles caste disputes and fines and excommunicates the erring.

The laymen among them will not intermarry, though they will dine, with the Archakas. Otherwise there are no marriage subdivisions among them, all Jains south of Madras freely intermarrying. Their ceremonies such as those connected with birth, puberty, marriage, death and so on resemble generally those of the Brahmins. A curious difference is that, though the girls never wear the sacred thread, they are taught the thread-wearing mantram, amidst all the ceremonies usual in the case of boys, when they are about eight years old. Their widows are not allowed to marry but are not required to shave their heads until they are middle aged. Their dead are burnt and the death pollution lasts for twelve days, after which period purification is performed and the parties must go to the temple. They will not normally eat with the Hindus¹.

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906 pages 78-80.

Castes and Tribes of Southern India by Edgar Thurston, Vol. II 1906 pages 419-438.

CHAPTER VI.

AGRICULTURE AND IRRIGATION.

South Arcot occupies a pre-eminent place in sugarcane and groundnut cultivation and by no means an inconspicuous place in paddy cultivation in this State. It stands first in sugarcane, second in groundnut and fourth in paddy cultivation. No district has a larger area under sugarcane; only North Arcot has a larger area under groundnut, and only Tanjore has a larger area under paddy. It is also a surplus district in rice by 2,000 tons, although it is a deficit one in dry grains by 126,000 tons¹. A comparative statement showing the cropping in representative years for the period 1910-11 to 1950-51 is appended at the end of the chapter.

The chief food crops grown in the district are paddy (normally 510,390 acres), varagu (147,790 acres), cholam (131,080 acres), cumbu (1,16,500 acres), ragi (80,870 acres), korra (12,940 acres), red-gram (13,100 acres), black-gram (9,950 acres), horse-gram (7,690 acres) and green-gram (6,030 acres). The chief cash crops grown are sugarcane (22,280 acres), groundnut (387,920 acres), gingelly (44,350 acres) and cotton (10,840 acres). The chief plantation crops raised are cashewnuts (24,145 acres), coconuts (3,470 acres) and chillies (3,080 acres). And the chief green-manure crops grown are sunn-hemp (891 acres), indigo (3,236 acres), kolinji and dhaincha (area of the crops not known). Other crops grown include tobacco (1,400 acres), plantains (1,500 acres), mangoes (2,790 acres) and citrus fruits (810 acres)². About 74.4 per cent of the total area sown is devoted to the production of food grains and pulses and of this area 34.2 per cent is devoted to the cultivation of paddy³.

Paddy is largely raised in the Chidambaram taluk, where it occupies about 70 per cent of the area (including 63 per cent under the Coleroon or Kollidam). This is because the taluk enjoys excellent irrigation facilities. The lands under the Lower Anicut here can be irrigated earlier than elsewhere from the freshes in the Coleroon (Kollidam) caused by the rains in the Western Ghats in the south-west monsoon. These lands also received a further supply from the floods brought down later in the year by the north-east monsoon. Paddy occupies about 25 to 30 per cent of the extent

¹ *Season and Crop Report of the Madras State for 1953-1954*, pages 36-42.

Food and Agriculture in Madras State, 1953, by B. Natarajan, pages 15-16.

² *Season and Crop Report of the Madras State for 1953-54*, pages 36-42.

³ *Idem*, page 44.

cultivated in the Villupuram, Tindivanam, Tirukkoyilur and Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluks. It is cultivated least in the Gingee (Senji), Kallakkurichi and Vriddhachalam taluks¹.

In the wet lands, the earlier crop, called the kar crop, is usually sown in seed-beds from June onwards and transplanted with the early showers of the south-west monsoon, and sometimes, up to as late as August, if the rains are delayed. This crop remains from three to five months on the ground. The later and more important crop, called the Samba crop, is sown from July onwards and transplanted between August and September and it takes about five to six months to mature. In parts of the Chidambaram taluk, as in the Tanjore district, the ryots raise the seeds of a kind of kar, called kuruvai which ripens in three to four months with that of a samba, known as ottadam samba, which takes about eight months to ripen. The seeds are sown together in seed-beds and transplanted promiscuously in the same field. When the kar crop matures, it is reaped and removed, the ottadam which has not, by this time, put out any ears and which therefore suffers no injury from the reaping, is thereafter flooded with water again and left to mature in its own good time. This method of double-crop cultivation has this advantage; that it requires only a single ploughing.

Rain-fed or manavari paddy is cultivated somewhat differently. Here the land is ploughed after rain and the seed is sown broadcast, between July and August, after a good shower, without any flooding of the field. The crop matures with the help of rain alone and survives, even if it receives no showers, as much as 45 days or two months on end. Although the area under manavari cultivation is increasing, it is unknown in the Chidambaram taluk, except on the red land round Srimushnam.

Samba rice is white or golden in colour; some of the choicest kinds of samba are known as "tangam". A kind of samba called Kamban (with a grain like cambu) and another kind known as malligai are grown only in the Chidambaram taluk. In the other taluks, the best kind of samba grown is called sivan or chinna samba and the worst kind is known as vadasamba. Kar rice is generally red, but some varieties of kar are white, and the best sort of kar is called 'sornavari' kar. Since 1920 several improved strains of paddy evolved by persistent efforts by the Agricultural Department have come into vogue; those introduced in the district are chiefly GEB24, CO2, ADT1 and 2, PLR1 and 2 and COL19, BAM3, CO25, ADT3, ADT20 and TKM6².

The agricultural practices of the district do not materially differ from those of the other districts. Manuring is done before ploughing and sowing or transplantation. The manure chiefly consists of

¹ Notes on Irrigation, South Arcot District, dated 1st July 1953 by V. N. Kudva.

² *Idem*

Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906 pages, 115-118.

Information furnished by the Director of Agriculture, Madras.

cattle dung, household refuse, farm sweepings, green leaves, tank silt and sheep penning. The improved system of preserving cattle manure by the dry earth box and hyre system is followed by a few ryots. Green manure leaf crops like sunn-hemp and indigo are raised in wet lands during the off season. This is done extensively in the Chidambaram, Cuddalore (Gudalur), Villupuram and Kallakurichi taluks. Groundnut cake manure is also nowadays largely used in the district, except in the Chidambaram taluk, where the ryots trust to the fertilizing properties of the rich silt brought down by the Coleroon (Kollidam). The ploughs used by the ryots were formerly all wooden ploughs; but latterly on account of the intensive propaganda made by the Agricultural Department, the ryots have more and more taken to mould-board iron ploughs. Tractor ploughing is also becoming popular (especially in black soil and sugarcane areas). So also is becoming popular the installation of electric motors and pumps, instead of the old picottah for lifting water¹.

Dry lands are generally ploughed after the heavy rains of the hot weather and early crops such as cumbu and cholam are raised on lighter soils. The busiest season for sowing dry crops is July to September. A late setting of the south-west monsoon results in a decrease in the extent of cumbu and an increase in that of varagu and ragi cultivation. Cumbu, ragi, varagu and cholam are consumed by the poor classes. Cumbu is the chief unirrigated foodgrain grown in all parts of the district. It is, however, rarer in the Chidambaram, Tindivanam, Villupuram and Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluks than in the other taluks. It is raised with cholam and gingelly on the lighter soils. Ragi is grown both as a dry crop and under numerous wells. The pure strains of it, namely EC593 (CO1) and EC3755 (CO2), introduced by the Agricultural Department have become popular with the ryots. Varagu grows on poor soil with little rain².

Sugarcane, as has already been stated, is an important cash crop of the district. It is grown on wet lands in rotation with paddy in alternate years or once in three or four years. In parts of the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk, it is grown on wet lands in three course rotation with paddy and indigo grown pure or mixed with paddy. In the Kallakurichi taluk it is grown in rotation with paddy once in four years. It is cultivated principally round about Nellikuppam in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk, under the Ponnaiyar anicut channels in the Tirukkivilur taluk and under the small anicuts of the Gomukhi in the Kallakurichi taluk. Some of it is also cultivated round about Chidambaram and under the Pelandurai anicut near Srimushnam in the Chidambaram taluk. A little of it is likewise cultivated under the Gingee (Senji) and the Manimuktanadi and the Vellar channels near Tittagudi in the Vriddhachalam taluk.

¹ *Statistical Atlas South Arcot District, 1940-41, page 2.*

² *Notes on Irrigation, South Arcot, dated 1st July 1953 by V. W. Kudva.*

Formerly two main varieties of cane were raised; the white reed cane, called "nanal karumbu" which was an inferior variety, and the striped cane, known as "rastali" or "namadharai karumbu", which was a better variety. Here and there was also grown a little of the Mauritius cane which had been introduced into the district as long ago as 1839, but which had not proved a success owing to the various causes. All these varieties of cane came to be gradually replaced by purer strains like J247 (a drought resisting variety) and Fiji B, both of which had a higher jaggery content. Both these varieties have, however, been replaced, in turn, by the still purer and higher yielding varieties like CO419, CO449 and CO527. Messrs. East India Distilleries and Sugar Factories of Nellikuppam have given not a little encouragement to sugar cultivation in the district. They crush almost all the cane raised in the Cuddalore (Gudalur), Villupuram and Tirukkoyilur taluks. Canes grown in the Gingee (Senji), Kallakurichi and Vriddhachalam taluks in the interior are, however, locally crushed for jaggery¹.

As is well-known, sugarcane is an exhausting crop. It thrives best on fertile soils with good drainage facilities; but it can also be grown on a variety of soils, clayey soils, red loams and sandy loams, provided it is properly manured and looked after. The crop demands a preparatory tillage. Soon after the harvest of the previous crop, the land is ploughed a number of times fairly deep until the required tilth is obtained. Both wooden and iron ploughs are used for ploughing. The main planting season is March-April but, in some parts, it commences even earlier. The crop is heavily manured, by bulky as well as concentrated manures. Cattle manure is the common basal dressing given before planting. After two or three ploughings, the manure is applied to the land. Where cattle manure is not available, sheep penning is adopted or compost manure is used. Green-leaf manure is also applied wherever possible; this is sometimes done by growing a sunn-hemp crop before the sugarcane crop. These manures are nowadays supplemented by oil cakes and nitrogenous fertilizers either alone or in suitable combinations. The oil cakes used are commonly those of groundnut, coconut, castor or gingelly and the fertilizer used is commonly the sulphate of ammonia².

Groundnut, which is another important cash crop of the district, is grown extensively in all the taluks except the Chidambaram taluk. Even so far back as 1851 it was described as a profitable crop of the district, but it was then cultivated only in about 3,000 acres³. Since then its cultivation has gone on increasing so rapidly that it now takes up, as has already been shown, nearly 388,000 acres. The crop is mostly grown on the fertile, light coloured, fine,

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 118-120.

Notes on Irrigation, South Arcot, dated 1st July 1953 by V. N. Kudva.

² *Memoirs of the Department of Agriculture, Madras, 1954, pages 426-431.*

³ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 124.

sandy, loams; but being profitable, it is also raised even on the most unpromising soils, such as the soil of the high red land between the Mount Capper plateau and Vriddhachalam. It does not, however, thrive on salt soil or low-lying wet land¹. The variety cultivated is mostly the Coromandel, also known as the Local Mauritius or the Mozambique Mauritius. It is a long duration (4½ months) spreading variety. The other two varieties are the Spanish Peanut and the Pollachi Red; they are short duration (3½ months) varieties. In recent years the Agricultural Department has introduced improved strains, TMV1, TMV2 and TMV3 and these are fast becoming popular².

The short duration crop is raised under irrigated conditions either independently or along with a ragi crop during the months of January to March and harvested in April to June. The long duration crop is sown broadcast in July to September and harvested up to February. Even moderate rains during August-October are sufficient for this crop³. The sowing is done either in lines behind a country plough or by means of a seed-drill. Normally two inter-cultivations are given. The crop is harvested when the vines begin to turn yellow and the inside of the shell turns dark. The short duration bunch type is harvested by pulling out the plants with hand, while the long duration spreading type is harvested by digging the plants with a spade or, sometimes, where the soil is hard, by ploughing⁴. Groundnut, like sugarcane, is an exhausting crop and is therefore given a liberal supply of all the manures. It is liable to severe damage by a hairy caterpillar; but steps have been taken by the Agricultural Department to prevent its spread⁵.

Gingelly, which is yet another important crop of the district, is sown in some parts in the months of January and February and harvested in April and May. Heavy rains at the time of sowing affect the germination of this crop. In other parts it is sown in July and August and harvested in September and October⁶. The Agricultural Department has introduced improved strains of gingelly, namely, TMV1, TMV2 and TMV3⁷.

As to the other crops, cashew has become self-grown in many parts of the district; it is also grown in the arid deep red soil of Kadampuliur firka in the Cuddalore (Gudalore) taluk and in the sandy wastes along the sea-shore in the Chidambaram taluk. There are 25,000 acres under cashewnut in the district. Tobacco

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District*, by W. Francis, Vol. I. 1906, page 125.

² *Memoirs of the Department of Agriculture, Madras, 1954*, pages 215-216.

³ *Statistical Atlas, South Arcot District, 1940-1941*, page 6.

⁴ *Memoirs of the Department of Agriculture, Madras, 1954*, page 218.

⁵ *Statistical Atlas, South Arcot District, 1940-1941*, page 8.

⁶ *Statistical Atlas, South Arcot District, 1940-41*, page 6.

⁷ *Memoirs of Department of Agriculture, Madras, 1954*, pages 222-227.

is grown largely in the Chidambaram, Kallakkurichehi and Vriddhachalam taluks. That grown in Sivapuri village in the Chidambaram taluk is considered to be superior and valuable and exported to the other districts. The Uppam variety of cotton is cultivated in the Vriddhachalam taluk and MCW 1 and P216F cotton are cultivated in the Villupuram and Cuddalore taluks. Plantain is largely grown in the Gingee (Senji) taluk¹.

So much about the general state of agriculture of the district. We may now turn to the Agricultural Department and describe briefly its growth and activities—activities which have contributed not a little to the improvement of agriculture, here as elsewhere. Official interest in agriculture was shown in Madras for the first time in 1863 when the Governor, Sir William Dennison, stressed the need for improving the prevailing agricultural practices². Some agricultural implements were then obtained from England and an agricultural farm under the management of some enthusiasts was established at Saidapet to demonstrate improved methods of cultivation to the ryots. In 1871 the management of this farm was assumed by the Government and in 1876 an agricultural college was started at Saidapet. In 1884 the control of this college was transferred from the Board of Revenue to the Director of Public Instruction. In 1885, the farm at Saidapet—except for a small portion of it, which remained attached to the college—was abolished and there after the Superintendent of the farm, who was made an Assistant to the Commissioner of Agriculture, was directed to devote all his time to the business of famine analysis, to the tabulation of village statistics and to enquiries on various agricultural or economic subjects. Much of the Saidapet land was kept as a dairy farm, and district farms were opened for the investigation and study of specific problems, such as the old farm at Palur for studying the problems connected with groundnut cultivation. It was however not till the opening years of this century that more and more attention came to be paid to agriculture. It was not till 1905 that, on the recommendation of the Famine Commission of 1901 and the initiative of Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, reorganization and expansion of the Agricultural Department were undertaken everywhere in India. In 1906 a wholetime Director of Agriculture was appointed in Madras and in 1907 an agricultural college and a research institute were established at Coimbatore, the Saidapet College being closed and the control over the new college being vested in the Director of Agriculture. The Agricultural Department now consisted of, besides the Director, an Economic Botanist, an Agricultural Chemist and two Deputy Directors (North and South) for district work. A Mycologist was appointed in 1910, an Entomologist and an Additional Botanist in 1912 and a third Deputy Director in 1913.

¹ Notes on Irrigation, South Arcot, dated 1st July 1953 by V. N. Kudva. *Statistical Atlas, South Arcot District, 1940-1941*, page 7.

² G.O. No. 63-66, Revenue, dated 6th November 1863.

Since then the department has gone on expanding rapidly in the spheres of research as well as propaganda and demonstration¹. Research work is now done mostly at Coimbatore and at the various regional research stations of which there are two in the district, one at Palur and the other at Tindivanam. Propaganda and demonstration of the improved methods suggested by research are entrusted to the Taluk Agricultural Demonstrators, the District Agricultural Officers and Deputy Directors. The propaganda methods adopted by them consist of demonstration in ryots' fields; publicity through departmental publications such as Villager's calendars, journals, press notes, radio talks, posters, etc., exhibitions and shows and contacts with ryots through village and taluk agricultural associations. There is an Agricultural Demonstrator for each taluk assisted by a staff of fieldmen and maistries. Fieldmen have been provided for every two or three firkas and maistries for each firka. Depots have been provided at the rate of one or two per taluk for stocking and selling agricultural requirements like improved seeds, manures, implements, etc. The Demonstrators work under the District Agricultural Officers and the latter work in close co-operation with the Revenue Department and are responsible to the Deputy Directors who have been appointed for groups of districts called circles. The District Agricultural Officers were formerly called Assistant Directors of Agriculture. The Assistant Directors came to be appointed from 1916, one for every two or three districts, but in 1941 their number was increased so as to provide one officer for each district and their designation was changed to District Agricultural Officers². South Arcot is now under a Deputy Director of Agriculture who has his headquarters at Tanjore and jurisdiction over Tanjore, South Arcot and Tiruchirappalli. The district has also a District Agricultural Officer and a Working Plant Officer with their headquarters at Cuddalore (Gudalur) and two Superintendents in charge of the two Agricultural Research Stations at Palur and Tindivanam. There is also a Sugarcane Specialist attached to the Palur Station, and there are a number of Agricultural Demonstrators, fieldmen and maistries in the district.

Of the two Agricultural Research Stations, that at Palur is one of the oldest of the agricultural farms of this State. It is situated in the village of Pallavarayanattam on the Cuddalore (Gudalur)-

¹ For demonstration of improved methods see G. O. No. 1210, Development, dated 11th September 1922.

² G. O. No. 1545, Development, dated 28th September 1927.

G. O. No. 452, Development, (Confidential), dated 10th March 1941.

C. O. No. 1432, Development, dated 9th August 1941.

G. O. No. 2256, Development, dated 9th December 1941.

G. O. No. 1254, Development, dated 24th June 1942.

See also: *Memoirs of the Department of Agriculture Madras*, 1954, pages 1-13.

Madras Presidency, 1881-1931 by G. T. Boag, 1933, pages 85-90.

Rural Problems in Madras, Monograph by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 109-113.

Panruti Road, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Nellikuppam railway station and about seven miles from Panruti. Its area which was originally some 16 acres (11 acres of dry and 5 acres of wet land) now consists of 44 acres (17 acres of wet land and 27 acres of dry land). Its main object originally was to study all aspects of groundnut cultivation. But, as research on groundnut is now being mainly done at the Tindivanam Station, only yield trials of promising selections evolved at that station and the multiplication of seed strains suitable to the district are now being carried on at the Palur Station. The Palur Station is also now engaged in evolving improved strains and methods of cultivation of paddy, sugarcane, cumbu, ragi, varagu and cotton.

The station has done much useful work. In the case of groundnut it has shown that certain varieties such as Madagascar, Carolina, Senegal and Barbados can be cultivated with as much advantage as the popular Mauritius or the Mozambique variety; that mixed cropping is better than rotation; that cumbu is the best cereal for mixed cropping with groundnut on dry lands; that manured plots give slightly higher yields than the unmanured plots; and that the plots manured with lime give the highest average yield. In the case of paddy, it has shown that the seed-rate can be reduced to avoid wastage; that $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of seed sown on a cent of nursery give healthy well-grown seedlings; that the planting of one or two seedlings per hole yields better results than the planting of 10 or more in bunches in a hole; and that the spacing of 6 inches between plants is more than enough. It has also shown that bulky organic manures are better than oil cakes for paddy cultivation, firstly because of their cheapness and secondly because of their capacity for producing bigger crops; that 6,000 lb. of green-leaf manure per acre is the optimum required for a kar or samba crop; and that artificial manure, phosphate and ammonium sulphate, produce better results when applied in addition to green-leaf manure. It has moreover shown that for the kar crop PLR2 Chitrakali, SW7 sornavari and SLO16 Kasipichodi varieties and for the samba crop CO2 Poombalai, GEB24 Kichilisamba, HSD5 Kartigai Samba, PLR Garudan samba and CO19 Chingleput Sirumani varieties are the most suitable. In the case of sugarcane it has demonstrated that 12,000 sets of top portions of cane per acre are sufficient for planting; that no advantage is gained by planting more sets; that a spacing of 8 feet is enough between the lines of the crop; that the best time for planting is February to April; that the removal of dried leaves from the growing crop (trashing) reduces the incidence of cane-fly (leaf hopper); that the growing of cane in alternate years, in rotation with other crops like groundnut, ragi, cumbu and paddy, though profitable for a few years in the beginning, eventually exhausts the soil and thereby reduces the profits; that such growing once in three years in rotation with the other crops yields the best results; that ratooning for a number of years instead of planting which is practised in several places to reduce

the cost of cultivation, produces crops of stunted growth subject to diseases and pests and, therefore, in the long run, holds out no advantage over planting; and that a combination of groundnut cake and ammonium sulphate capable of supplying 250 lbs. of nitrogen is the best manure for cane cultivation. It has also demonstrated that Red Mauritius and Ashy Mauritius are superior to "Namadhari" "Rastali" and "Nanal"; that Fiji B, a short thick variety locally known as "Pannikarumbu" is better than Red and Ashy Mauritius; and that CO419, CO449, and CO527 are even better than Fiji B. Some of these new varieties have, it may be stated, more or less completely replaced the local types. In the case of cumbu, ragi and varagu, not much progress in research has been made by the station. It has, however, shown that Perum ragi R382 gives the highest yield and that AKP1 is also a promising ragi strain. And finally in the case of cotton, it has shown that Cambodia type CO2, CO3 and CO4 could be sown successfully both in the dry and wet lands of the district.

The Tindivanam Agricultural Station grew out of the old Palakkupam farm which was originally started for doing experiments in groundnut cultivation. It was opened in 1935 with the object of studying and improving the three chief oil seed crops, groundnut, gingelly and castor. It is situated in the Erayanur village of the Tindivanam taluk on the Tindivanam—Kiliyanur—Pondicherry (Puducherry) Road about two miles south-east of Tindivanam railway station. It consists of some 57 acres of Government land of which 32 are dry and 25 are garden land, as well as some 30 acres of leased land.

This Station too has done much useful work. After intensive crop improvement experiments, it has evolved four improved strains of groundnut, namely TMV1 (AH25), TMV2 (AH32), TMV3 (AH698), and TMV4 (AH334). TMV1 is a mass selection from "saloum" a West African spreading variety. It is a high-yielding strain, yielding over 25 per cent over the local Mauritius variety. It is best suited for growing during the rain-fed season and is a drought resistant type. Its harvesting is comparatively easy and less costly than that of the local Mauritius variety, as most of its pods which are smooth and cylindrical remain attached to the plant when lifted out of the soil. It has also been found to be more resistant to "Sural attack" than the local Mauritius. TMV 2 is a mass selection from a Spanish type. It is a strain with bunch habit of growth and it yields even as much as the spreading variety in years of well distributed rainfall. It is the shortest duration type among the groundnut varieties and comes to maturity in 105 days. It is well suited to tracts where the monsoon period is short or where two crops are grown during the rainy season. It is easily harvested being a bunch variety. TMV3 is a strain isolated from

* Agricultural Research Station, Palur: its importance and contribution to agriculture—a pamphlet.

the West African variety Barsi. It is another high-yielding strain with spreading habit of growth, giving over 25 per cent increased yield over the local variety. It has a higher shelling out-turn than TMV1. TMV4 is a selection from an American variety, Carolina. It is yet another spreading strain capable of giving more than 25 per cent increased yield over the local Mauritius. It has a larger proportion of three seeded pods, than the other varieties¹.

The agronomic and other experiments carried out by the station have revealed some valuable results. A spacing of 9 inches either way has been found to be the best for spreading varieties under rain-fed conditions and a spacing of 6 inches, the best for the bunch varieties. This works out to a seed rate of about 74 lbs. of picked kernels per acre for the spreading and 100 lbs. of picked kernels per acre for the bunch type. Harvesting done at the time when the crop has reached full maturity as shown by the yellowing of the leaves and the development of a dark colour inside the shell, has been found to give maximum yield and the best quality produce. Mixed cropping of groundnut with castor or cotton, or cholam or red-gram has been found to be much more remunerative than pure cropping. Application of potash and phosphatic manures has been found to be very successful for groundnut cultivation. Hybridization of the bunch and spreading varieties have been found to yield bunch types with dormant seeds. As to pests and diseases, the use of the light trap (at the rate of one Dietz Junior lantern for 1.6 acres of the crop) and DDT 5 per cent dust have been found to be 25 per cent and 50 per cent effective respectively against

Surul Poochi'; and the use of fungicides, especially the Bordeaux mixture $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent, sprayed at two weeks intervals has been found to be 60 per cent effective against tikka disease. In regard to storage, it has been found that the produce shows greater deterioration in storage than the winter produce; that well dried kernels can be better stored than partially dried kernels; that the caking up of the kernels when stored in godowns is confined to the bottom-most bags piled on hard materials like coir matting and railway cinders; that the size of the cakes is proportionate to the height of stacking; that the breeding of insects is high in coir-matting and low in sand and railway cinders; that the deterioration in storage can be minimised considerably by storing kernels with a high proportion of "wholes"; that groundnut stored as kernels gets deteriorated quicker than groundnut stored as pods and that gunny and mud-bin are the best storage receptacles for the kernels.

The station has also evolved improved strains of gingelly and castor. Those of gingelly evolved are TMV1 (SI89 Palni), TMV2 (X6) and TMV3 (X38). The first is a mass selection from the Palni variety the second is a selection isolated from a cross between 'Nagpur white' and 'Sattur', while the third is a selection isolated from a cross between the local and the wild gingelly of Travancore. The first can be sown as a rain-fed and irrigated crop, the

¹ *Memoirs of the Department of Agriculture, Madras, 1954, pages 215-216.*

second is most suitable for cold-weather cropping, while the third is a high yielding crop which comes up well both under rain-fed and irrigated conditions. Trials conducted on the gingelly crop have shown that wider spaced plants are more vigorous, have better developed branches and produce more flowers and capsules; that the economic spacing for an irrigated crop is one foot; and that the best time for harvesting the crop is when it shows the first signs of yellowing and not when the capsules become dry. The improved strains of castor evolved are TMV1, TMV2 and TMV3. TMV1 is a short duration ($6\frac{1}{2}$ months) and high yielding strain isolated from a cross. It yields about 17 per cent more than the local variety, and is suitable for cultivation as a rain-fed crop. TMV2 is of a medium duration (seven months) and is equally high yielding. It is isolated from a cross and it yields 21 per cent more than the local variety. It is also suitable for cultivation as a rain-fed crop. TMV3 is likewise a high yielding strain from a South Arcot variety which gives about 27 per cent increase over the local variety. It has a duration of eight months when sown as a rain-fed crop. It is, however, best suited for sowing as a border for garden land crops like sugarcane, turmeric, chillies and cotton. Spacing trials for castor have shown that 3 feet spacing either way is the best. Harvesting trials have shown that it is advantageous to harvest the fully matured heads and dry them immediately afterwards. De-foliation studies have shown that de-foliating plants for Eri worm feeding at monthly intervals is better than de-foliating them at fortnightly intervals. Other experiments made at the station have revealed that Lucrene, Napier grass, Guinea grass, Thin Napier grass, Cholam and Pillipesara give good fodder yields in the district during the monsoon months (July to January) ¹.

The agricultural prosperity of the district has been considerably increased not only by the measures taken for demonstration, propaganda and research but also by the Grow More Food Campaign started during the Second World War. This campaign was launched in 1942 in order to overcome the scarcity of foodgrains produced by the cessation of imports of rice from Burma, Siam and Indo-China. The problem was how to meet this shortage so as not only to enable this State to become self-sufficient but also to enable it to supply the needs of the neighbouring States by some short term planning. And the planning that was devised took two directions, first that of bringing under food crop cultivation all areas lying uncultivated or cultivated with commercial crops and of increasing double crop cultivation during the off season, and secondly that of encouraging intensive cultivation by the use of improved seeds and better manuring. For achieving these objects, Government introduced a series of measures. Free or concessional cultivation of unoccupied Government lands, such as poramboke, village or town sites, lands on the seafront, lands in panchayats and reserved

¹ Agricultural Research Station, Tindivanam (Its importance and contribution to Agriculture.)

forests, tank beds and railway lands, was permitted. Temporary assignment of lands reserved for public purposes was made. Compounds of Government offices and quarters and institutions and backyards of houses were allowed to be cultivated. Reductions in water-rate were made and penalties for technical infringement of irrigation rules were waived. Loans were advanced on a liberal scale for bringing new lands under cultivation, for purchasing seeds, manures and implements and for deepening existing wells and digging new wells. The assessment of water-rate on land irrigated by such wells was remitted for three years. Seeds of improved strains of paddy, millets, pulses, groundnuts and green manure crops were produced regardless of expense and sold to the ryots at fair rates. Oil cakes were procured from the presses under legal enactments and chemical fertilisers were obtained from the Government of India and both were distributed at fair prices to the ryots. They were even distributed free to the poor and deserving ryots. The preparation of compost from town refuse, waste vegetable matter, etc., was subsidized and encouraged. The movement of manure was controlled to prevent export outside the State. Agricultural implements and steel and iron required for agricultural purposes were distributed at cost price. Pump sets run by oil engines, petrol or electricity were supplied in large numbers for irrigating fields with sub-soil water. Tractors were hired out for clearing, levelling and ploughing lands and making them fit for cultivation. Restriction on the cultivation of commercial crops was imposed. Numerous plots were cultivated departmentally to demonstrate the efficacy of improved methods of cultivation. Every encouragement was given to intensive cultivation by the distribution of prizes to those who produced the best results. Every opportunity was taken at fairs and festivals to hold agricultural exhibitions. Every effort was made to encourage the growing of vegetables and fruits and the production of eggs and milk through co-operative societies. The slaughtering of sheep and goats was controlled and the export of these as well as cattle and cattle food was banned. Schemes for the increased production of fish were undertaken. Power was taken under the Defence of India Rules for acquiring uncultivated lands. Power was also taken under the Madras Estates Land Temporary Amendment Act of 1944 for permitting tenants in estates to cultivate waste lands without their acquiring occupancy rights wherever the zamindars were not permitting such lands to be cultivated for fear of conferring such rights on the tenants. Power was likewise taken under the Madras Irrigation Works (Repairs, Improvement and Construction) Act of 1943 to repair or improve at Government cost any irrigation work lying neglected in private ownership and to recover the cost from the persons concerned. And everywhere land reclamation co-operative societies were subsidised and encouraged.¹

¹ See the *Grow More Food Pamphlets* of 1942 to 1947.

South Arcot enjoyed all these as well as some special benefits in the Toludur Project area. The ryots in this area were given loans under the Land Improvement Loans Act for converting their dry lands into wet. They were also given under the same Act loans for the purchase of manure and improved varieties of seeds. Assessed waste lands and abandoned tank-beds under the project were disposed of according to certain rules for encouraging cultivation. An additional area of 8,306 acres to the already existing area of 8,615 acres under the project was thrown open for second crop cultivation. And the ryots were assured that the existing rates of water-cess obtaining under the project would not be enhanced for the time being.

The cessation of the war did not by any means put an end to the Grow More Food Campaign. The war had shown how precarious the conditions in India could become, if she were to rely on other countries for the import of foodgrains. The moment the National Government took up office, therefore, they formulated a Five-Year Plan to be enforced from 1947-48 to 1951-52, the object of which was to produce an additional annual four million tons of foodgrains in India by the end of the period. The Government of India generously came forward to bear a portion of the cost of the scheme in all the States and fixed a target of production of six and a half additional lakhs of tons of foodgrains for Madras. The Government of Madras thereupon propounded a Five-Year Plan for this State. They found that of the total arable area of 364 lakhs of acres, nearly 334 lakhs of acres were already under crops of several kinds and that the real problem was not so much that of increasing the cultivable area as that of increasing the food and fodder crops in the areas already under cultivation. They accordingly fixed certain targets for the production of foodgrains for each year in the five-year period and sanctioned several schemes for achieving an all-round improvement. Under wells and irrigation schemes they sanctioned the digging of over 60,000 wells, the construction of about 5,000 private tanks and of about 240 minor irrigation works. Under the works schemes, they sanctioned contour bunding (in certain districts), the supply of tractors and bulldozers for land clearance and reclamation and of pumping installations for lift irrigation. Under supply schemes they subsidized compost-making from town refuse and waste vegetable matter by municipalities and panchayats for providing cheap manures; they requisitioned the groundnut cake from oil presses and sold it to the ryots at subsidized prices; they obtained ammonium sulphate from the Government of India and distributed it; they adopted a scheme for the increased distribution of phosphatic manures, such as super phosphate and bone meal; they introduced a comprehensive scheme for the multiplication and distribution of improved seeds of paddy, millets, pulses, groundnut and green manure to the ryots at subsi-

¹ See the *Grow More Food Pamphlet* corrected up to 1st July 1947, page 10.

dized prices; and they continued the scheme for the distribution of iron and steel required for agricultural purposes. Under miscellaneous schemes they provided for the distribution at cost price of chemicals and sprayers to control pests and diseases of food crops and continued the free distribution of manures and seeds to the poor ryots. Under protective food production schemes, they took special steps to increase the production of vegetables, particularly in urban areas, and for the popularization of poultry farming, bee-keeping and the production of fish, milk and eggs. And finally, under service schemes, they sanctioned the creation of an adequate supervisory staff, provided for the training of more agricultural graduates and field-men and aimed at the appointment of an agricultural demonstrator for each *firka* ¹.

Very soon a greater tempo was given to the whole plan. In March 1949, the Government of India announced their decision to stop all imports of foodgrains from foreign countries from the end of 1951, and asked the State Governments to still further intensify their food production schemes in order to achieve self-sufficiency. This Government then appointed a Cabinet Sub-Committee for Food Production and a Member of the Board of Revenue as Commissioner for Food Production for co-ordinating the activities of the different departments engaged in food production. They also introduced a Two Year Plan to intensify the several schemes sanctioned under the Five Year Plan. The Two Year Plan hoped to achieve the target of an additional production of 4.71 lakhs of tons of rice and millets by the end of 1949-50 and 5.87 lakhs of tons by the end of 1950-51. This Two Year Plan was shortly afterwards converted into a Three Year Plan which fixed the targets at 2.00 lakhs of tons in 1949-50, 3.63 lakhs of tons in 1950-51 and 5.38 lakhs of tons in 1951-52 ².

South Arcot shared the blessings of these measures too with the other districts. It is not necessary here to go into the details exhibiting the results of these measures. Suffice it to observe that from 1940-41 to 1953-54, the area under the cultivation in the district increased from 13,44,573 acres to 16,97,713 acres and that the area under paddy and other food crops under cultivation increased from 1,145,896 to 1,313,317 acres ³. These achievements of Grow More

¹ See the Printed Five-Year Plan for Food Production in Madras in G.O. Nos. 2535-2536, Development, dated 9th June 1947.

² G.O. No. 2723, Development, dated 20th May 1959.

G.O. No. 3804, Development, dated 11th July 1949.

G.O. Nos. 868-868, Food and Agriculture, dated 2nd September 1949.

G.O. No. 1182, Food and Agriculture, dated 18th October 1949.

G.O. No. 1192, Food and Agriculture, dated 19th October 1949.

Madras in 1950, page 23.

³ *Season and Crop Report*, for 1940-1941, pages 16 and 20.

Idem for 1953-1954, page 43.

Food Campaign are remarkable, but, even more remarkable is the increasing popularity which it gave to the various improved methods of agriculture advocated by the department.

As to animal husbandry which is allied with agriculture, South Arcot possesses no distinctive breed of cattle. A statement showing the agricultural stock for the period 1910 to 1950 is also appended at the end of the chapter. Its indigenous cattle, as has already been stated in Chapter I, which are of inferior breed and fit only for the plough, are supplemented by improved breeds of cattle imported from Mysore. But both the breeds do not get adequate fodder and depend chiefly on the straw. The Agricultural Department is encouraging the cultivation of fodder crops and the Animal Husbandry Department is doing what it can to improve the breed of cattle and to render veterinary assistance.

Indeed, in recent years, in order to encourage the breeding of better cattle, the Government have taken several measures in this as in other districts. Pedigree bulls are now distributed under three schemes. Under the first scheme, called the premium scheme introduced in 1916, Government grants are given to owners of approved stud bulls, subject to certain conditions laid down for ensuring their efficiency. Under the second scheme, introduced in 1935, the District Board is given a grant for purchasing stud bulls and distributing them to the ryots, panchayat boards and co-operative societies; the animals become the property of the latter after three years, provided they are maintained in proper condition and used as stud bulls. Under the third scheme, introduced in 1942, the Animal Husbandry Department purchases and distributes young breeding bulls to the ryots and pays them a subsidy of fifty rupees per bull per year for a period of two years or until they commence serving. In addition to this, stud bulls are kept in the veterinary institutions and in selected firkas under the National Extension Service for the use of the ryots¹. But, in spite of all these efforts, much remains to be done for improving the breed of the cattle of the district. For treating cattle diseases and doing castration, the department maintains two Veterinary hospitals (at Cuddalore or Gudalur and Kallakkurichi), four Veterinary dispensaries (at Tindivanam, Chidambaram, Kattumannarkoil and Pinnalur), and five minor dispensaries (Gingee or Senji, Vriddhachalam, Villupuram, Tirunavallur and Tirukkoyilur). It also maintains First Aid Centres at Palavamkottai, Bhuvanagiri and seven other places. There are eight Veterinary Assistant Surgeons in charge of the Veterinary institutions and dispensaries. In 1954-55 these institutions and dispensaries treated 22,011 animals and castrated 4,487 animals.

¹ *Rural Problems in Madras* by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 203-205.

See also, e.g., *Administration Report of the Animal Husbandry Department* for 1953-54, pages 81, 91-92, 187, 202-203.

Coming to irrigation, the total area irrigated in the district is 6,43,785 acres and the percentage of this area to the net area sown is 46.7¹. Irrigation here is mostly under the Coleroon (Kollidam) in the Chidambaram taluk, under the anicuts across the Ponnaiyar and the Vellar and their tributaries and under the Toludur Project which irrigates about 10 per cent of the occupied area in the Vriddhachalam taluk. Several villages in the Tirukkoyilur and Villupuram taluks depend for their supply on the spring channels dug under the Ponnaiyar and the Malattar, while the Kallakurichchi and Gingee (Senji) taluks as also a major portion of the Tirukkoyilur taluk depend mostly on small rain-fed tanks and wells.

Traversing from north to south, there are a series of small anicuts across the Gingee (Senji) river. It has been proposed (1953) to form a reservoir across the river half a mile below its confluence with the Tondaiyar at Veedur and to take a contour channel 11½ miles in length at its left flank to irrigate about 3,000 acres, including 1,200 acres of the existing ayacut. The channel is to have a little direct ayacut and to irrigate the rest by augmenting the supplies to the existing purely rain-fed major tanks which now depend on the precarious rainfall and have no assured supplies. The cost of the scheme is estimated at Rs. 52.88 lakhs for works and Rs. 53.90 lakhs including direct and indirect charges².

A regulator has been put across the Pambaiyar to raise the water level in order to improve the existing irrigation of the Poyyapakkam, Sengathangal, Kuppiambuliyar, Thangal, Thoravi, Vakkur, Pogandai V. Mathur, Vadanur and Tirumangalam tanks on either side of it. Of the area of 2,336 acres commanded by the regulator, only 186 acres are under direct irrigation, and the remaining 2,150 acres are indirectly irrigated under the tanks³.

There is an old anicut across the Ponnaiyar, four miles below Tirukkoyilur, called the Tirukkoyilur anicut. It was built in 1863-1864 to increase the supply in the then existing channels which at that time received water only when the river was in high fresh. It was originally 1,200 feet long, but owing to the damages made by a flood in 1874, it was extended in 1875 to its present length, 1,497 feet excluding sand vents. Five channels take off from it and irrigate the lands in the Villupuram, Tirukkoyilur and Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluks. As the river gets silted up, it is proposed to replace the top two feet of masonry with two feet falling shutters to allow silt to pass during floods. Of its five channels, one called the Pombai channel, formed by utilizing the course of the Pombai, a jungle stream, which falls into the Varahanadhi river, takes off in the north; it is 22 miles 78 chains

¹ *Season and Crop Report of the Madras State for 1953-1954*, page 34.

² Notes on Irrigation by V. N. Kudva, dated 1st July 1953 and 18th November 1953.

³ Notes on Irrigation by V. N. Kudva, dated 1st July 1953.

long and it irrigates 7,272 acres in the Villupuram taluk. The other four channels known as the Raghavaiyan, Vadamurudur, Shittalingamadam and the Malattar channels take off from the south of the anicut. They fall into chains of tanks and irrigate 15,000 acres in the Tirukkoyilur and Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluks. The Malattar, after irrigating 4,400 acres in the first 10 miles, serves as a drain and falls into the Gadilam. There is a proposal (1953) to put up a reservoir across the river at Sattanur, in the Tiruvannamalai taluk of the North Arcot district to bring under cultivation a total extent of 20,00 acres, out of which 4,700 acres will be in Tirukkoyilur taluk.

Another channel, known as the Alangal channel takes off from a head sluice from the Ponnaiyar and irrigates about 10,000 acres. In order to assure supply to 15,340 acres of existing irrigation including this extent, and in order to bring a new ayacut of 823 acres, the construction of the Ellis Choultry Anicut has been taken up about 9 miles to Villupuram at a cost of Rs. 12.7 lakhs (1952). Two channels, known as the combined Maragathapuram-Alangal channel and the Valandareddi channel, take off on the left and each of these bifurcates into two channels about a furlong from their off-take at the anicut. A channel, known as the Erralur channel, takes off from the right and irrigates Yenadi-mangalam and other villages. Two and a half miles below the anicut, another channel takes off on the right and feeds the huge Valavanur tank in the Villupuram taluk¹.

There are four anicuts across the Gadilam, namely, the Dama, the Tiruvadi, the Vanamadevi and the Tiruvendipuram anicuts. The Dama anicut is not so important. The Tiruvadi Anicut, 13 miles from Cuddalore (Gudalur), was built in 1847-1848 to replace an earthen dam. Originally 443 feet long, it has since been improved and is now 523 feet long. It supplies a channel on the north bank of the river. The Vanamadevi Anicut, 9 miles from Cuddalore (Gudalur), was built in 1862-1863. Originally 421 feet long, it has also since been improved and is now 506 feet 3 inches in length. It supplies a channel on the south bank. The Tiruvendipuram anicut, 4 miles from Cuddalore (Gudalur) lies at the end of a most picturesque reach of the Gadilam, where the river winds under the Mount Capper plateau and flows beneath the walls of the well-known temple of Tiruvendipuram. It was built in 1835-1836. It is 436 feet long and it supplies on the south one channel which irrigates very rich lands round about Cuddalore (Gudalur). It also fills the tank at the foot of Mount Capper. The channels from these anicuts irrigate about 8,500 acres in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk. The area under the Gadilam channels contains good soil and the supply here is almost perennial.

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District*, by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 125-126.

Notes on Irrigation by V. N. Kudva, dated 1st July 1953.

Recently (1953) an anicut has been constructed across the Gadilam at Puthanendal and a channel has been excavated on the right flank of the anicut to bring under cultivation 519 acres¹.

From a long time some projects for direct irrigation from both banks of the Vellar for storing its surplus water in a series of small tanks on the left of the river, were under consideration. In 1913, they took practical shape in what is called the Toludur Project, for which an estimate of Rs. 20,64,380 was sanctioned. The project was expected to bring in a net revenue of Rs. 1,28,854. The work was taken up in 1913 and completed in 1923, during which period the estimate had to be twice revised. The irrigation under the project commenced from 1923 and the actual expenditure up to 1951-1952 came to about Rs. 26 lakhs; its return is 2.71 per cent.

The headworks consist of a regulator and bridge at Toludur at the site of the crossing of the Tiruchirappalli-Madras road across the Vellar. The regulator has 16 vents of 30 feet span with segmental arches; and it carries a roadway on top 16 feet wide between parapets and is fitted with counter weighted lift shutters 8 feet 6 inches high for 13 vents and 11 feet high for 3 vents which serve as sand vents and is provided with necessary lifting arrangements for regulation. A head-sluice is constructed close to and at right angles to the regulator on the left side. This has 8 vents of 10 feet span, 7½ feet high and has been designed to give a supply with a head of 1 foot. It has been fitted with double screw gearing shutters so that the top water alone may be drawn during floods. A supply channel, 3 miles 4 furlongs long, takes off from it on the left (north) and runs mostly in cuttings. Except for 39 acres in Arangur, it has no direct ayacut and it is designed to fill the newly constructed reservoir in 10 days when running at S.F.S.L.

This reservoir is named after Lord Willingdon, who, as Governor of Madras, opened the project headworks on 8th August 1923. It is constructed across the Periya Odai, a natural drainage course, within the limits of Kilacheruvu, Ivanur and Kiranur near Tittagudi in the Vriddhachalam taluk. Its bund is 2 miles 4 furlongs long and it has a water-spread of 6½ square miles. In addition to its supply from the Vellar it receives supplies from a free catchment area of 50 square miles. Surplus vents have been constructed at the left flank of the reservoir to discharge the run off from its free catchment. The channel below the surplus vents is 6 furlongs long and joins the Periya Odai at its tail end. With two fillings, the reservoir was expected to command its full ayacut

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District*, by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 135-136.

Notes on Irrigation by V. N. Kudva, dated 1st July 1953 and 18th November 1953.

of 26,851 acres. A channel from the south bank irrigates 2,000 acres of wet lands¹.

Twenty miles below Toludur and ten miles to the south of Vriddhachalam there is the Pelandurai anicut. It was built on the ruins of an ancient anicut between 1870 and 1876 at a cost of Rs. 2,38,000. Originally 500 feet long, it has subsequently been lengthened to 660 feet. The anicut underwent several changes consequent on recurring floods in 1877, 1880, 1884 and in 1885. In 1896 the crest of the anicut was lowered and fitted with 6 feet lift shutters with counterweights. This was again damaged in 1913 when the floods rose to a level of 23 feet above the crest and carried away 12 of the shutters with a fair size of the head works. It was improved in 1916 to suit the new conditions by raising the platform, rearranging, gearing, etc., and its capital cost up to 1931 came to Rs. 7 lakhs. The regulator now consists of 17 vents of 29 feet each fitted with 6 feet high weight lift shutters and at the right end there are six scouring vents of 5 feet by 5 feet each whose sill level is 3 feet below the sill of the regulator. It irrigates lands to the south of the Vellar, to the extent of 13,678 acres. It has also specially brought fertility to about 9,000 acres of red land round about Srimushnam and its neighbourhood in the Chidambaram taluk, which was formerly a very poor tract².

The Shatiatope anicut on the Vellar was constructed in 1847-1848 close to the end of Viranam tank. It is 530 feet long and carries the bridge on the Trunk Road from Panruti to the Lower Anicut. Part of the anicut was built of sandstone from Gangaikondacholapuram in the Tiruchirappalli district and part built of local laterite. It supplies one channel on the left (north) known as the Rajan Vaikkal or the Vellar Rajan channel which has several branches. It irrigates directly 18,970 acres by means of four distributaries known as the Ariyagoshty, Manampattan, Odaiyar and Morattur channels and it also feeds the Wellajah tank. The surplus water of this tank is let in through a sluice into the Perumal tank.

The anicut stands just below a bend in the river and difficulties have occurred several times from the tendency to scour which frequently arose in front of the anicut. Aprons frequently suffered, and leaks appeared through them and under the anicut. The leaks had to be frequently stopped and in 1885 five arches of the bridge next to the north bank also collapsed and a portion of the anicut below them sank as their foundations were scoured by leaks. In order to prevent such mishaps, the foreshore drainage channel of the Viranam tank was widened and its foreshore bund was

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District*, Vol. II, 1932, Pages xxiii-xxv.
Notes on Irrigation by V. N. Kudva, dated 1st July 1953.

² *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District*, by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 188-189.

Idem, Vol. II, 1932, pages xxi-xxii.

strengthened. The spill on the left margin is now safely passed by the Komara Odappu surplus which has 25 vents of 8 feet span built in 1929.

This anicut was said to have been constructed at the present site only to tap the supplies from the Coleroon (Kollidam) in the months of July to September when there is no rainfall in the Vellar catchment, while the Cauvery and the Coleroon (Kollidam) are in floods, so as to enable cultivation in its system earlier. Such supplies were, however, found to be inadequate for the Shatiatope anicut system owing to the silted conditions of the Vadavar, and the reduced capacity of the Viranam tank, through which it was intended to carry the water from the Coleroon (Kollidam) into the Vellar.

The crest of the lower anicut, on the Coleroon (Kollidam) was cut down in 1898-1903 by 4 feet and fitted with 6 feet shutters to assure a constant supply for the Shatiatope anicut system and to enable early cultivation with the Coleroon (Kollidam) supplies. As the supply of Wallajah tank was maintained with some difficulty, the crest of the Shatiatope anicut was lowered in 1904 by $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet lift-shutters similar to those put at Pelandurai were put in. These shutters had also the advantage of permitting the use of the Coleroon (Kollidam) water in the Vellar. In order to improve the supply to the Vadavar and the Viranam tanks the crest of the lower Coleroon anicut was lowered by two more feet and the existing 6 feet shutters were replaced by 8 feet shutters in 1906-1909; the Vadavar was also widened and the F.T.L. of the Viranam tank was raised by 2 feet in 1906-1913.

The Shatiatope anicut system is an exceptionally remunerative work. Its capital cost, for instance, up to 1931 was about Rs. 10.78 lakhs, while its revenue for 1930-31 was about Rs. 1.3 lakhs¹.

As connected with this system, there is a proposal (1953) to construct a head sluice just above the head of the old Morattur channel of the Vellar Rajan and to take a channel about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length on the right in order to irrigate some 200 acres of dry lands in the villages of Miragur and Munjakollai of the Chidambaram taluk. The ryots in both the villages have to lower all their lands by $\frac{1}{2}$ foot to 1 foot to make them commandable for direct irrigation from the proposed channel².

The Memattur anicut nine miles above Vriddhachalam was constructed across the Manimuktanadi in 1873. It is 412 feet long and supplies a chain of nine tanks from a channel 7 miles $4\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs long on the south bank of the river. The total area under it is 5,200 acres. Across the same river, there is also the

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District*, by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 139-140.

Idem, Vol. II, 1932, page xxii.

Notes on Irrigation by V. N. Kudva, dated 1st July 1953.

² Notes on Irrigation by V. N. Kudva, dated 18th November 1953.

Vriddhachalam anicut, five miles below Vriddhachalam constructed in 1869-1870. It is 334 feet long and it provides irrigation on both the banks of the river, its ayacuts under the north and south main channels being 7,714 and 1,700 acres respectively. There was a proposal recently to construct a reservoir across the river at Palagacheri, 4 miles from Kallakurichi to irrigate 4,250 acres.

The Vadakkaniundal anicut is built across the Gomukhi, a channel on the left of it irrigates 600 acres. In 1946 a channel on the right of it was excavated to feed a chain of about 8 small tanks with an ayacut of 755 acres. Since then another channel on the right side, about 4 miles long, has been excavated to stabilise the existing ayacut of 511 acres and to irrigate a new ayacut of 187 acres. There is a proposal (1953) to construct a reservoir about 10 miles to the north-west of Kallakurichi and above the Vadakkaniundal anicut, and to take a main channel about 6 miles from the left flank of the river to irrigate about 5,000 acres².

The Lower Anicut—as distinguished from the Upper Anicut situated at the junction of the Cauvery and the Coleroon 2 (Kollidam) below Srirangam—was built by Sir Arthur Cotton in 1836, some sixty-seven miles below the Upper Anicut. It lies outside the South Arcot district but was designed to prevent the wet lands in South Arcot dependant on the Coleroon (Kollidam) from being injured by the lowering of the river which necessarily followed the erection of the Upper Anicut. It was also designed to irrigate the north-eastern corner of the Tanjore district which was inadequately supplied by the Cauvery. It was built to replace sand and brushwood section which had been there before to supply the Vadavar and the Viranam tanks. It was extended in 1856-1857 and remodelled between 1899 and 1902 on the same lines as the Upper Anicut. It now consists of 60 bays of 33 feet 4 inches span and over it runs a road bridge constructed in 1855. In connection with the improvement of the supply to the Vadavar and the Viranam tanks sanctioned in 1906, the crest of the Lower Anicut was lowered by 2 feet and the then existing 6 feet shutters were replaced by 8 feet shutters. The floor of the anicut was raised and strengthened in 1914, and in 1929 ten new vents of the same width as the existing ones were added at the south branch of the anicut for facilitating flood discharge.

The anicut irrigates lands in the Tanjore district through the South Raja Vaikkal channel and Kunukkimanpiar and in the South Arcot district through the Vadavar channel and the North Raja Vaikkal channel. An extent of 373 acres under Kanjankottai sluice, the first offtake in the Vadavar was not commendable always. So in 1939 a new sluice in the left wing wall of the North Raja

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District*, Vol. II, 1932, page xxi

Notes on Irrigation by V. N. Kudva, dated 1st July 1953.

² Notes on Irrigation by V. N. Kudva, dated 1st July 1953 and 18th November 1953.

Vaikkal head sluice was constructed and connected to the old course by a leading channel. The North Raja Vaikkal or the North Rajan channel takes off from a head sluice close to the anicut. It is nearly 28 miles long and it divides and subdivides in the usual manner until it loses itself in the paddy fields. There are six dams across it which formerly used to be worked on turns. In 1924 these were converted into drops with trapezoidal notches to permit continual flow. It is closed for silt clearance and repairs from 15th April to 15th June every year. The Vadavar takes a little higher up the anicut. It is $13\frac{1}{4}$ miles long. It was originally 60 feet wide, but it was widened in 1906-1913 to improve the supplies to the Shatiatope anicut system and is now about 100 feet wide. It irrigates 11,000 acres of level land along its margin through 22 sluices and then flows into the Viranam tank. The regulator at its head was constructed in 1927 by fitting up lift shutters to the bridge to keep out the Coleroon (Kollidam) floods from entering the Viranam tank and thereby damaging it. Besides the construction of this regulator, the flood bank of the Coleroon (Kollidam) has been raised by 3 feet above the maximum flood level to keep out the floods. Nor is this all. The channel that takes off from the Khan Sahab's Canal near Komarakshi and runs into the Coleroon (Kollidam) has been deepened in the southern part not only to prevent damage from floods but also to improve the drainage of the Chidambaram taluk. The drainage of this taluk is indeed a serious problem since rainfall over six inches is common here every year and damage is liable to be caused by submersion. Several proposals have been considered from time to time to tackle this problem. Recently (1953) what is called the Vadavar Project has been undertaken; a head sluice has been constructed at about M.F. $5\frac{1}{4}$ of the Vadavar on its left bank and a channel is being excavated for a length of about 3 miles with four branch channels and necessary cross masonry works to irrigate 703 acres in the Tiruchirappalli district and 455 acres in the South Arcot district¹.

So much about the anicuts. In regard to the tanks, the district has a large number of them; there are 2,731 tanks of which 399 are in charge of the Public Works Department. There is indeed little direct irrigation under anicuts across streams and the channels of these anicuts are utilized to store water in tanks. The Kallakkurichi and Gingee (Senji) taluks and the major portion of the Vriddhachalam taluk depend mostly on rain-fed tanks.

The biggest of the tanks is Viranam tank in the Chidambaram taluk. It gets its name from the deity Viranarayanaswami at Kattumannargudi, adjoining the tank. It is supposed to have been

¹ *Gazetteer of the Tanjore District* Vol. I, 1915, pages 106-107.

Gazetteer of the South Arcot District, by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 140-141.

Idem, Vol. II, 1932, pages xxii-xxiii.

Notes on Irrigation by V. N. Kudva, dated 1st July 1953 and 18th November 1953.

made by Rajendra Chola I who ruled from 1011-1044. It is, as has been seen, fed by the Vadavar channel from the Coleroon (Kollidam) and is one of the largest irrigation sources in the State. Its bund is 10 miles in length, and for $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles carries the road from the Lower Anicut via Kattumannargudi to Shatiatope. At full tank level it is 25 miles in circumference and the maximum width of its water-spread is $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Its surplus works are at the southern end near Lalpet and they are in four bits. The longest of these is the flush wier 490 feet long just where the supply channel enters the tank. The other three, about a mile lower down, were also originally soil weirs with small vents in them; but when the Full Tank Level of the tank was raised, their crests were cut down by 3 feet and they were converted into regulators of 14 vents in all with 20 feet span each, fitted with counter weighted lift shutters. There are remnants of three old locks, two near Lalpet and one near Viranatham, three miles to the east, used for irrigation from 1835 to 1870 from the Coleroon (Kollidam) along the Khan Saheb's Canal down to Porto Novo (Parangipettai).

The tank has got 23 sluices, and it irrigates nearly 41,695 acres. The three biggest of these sluices are at Budangadi, Parappanatham and Karunguli, and each of these irrigates over 5,000 acres. The channels from the sluices are called after the names of the villages. There is, besides, a supply sluice at the north end for the Shatiatope anicut system. The Khan Saheb's Canal flows from its weirs near Lalpet at the southern end of the embankment; it runs eastwards and passes south and east of Chidambaram town where it is known as the Palamen, and falls into the Vellar opposite Porto Novo (Parangipettai); it is used partly for irrigation and partly as a drainage channel. The surplus of the tank runs through the Vellegal into the old Coleroon (Kollidam), while the drainage of the tank ayacut mostly runs into the Pasimuttan Odai which falls into the Vellar above Porto Novo (Parangipettai).

Large quantities of silt brought down by the Vadavar channel and the jungle stream draining its catchment have greatly silted up the tank, but the constant supply it receives has made this fact comparatively unimportant. To get an increased storage and give a supply to the Shatiatope anicut system from the tank, its Full Tank Level was raised by 2 feet in 1906-1913 and the Vadavar was widened. In 1925-1927 the silt in the channel was removed and the channel was provided with a regulator at the head to cut off the Coleroon (Kollidam) floods when the tank is full. A drainage channel called Vattuvaikkal was also excavated to divert the spill from the Vadavar into the Viranam tank.

Some of the lands in the foreshore of the tank are composed of rich silt and are exceedingly fertile. In order to prevent their submersion, stop-banks with drainage channels were provided in both flanks when the Full Tank Level of the tank was raised in

1906-1913. The drainage channel at the south end crosses the Vadavar by a syphon and discharges into the Vellegal. The drainage channel at the north end discharges into the Vellar, partly above and partly below the Shatiatope anicut; this channel and the foreshore bund were strengthened in 1927-1930 to prevent the Vellar floods from entering the tank and damaging it. There is a scheme to irrigate about 125 acres of new ayacut in Veyyalur and Vadapakkam through a head sluice and a channel from the rear foreshore bund of the Viranam tank¹.

Kaliyeli Swamp has already been mentioned in Chapter 1. It is near Marakkanam and is nearly 30 square miles in extent. A regulator has been recently (1953) constructed across the creek which connects this swamp with some swamps and backwaters in the Chingleput district, to store up water in the swamp during the north-east monsoon. Twenty-four radial channels have been excavated on the swamp margin, and they are intended to irrigate 1,000 acres.

The Wallajah tank in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk is a long narrow reservoir lying four miles from the Shatiatope anicut. It is supplied by the main channel of the anicut, namely the Raja Vaikkal. It is much silted up. It was improved in 1906-1913. Two surplus weirs were then constructed and the bunds were strengthened, but these weirs were washed away by the floods of 1913. In 1929 adequate surplus arrangements were made by converting the second weir into a regulator. A breaching section has also been provided at the extreme left flank. The tank has an ayacut of 10,950 acres in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Chidambaram taluks; and its surplus goes to feed the Perumal Tank.

The Perumal tank in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk has a bund seven miles long and an average width of one mile. It has, next to the Viranam tank, the largest superficial area. Formerly it used to get very little supply from the Vellar, but now, as a result of the improvements made in 1926-1928 for connecting the Lower Coleroon (Kollidam) and Shatiatope anicut systems, it gets a good supply from the Coleroon (Kollidam). Surplus from this tank falls ultimately into the Uppanar which serves as a drainage channel. But as the Uppanar does not carry off the water quickly enough, much of the land around the Perumal tank is liable to be flooded. It was proposed once to make a new cut to take the Uppanar more directly to the sea, but this scheme was finally abandoned as it would interfere with the port facilities at Cuddalore (Gudalur).

The Sengai Odai falls into the Perumal tank. Fifteen years ago an anicut was constructed across it to feed the tanks of Kurunjipadi, Aduragaram and Virupakshi. An anicut has also been

¹ Notes on Irrigation by V. N. Kudva, dated 1st July 1953 and 16th November 1953.

recently (1950) constructed near Kurunjpadi across the Thambipalli Odai, a parallel jungle stream which also falls into the Perumal Tank, and a channel on the right feeds three tanks with an ayacut of 600-700 acres.

The Ponneri tank in the Chidambaram taluk receives supplies from the Lower Anicut through the Viranam tank. It is badly silted up but it receives constant supplies and irrigates about 3,500 acres. The Valavanur, Pakkam and Anangur tanks in the Villupuram taluk and the Tirukoyilur tank get their supplies from open channels from the Ponnaiyar¹.

These are some of the large tanks which have an ayacut of over 1,000 acres. As to the smaller tanks, a number of them have been improved under the Grow More Food Scheme. The position in 1953 was as follows; 12 works [22 in the Gingee or (Senji), 21 in the Kallakurichchi, 20 in the Tirukkoyilur, 13 in the Tindivanam, 11 in the Villupuram, 3 in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) and 1 in the Vriddhachalam taluks] had been sanctioned under the scheme, their cost ranged between Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 30,000 for each work, and about 60 of these works had been executed at a cost of nearly Rs. 3 lakhs².

Besides tanks, spring channels are a feature of the irrigation of the district. They are dug in the sandy beds of the rivers, especially of the Ponnaiyar and the Malattar, to tap the under-flow when the freshes have ceased. A number of these are large enough to irrigate from 200 to 500 acres. They are most numerous in the Villupuram and Tirukkoyilur taluks.

“Kasams” or spring-head channels which have their source in natural springs are also a feature of the district, especially in the Villupuram taluk. They are usually found in undulating ground and sandy soils and are probably connected underground with the underflow of the Ponnaiyar. A sort of tank is dug round the head to open the spring. Five or six of them in the Villupuram taluk irrigate more than 100 acres. Three of the largest of these channels are the Veludureddi channel in Orukudi, 5 miles west of Villupuram; the Chinnappasamudram channel, above a mile north of Kandamangalam, and the Pillur channel which rises in Sittatur-Tirukkai. There are also about 300 to 400 spring ponds in the coastal belt near Marakkanam and a few in the beds of the Ponnaiyar and the Malattar in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk.

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 131-133.

Idem, Vol. II, 1932, pages xix-xx.

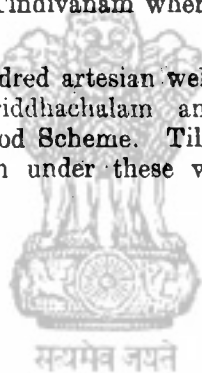
Notes on Irrigation by V. N. Kudva, dated 1st July 1953 and 18th November 1953.

² Notes on Irrigation by V. N. Kudva, dated 1st July 1953.

The ryots in this district are in the habit of constructing around their dry fields near the foreshore of tanks, low banks which intercept the surface drainage that would otherwise run into the tanks. These banks are known as achukattu bunds; and where they are held to cause a sensible diminution of supply to the tanks, water-rate is charged on the lands around them¹.

Wells play an important part in irrigation in the district. There are about 62,750 wells here, and they are very common in the Tindivanam and Villupuram taluks. They are also common in the Kallakurichchi taluk. They are very few in the Chidambaram taluk where there is excellent irrigation through channels, and comparatively few in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Vriddhachalam taluks where the sub-soil water lies deep down. In the alluvial land in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Villupuram taluks they are generally circular pits lined with brickwork and without any parapet. Water is pumped by a number of oil and electric pumps in these taluks as well as in the Tindivanam taluk. Well digging is more expensive in the rocky soil of Tindivanam where they are mostly square pits.

Since 1948 over a hundred artesian wells have been sunk in the Cuddalore (Gudalur), Vriddhachalam and Chidambaram taluks, under the Grow More Food Scheme. Till 1953 the extent of land brought under cultivation under these wells amounted to about 3,500 acres².



¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District*, by W. Francis, vol. 1, 1906, pages 132-135.

² Notes on Irrigation by V. N. Kudva, dated 1st July 1953.

CROPPING IN REPRESENTATIVE YEARS.

Taluk.	CEREALS.									
	Paddy.			Cumbu.			Ragi.			
	1910-11.	1930-31.	1950-51.	1910-11.	1930-31.	1950-51.	1910-11.	1930-31.	1950-51.	
Tindivanam ..	52,223	58,527	50,241	5,143	2,018	6,354	11,782	9,638	9,638	
Chidambaram ..	136,330	69,590	1,48,504	11,449	6,233	6,305	6,173	8,418	8,418	
Tirukkoyilur ..	62,828	77,588	69,042	56,721	15,014	29,837	14,196	21,917	21,917	
Villupuram ..	71,890	58,657	54,932	24,101	15,109	15,555	20,182	14,374	14,374	
Gingee ..	47,321	72,608	40,976	19,256	19,554	5,282	12,663	14,536	14,536	
Cuddalore ..	57,649	54,683	57,419	33,267	18,174	18,135	11,467	14,120	14,120	
Kallakurichi ..	43,418	146,811	46,416	29,177	4,477	15,527	24,123	3,383	3,383	
Vridhdachalam ..	34,016	60,267	57,382	35,167	15,284	16,277	20,671	11,866	11,866	
Total ..	505,614	588,731	526,512	214,281	95,863	113,272	121,260	98,243	98,243	

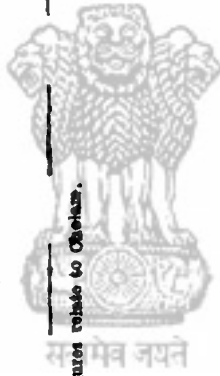
CEREALS—cont.

	Ragi.	Varagu.			Others.		
		1910-11.	1930-31.	1950-51.	1910-11.	1930-31.	1950-51.
Tindivanam ..	11,274	35,784	21,183	30,665	7,876	358	2,718
Chidambaram ..	3,125	6,567	7,335	4,868	1,582	6,555	14,938
Tirukkoyilur ..	14,073	14,029	18,722	17,223	9,924	164	145
						5,873	507
						4,409	1,768
						4,695	13,529

* Figures relate to Cholan.

Vilupuram	..	..	16,070	16,549	20,519	9,394	13,566	1,544 • 110	5,485 • 6,133
Gingee	..	..	9,187	20,399	18,053	9,795	4,323	894 • 12,645	321 • 7,237
Cuddalore	..	..	11,949	13,944	13,458	10,331	6,825	3,695 • 26,190	3,768 • 99
Kallakurichchi	..	..	7,256	37,671	5,169	27,818	16,643	395 • 713	1,868 • 25,858
Vridhachalam	..	..	5,592	49,430	38,619	40,582	7,877	1,786 • 20,165	379 • 35,661
Total	..	..	78,526	194,373	143,083	150,676	68,616	13,145 • 76,946	16,449 • 112,956

• Figures relate to Chelam.



CROPPING IN REPRESENTATIVE YEARS—cont.

Taluk.	Pulses.												Vegetables and fruits.				Condiment and spices.			
	Honnayam.				Others.															
	1910-11	1930-31	1940-51	1910-11	1930-31	1940-51	1910-11	1930-31	1940-51	1910-11	1930-31	1940-51	1910-11	1930-31	1940-51	1910-11	1930-31	1940-51		
Tindivanam ..	548	222	217	27	415	1,751	3,925	889	1,900	1,900	404	791								
Chidambaram ..	105	38	14	1,054	378	8,528	2,108	1,224	2,276	2,276	770	750								
Tirakkoyilur ..	3,031	889	452	4,485	2,387	6,339	871	943	1,547	1,547	423	419								
Villupuram ..	1,453	374	96	992	865	2,074	2,729	2,192	2,148	2,148	795	411								
Gingee ..	3,232	1,283	236	1,603	728	3,941	321	686	1,080	1,080	441	760								
Cuddalore ..	1,778	2,768	3,725	1,438	1,663	5,348	3,738	12,331	5,827	5,827	354	274								
Kallakurichohi ..	5,157	2,575	587	1,178	..	3,272	1,384	..	1,284	1,284	1,540	1,197								
Vridhachalam ..	4,716	883	703	1,775	1,703	3,564	943	2,126	3,045	3,045	2,704	2,147								
Total	20,020	9,027	6,030	12,552	8,139	34,817	16,017	20,391	19,107	19,107	9,674	7,431					6,749			

CROPPING IN REPRESENTATIVE YEARS—cont.

Taluk.	Oil Seeds.										Miscellaneous.	
	Gingelly.					Others.					1910-11	1980-81
	1910-11	1930-31	1950-51	1910-11	1930-31	1950-51	1910-11	1930-31	1950-51		1910-11	1980-81
Tindivanam —	4,222	2,155	2,357	47	48,509	60,980	40,429	4	28	*	6,141	9,085
Chidambaram —	6,804	1,774	5,085	1,275	65,695	15,071	16,567	39	12	*	5,119	1,972
Tirukkoyilur —	7,130	10,030	5,306	550	66,952	69,054	50,862	6	119	*	1,927	3,391
Villupuram —	12,633	7,834	6,837	220	67,284	31,538	60,515	19	6	*	12,716	5,990
Gingee —	4,732	7,332	1,344	579	79,191	62,554	27,559	150	46	*	1,272	4,545
Cuddalore —	10,715	7,070	6,160	356	68,866	38,075	53,899	85	15	*	24,561	3,747
Kallakurichi —	3,976	3,434	3,042	429	16,777	66,067	35,223	16	156	*	1,117	5,098
Widdanahalam —	9,248	1,835	11,959	890	58,307	55,522	43,191	404	382	*	4,901	1,559
Total	59,510	41,464	42,120	4,346	471,581	398,861	327,245	723	764	*	57,754	85,387
												54,450

* Figures relate to castor.

† Figures relate to groundnut.

AGRICULTURAL STOCK.

Taluk.	Working Cattle.				Breeding Stock.			
	Bulls and bullocks.		He-buffaloes.		Bulls, heifers and others.		Young stock.	
	1910	1901	1910	1901	1910	1901	1910	1901
Tindivanam	80,762	38,708	54,236	4,201	22,740	10,332	3,607	35,055
Gingee ..	..	54,133	47,931	2,630	48,316	9,208	3,454	26,308
Villupuram	58,269	56,323	46,115	3,768	39,117	9,440	4,784	33,938
Cuddalore	43,444	48,278	52,169	2,920	36,349	11,040	3,581	54,828
Tirukkoyilur	56,424	58,433	63,722	5,487	38,809	11,633	4,367	53,043
Kallakuriobchi ..	52,790	64,936	74,278	3,199	43,681	11,693	4,417	44,818
Vridhdachalam	46,404	48,640	59,741	2,799	39,728	9,832	4,709	42,283
Chidambaram	41,324	45,932	64,674	9,095	36,986	9,686	4,970	48,843
Total ..	379,417	415,391	462,868	34,099	322,986	83,864	32,318	339,144

AGRICULTURAL STOCK—cont.

Taluka.	Breeding Stock—cont.			Sheep and goats.			Horses and ponies.			Mules and donkeys.		
	Cows.			1910			1910			1910		
	1910	1930	1950	1910	1930	1950	1910	1930	1950	1910	1930	1950
Tindivanam	54,607	22,655	61,071	149,637	65,115	111,838	216	63	52	243	269	840
Gingee	..	38,580	48,158	..	79,523	110,551	..	39	11	..	66	312
Villupuram	42,062	42,275	55,779	83,202	86,784	96,343	176	52	57	672	876	810
Cuddalore	37,176	39,027	69,863	82,310	69,568	97,512	344	226	367	638	646	1,699
Tirukkoyilur	43,246	48,766	88,645	114,443	105,264	133,364	171	137	206	303	218	495
Kallakuricheli	44,786	52,574	68,996	197,564	201,243	199,477	306	107	66	179	58	84
Vaddachalam	40,210	34,280	68,132	164,969	150,577	181,530	132	127	236	250	121	226
Chidambaram	34,940	37,142	67,194	75,472	60,472	93,019	181	201	158	171	63	298
Total	297,027	325,259	527,887	867,597	818,546	1,023,635	1,526	952	1,153	2,446	2,117	4,644

AGRICULTURAL STOCK—cont.

Paddy.	Canals.			Carts.			Ploughs.			Bucks.		
	1910	1920	1930	1910	1920	1930	1910	1920	1930	1910	1920	1930
Tindivanam .. }	..	..	..	9,209	8,130	..	60,862	29,067	43,449	53	31	40
Gingee .. }	..	..	..	..	4,863	..	..	32,746	39,365	1	..	..
Villupuram ..	..	..	..	6,863	3,856	..	32,634	30,001	29,986	16	..	..
Cuddalore ..	..	2	..	7,930	10,142	..	26,094	24,888	34,654	34	202	202
Tirukkoyilur ..	..	..	..	8,089	8,771	..	37,880	38,953	59,217	3	..	..
Kallakurichohi ..	..	..	..	8,685	13,416	..	43,431	48,334	66,284	..	..	..
Vridhdachalam ..	..	..	..	8,560	10,677	..	36,293	37,326	50,489	1	..	..
Chidambaram ..	1	..	..	5,697	10,850	..	23,439	28,615	45,606	499	89	122
Total ..	1	2	..	55,033	70,706	..	260,633	270,430	369,950	607	302	364

AGRICULTURAL STOCK—*cont.*

Taluka.	Indigo Vata.			Sugar mills or sugar cane crushers.			Oil mills or oil engines.			Looms.		
	1910	1930	1950	1910	1930	1950	1910	1930	1950	1910	1930	1950
Tindivanam ..	126	27	12	89	10	75	421	266	565	392	240	325
Gingee ..	100	95	96	84	23	579	187	189	186	509	234	746
Villupuram ..	231	162	195	11	13	106	611	388	917	1,582	1,300	2,603
Uddalore ..	195	95	95	6	1	11	1,009	1,098	875	4,339	4,603	4,603
Tirukkoyilur ..	235	126	169	237	205	548	425	461	404	810	807	952
Kallakurichohi ..	134	90	85	1,091	861	1,527	190	300	155	1,012	1,100	956
Vaddhachalam ..	99	63	..	173	119	890	197	175	219	1,032	363	760
Chidambaram ..	164	33	5	51	8	629	251	134	64	2,752	770	3,968
Total ..	1,284	691	657	1,742	1,305	4,385	3,291	3,011	3,385	12,428	9,417	14,913

CHAPTER VII.

FORESTS.

The South Arcot District is not rich in forests. Its reserved forests are, for administrative purposes, included in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) and the South Salem Forest Divisions as shown below :—

<i>Forest division.</i>	<i>Taluk.</i>	<i>Reserved forests.</i>	<i>Area in acres.</i>
Cuddalore (Gudalur)	Tindivanam	Kilsevu	1,200
		Kurumbaram	607
		Kumalampattu	1,201
		Agaram	600
		Marakkanam	65
	Villupuram	Odayanatham	1,603
		Melkondai	480
	Gingee (Senji)	Struvadi	3,561
		Muttakadu	3,187
		Padipallam	8,601
		Pakkamalai	11,055
		Gangavaram (North) ..	2,400
		Gangavaram (South) ..	3,227
		Thandavasamudram ..	787
		Karai	1,697
		Thurinjikadu	991
		Adukkam	2,000
	Kallakurichohi	Porasakurichi	823
		Kottalamalai	2,814
		Ponsapadi	1,617
		Varanjaram	874
		Rishivandiyam	3,278
		Sittal	1,518
		Thottapadi	1,448
		Magarur	1,263
		Kuttakudi	1,295
		Aviriyur	2,967
		Melapalankur	3,260
		Kadavanur	4,065
		Ravathanallur	1,164
		Kannankadu	3,574
		Mallapuram	1,008
		Alwarmalai	2,600
	Tirukkoyilur	Swamimalai	4,262
		Nathamur Bit I	4,500
		Nathamur Bit II	3,683
		Seedevi	2,772
		Kunjaram	1,200
		Edakkal	3,890
		Alwarmalai	6,195
		Pandur	951
		Kuttadi	1,700
		Sirupakkam	1,080
		Nayanur	1,639
		Thachampattu	980
		Athipakkam	2,827
		Kallamedu	1,030

<i>Forest divisions.</i>	<i>Taluks.</i>	<i>Reserved forest.</i>	<i>Area in acres.</i>
Cuddalore (Gudalur)	Cuddalore (Gudalur) ..	Kangiruppu] Bit I ..	2,956
—cont.		Kangiruppu Bit II ..	2,579
	Chidambaram ..	Killai	638
		Pitchavaram	2,717
	Vriddhachalam ..	Krishnapuram	6,044
		Nangur	1,594
		Semakottai	6,257
		Ammeri	863
		Parur	3,064
		Karkangudi	1,100
		Kuppanatham	777
		Narimanam	928
		Kattamsailur	1,175
		Velankulam	1,261
Salem South	.. Kallakurichchi ..	Tagarai	11,002
		Karai	1,721
		Parigam	1,236
		Puttai	1,019
		Rangappanur .. ..	..

There are also a few unreserved forests' (4,665 acres) in the Tindivanam, Cuddalore (Gudalur), Tirukkoyilur and Chidambaram Taluks in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) Division. Of these, the reserved forests of Kuppanatham, Parur, Edaikkal, Pandur, Karkangudi, Sirupakkam and Kuttakudi are proposed to be disreserved for the rehabilitation of displaced persons from the Neiveli Lignite Project area. The forests of the district in the Tindivanam, Tirukkoyilur, Vriddhachalam, Panruti, Ulundurpet and Villupuram ranges are placed in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) Division, while those in the Attur Range are placed in the South Salem Division ¹.

The forests included in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) Division were in the Chinglept Division up to 1956 when they were transferred to the Cuddalore (Gudalur) Division newly, formed in that year. They form, for the most part, a plain sloping to the sea on the coast, save for the Gingee (Senji) hills and the low ridged hills of scrub jungles². They can be broadly divided into two categories, the inland deciduous forests and the coastal mangrove forests. The inland deciduous forests consist of thorny shrub and evergreen shrub. The thorny shrub is made up of mixed deciduous species of poor height and growth, small girth, poor density and open canopy; and it is fit only for fuel or small timber. There is, however, evidence to show that formerly these forests were of a superior deciduous type fit for exploitation, but years of maladministration, of indiscriminate hacking of trees and over-grazing have reduced them from a superior deciduous type to an inferior thorny shrub. Formerly, for instance, the Athipakkam

¹ Information supplied by the Chief Conservator of Forests.

² *Working Plan for the Chinglept Forest Division*, 1954, page 1. (The forests of the Cuddalore Division were in the Chinglept Forest Division up to 1956.)

reserved forest supported species like *Anogeissus latifolia* (Namai), *Pterocarpus marsupium* (Vengai), *Acacia sundra* (Karungali), *Acacia leucophlœa* (Velvelam, Sarai), *Dichrostachya cinerea* (Vadathalai), *Cleistanthus collinus* (Oduvan, Oduga), *Terminalia bellerica* (Thani), *Eugenia jambolana* (Naga). Traces of these species are still seen in this forest. But, generally they have given place to thorny shrubs like *Carissa spinarum* (Sirukila), *Maba buxifolia* (Irumbali), *Zizyphus xylopyrus* (Kottai yelandai), *Memecylon edule* (Kasan) ¹. The evergreen shrub forest is of the *Memecylon* type recognised by its evergreen appearance and low height; sometimes it has an upper storey of inferior deciduous species. The species commonly met with in this type of forest are *Memecylon edule* (Kasan), *Albizia Amara* (Thuringi), *Eugenia jambolana* (Naga), *Maba buxifolia* (Irumbali) and *Carissa spinarum* (Sirukila) ².

The coastal mangrove forests are tropical tidal forests which differ widely from the inland scrub forests. The bed of these forests is so low that it is subject to inundation by brackish water for varying periods. In regions under water during ordinary and spring tide but exposed during low tide, *Avicennia officinalis* (Upatha) occurs gregariously in association with a mixture of *Avicennia marina* (Venkandan), *Rhizophora mucronata* (Kandal), *Aegiceras corniculatum* (Narikandam) and *Bruguiera conjugata*. Here, *Rhizophora mucronata* is prominent; the forest are evergreen, the trees reach a girth of about 15 inches at breast height in about 30 years but do not coppice, although natural regeneration from bed is plentiful. In regions above the level of spring and high tides the true mangrove has disappeared and its place is taken by *Excoecaria agallocha* (Thillai), a plant with milky juice which blisters the skin. In regions above the level of high or low tides, where the soil is still saline due to occasional inundations, the mangrove forests have completely disappeared but other species common in upland forests have not come in owing to the salinity of the soil. Here are mostly seen *Sueda martima* (Umri), a plant which during World War I was used as a dye product; in regions beyond inundations where the soil is not saline, there occur small shrubs like *Cassia auriculata* (Avaram) and jungle species like *Acacias* ³.

The forests included in the South Salem Division form in the main plain forests and forests of the upper slopes of the Kalrayans. In the plain forests (elevation up to 1,500 feet) occur all the fuel eeries. They have been subjected to heavy grazing and frequent thefts of small timber, and they have also suffered from shallowness of the soil and the stony nature of the country. They may therefore be regarded as degraded forests. The crops in them

¹ Working Plan for the Chingleput Forest Division, 1954, pages 9, 54.

² Idem, page 10.

³ Idem, page 10.

being usually open, there is very little humus on the soil and this has made natural regeneration scanty. The species commonly met with in them are *Acacia leucophloea* (Velvelam, Sarai) and *Acacia sundra* (Karungali), *Ailanthus excelsa* (Peemaram), *Albizzia amara* (Unjal or usala, Thuringi) *Azadirachta indica* (Veppam), *Chloroxylon swietenia* (Porasu), *Cleistanthus collinus* (Oduvan, Odugu), *Dalbergia paniculata* (Porapatchalai), *Dichrostachys cinerea* (Vedathalai), *Erythroxylon monogynum* (Sembulichan), *Hardwickia binata* (Achamaram), *Randia dumetorum* (Karai), *Strychnos nuxvomica* (Etti) and *S. potatorum* (Thethankottai), *Tamarindus indica* (Tamarind), *Wrightia tinctoria* (Palai) and *Zizyphus jujuba* (Yelandai), Sandal is fairly common in them and despite the fact that they are poor in density and growth it is spreading satisfactorily. Both the varieties of bamboo, *Dendrocalamus strictus* and *Bambusa arundinacea* are also found in them, the latter however being restricted to beds of streams and clayey soils¹.

The forests of the upper slopes (elevation 1,500 to 2,500 feet) are not very different from those of the plains; but in them the density is distinctly better and the growth is more luxuriant. Besides the species already mentioned, they contain *Albizzia odoratissima* (Karuvagai) and *A. lebbeck* (Vagai), *Anogeissus latifolia* (Namai), *Bauhinia racemosa* (Aathi), *Cassia* species, *Diopyros montana* (Vakkanai), *Eugenia jambolina* (Naga), *Mangifera indica* (Mango), *Terminalia chebula* (Kadukkai) and *T. arjuna* (Nirmaddi), *T. paniculata* (Pillamarudu) and *T. tomentosa* (Karimarudu), and *Shorea talura* (Kungilam). Sandal and bamboo are more common in them and the undergrowth in them takes on a semi evergreen appearance².

In recent years casuarina plantations have been raised in a systematic manner in suitable areas in the forests of the district. During the Second World War, owing to the large infiltration of population in Madras City the demand for firewood there increased in leaps and bounds while, at the same time, owing to the lack of fuel dust for burning bricks and coal and diesel oil for industrial purposes, large quantities of firewood which would otherwise have been made available for domestic purposes came to be diverted to brick manufacture and industrial purposes. All this resulted in a fuel crisis in Madras City and compelled the Government in 1944 to take prompt and effective measures to increase the area under casuarina plantations³. How this was done will be explained presently but here it is enough to note that casuarina plantations have been raised not only in the reserved but also in the unreserved forests and that they have been restricted to the Marakkanam and the Vriddhachalam Ranges.

¹ Working Plan for the South Salem Forest Division, 1942-1957, paragraph 25.

² *Idem*, paragraph 26.

³ Working Plan for the Chingleput Forest Division, 1954, page 18.

The forests of the district are liable to several injuries. High winds which come in May occasionally cause some damage; hot winds which blow from the west before the onset of the south-west monsoon invariably produce a deleterious effect on the growth of seedlings; and droughts which now and again succeed scanty rainfall scotch or kill outright the tender seedlings in the plantations. Fires do not generally occur here owing to the predominance of evergreen shrubs like *Memecylon edule* (Kasan), *Carissa spinarum* (Sirukila), etc., but when they do occur sometimes, they effect the natural regeneration and stimulate the growth of undesirable plants like *Pterolobium indicum* (Karu indu, Indu). Wild animals, being scarce, cause hardly any damage; but cattle and goats which are plentiful cause immense damage by overgrazing and browsing, the twin evils, which have been primarily responsible in the past for reducing the forests into shrubs and for starting incipient erosion. Insects cause little damage to tree growth; and even spike, which is a common disease of sandal, has not made itself left in the forests of the district. But man has throughout been an inveterate and persistent enemy of the forests. His wholesale and indiscriminate felling of trees for timber, fuel and agricultural implements and his reckless lopping off of trees for manure leaf have in the past done great damage; and, even today, his illicit removals of timber, fuel and manure leaf are causing not a little anxiety to the forest officials. It has been said that the people have not as yet become 'forest conscious', and unless they become so, no real improvement of the forests can be undertaken by the Forest Department¹.

As may be expected the chief requirements of the people are fuel, small timber for building and agricultural purposes, bamboos, green leaf manure, pasture of cattle, thatch, fodder, broom grass and fencing material. Good quality timber for house building and furniture purposes is, however, not available in the forests of the district; it is, therefore, imported from the West Coast and Mysore. Fuel is obtained partly from unreserves, panchayat forests and patta lands and partly from the reserved forests. A fair quantity of it is also illicitly removed from the reserves, though the bulk of it felled in the fuel coupes is carted to the towns for sale. The casuarina plantations recently raised are likely in the near future to meet all the fuel demands of the district. Small timber is likewise obtained partly from the unreserves and partly from the reserved forests. A good deal of it is also removed illicitly from the reserves. Bamboos are partly purchased from the local markets and partly obtained by illicit removals from the reserves. Green manure leaf is still considerably in demand, especially in the Attur Range, although the ryots are expected to

¹ Working Plan for the Ohingleput Forest Division, 1932, page 5.

Working Plan for the Central Salem Division, 1954, pages 10-11.

Working Plan for the South Salem Forest Division, 1942-1957, paragraphs 28-37.

raise manure on their own lands; its removal is regulated by seigniorage fees. Grazing is greatly in demand and is allowed in all reserves, except in the plantations and certain areas specially closed to grazing for silvicultural purposes; it is regulated by permits. Thatch, fodder and broom grass are allowed to be annually removed by the villagers free, subject to certain rules. Fencing materials like bamboo thorns are sold by contractors where coupes exist; they are also stolen from reserves and obtained from unreserves and patta lands¹.

Madras is the principal external market for forest produce, chiefly for fuel. Sandalwood is annually sold at Tiruppattur and purchased mostly by merchants from Bombay. Fuel, bamboos and minor forest produce have also local markets. Some of the minor produce like avaram, konnai barks and galnuts are consumed by tanneries at Ambur, Tiruchirappalli and Erode while Ettikottai (seed of *Strychnos nux vomica*) which yields strychnine is exported abroad².

The forests of the district are well served by railways, roads and canals. They are served by the Madras-Chidambaram meter gauge railway line, the railway lines from Salem and Vriddhachalam to Villupuram and the branch line from Villupuram to Tirukkoyilur, by the Buckingham canal which runs along the eastern edge of the Chingleput Forest Division, and which is navigable from Marakkanam to Madras for freight boats up to 12 tons capacity, and by the Grand Southern Trunk road as well as a number of first class, second class and village roads³.

As to labour, the works of importance on which labour is employed on a large scale are the artificial regeneration of scrub jungle forests with casuarina and the large scale afforestation schemes introduced in the First and Second Five-Year Plans. A large number of labourers are needed for clear felling of the existing growth, for digging pits, for excavating wells, for planting, for watering, etc. They are recruited from the adjoining villages and drawn from agricultural classes. There is always some difficulty in procuring them during September and December for planting and watering, as this season coincides with agricultural operations; and for this reason due regard is being paid in locating the site and determining the size of the casuarina plantations⁴.

¹ Working Plan for the Forest Division, 1954, pages 24-27.

Working Plan for the Central Salem Division, 1952, page 5.

Working Plan for the South Salem Forest Division, 1942-1957, paragraphs 38-42.

² Working Plan for the Chingleput Forest Division, 1954, page 12.

Working Plan for the South Salem Forest Division, 1942-1957, paragraph 53.

³ Working Plan for the Chingleput Forest Division, 1954, page 12.

Working Plan for the South Salem Forest Division, 1942-1957, paragraphs 54-57.

⁴ Working Plan for the Chingleput Forest Division, 1954, pages 15-16.

It remains now to review the past and present systems of management of these forests. Although the district passed with the rest of the Carnatic into the hands of the British in 1801, nothing was done for several decades to protect or improve its forests. Grazing, felling of trees and burning of forest growth was freely allowed. Thus, in 1826, Mr. Heath, founder of the Porto Novo Iron Works, was allowed to cut fuel from any Government land without any payment for smelting iron; and, in 1834, this permission was renewed subject only to the payment of trifling sums as royalties ¹.

In 1860, for the first time, the seigniorage system as at present understood was introduced; the cutting of firewood and timber for sale was made liable to the payment of a fixed rate per cartload and the felling of trees exceeding three feet in girth, or belonging to certain listed species, was prohibited except with special permission. In 1861-68 the Jungle Conservancy Rules were introduced. In 1867, the first attempt at separating areas intended to be permanently maintained as forest was made by Captain Campbell Walker who was then in charge of the forests of the Salem and South Arcot districts. The chief object of this was to provide a permanent supply of fuel for the railways and to achieve this object five blocks in the Gingee hills and one block on the slopes of the Kalrayans were selected. At the same time the planting of casuarina in the Malattar river bed and on the coast near Marakkanam, Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Porto Novo (Parangipettai) was begun from the Jungle Conservancy Funds ².

In 1870, a separate Forest Officer was appointed for the district and in 1874 the existing casuarina plantations were placed under his charge, and the selection of reserved forests for the Jungle Conservancy Department for providing fuel to the villages was begun on a large scale. The forests were, in those days, of two classes, Imperial and Jungle Conservancy, and the Forest Officer had then under him these two classes of forests subject to two different controlling authorities and managed by two different establishments. In the Jungle Conservancy forests the protection enforced was exceedingly slight and amounted only to the exclusion of goats and the prohibition of large scale cutting of trees ³.

Systematic conservancy began only after the passing of the Forest Act of 1882. It was not, however, till ten years later that

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 147.

² *Idem*, pages 147-148.

Working Plan for the Chingleput Forest Division, 1954, page 17.

³ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 148.

Working Plan for the Chingleput Forest Division, 1954, page 17.

the final settlement and demarcation as required by the Act were completed. It should be noted that practically the whole of the forests had been greatly degraded before this Conservancy began. Everywhere permanent cultivation had adjoined the forests; and everywhere the damage done by the grazing of goats and cattle and by the indiscriminate lopping and felling of trees had left little real forests save on some portions of the Gingee hills. The reserves might then be considered to have consisted, for the most part, of the poorest and open scrub ¹.

Early in this century, a limited quantity of firewood and small timber were extracted from the forests by leasing them to the contractors for working under the 'coppice with standards' system. Grazing was allowed but the felled areas were fenced with brushwood and closed to grazing for five years. The chief minor forest produce were then as now manure leaf, cashew-nuts, tamarind, soap-nuts and date-leaf ribs. From all this it is clear that beyond protecting the forests in a general way, little was done to directly improve the forests ².

The era of improvement, development and consolidation started with the opening years of this century. Since then up to 1924-1925 the forests of the district were scientifically managed under working schemes, open fuel coupes, exploitation of minor produce, facilities for grazing, etc. ³.

In 1924-1925, however, there came a great change which set the clock back for a time. It happened like this. The Forest Committee of 1912 emphasized the need for reducing to a minimum the contact between the forest subordinates and the villagers and recommended that the reserved forests should be classified according to their nature and situation and the objects which they were intended to serve; and that the management of the forests which were reserved principally to ensure a continued supply of grazing, fuel and agricultural requisites should be entrusted to panchayats composed of resident cattle owners. In pursuance of this recommendation certain minor forests of this State were transferred to panchayat management in 1914. In 1923 the Retrenchment Committee gave a greater fillip to this policy; for, upon its recommendation, a general reclassification of the forests was made and the minor fuel and grazing reserves which were useful mainly for the supply of the everyday needs of the ryots were termed 'ryots' forests' and placed everywhere under the panchayats. And, as no special technical knowledge was required for the management of these forests, their control was transferred from the Forest

¹ *Working Plan for the South Salem Forest Division, 1954, page 17.*

² *Idem, page 17.*

³ *Idem page 17.*

Department to the Revenue Department¹. This policy led to the abolition of the Chingleput Forest Division in 1925 and to the handing over of the reserved forests of this division to the panchayats.

It proved to be a highly retrograde step. Sir Daniel Richmond, the Chief Conservator of Forests at that time, decried it in no uncertain terms. He took a number of photographs of these forests at the time they were handed over to the panchayats and gave them to the Board of Revenue so that the Board might compare them after some years with the conditions of the forests under panchayat management, and see for itself the folly of the measure. His fears were actually borne out in the coming years. During more than twenty years of panchayat management the forests were reduced to mere scrub and when, during the Second World War, the fuel crisis developed in Madras City, it was found that these forests were in such a deplorable state that they could hardly meet even the local demands. It was also found that the south of Madras casuarina plantations which were the only source from which fuel supply could be made, were all owned by private parties. And it was therefore considered that it was necessary to form a separate division for the development of large scale casuarina plantations in the Chingleput and South Arcot districts. As a preliminary step an Assistant Conservator of Forests with a staff was placed on special duty for six months to select suitable areas for planting casuarina and some localities were planted with casuarina in 1944-45. Another step was taken in July 1945 by the Formation of the Chingleput Forest Division and by including in it certain forests of the South Arcot district in the Marakkanam Range (1945), the Tirukkoyilur Range (1947)², and the Vriddhachalam Range (1950). The final step was taken by the formation of a separate Cuddalore Division in 1956 for the forests which were included in the Chingleput Division. The other forests of the district situated in the Kallakurichchi taluk had been included in the Central Salem Division when it was formed in 1926. In 1939, they were included in the South Salem Division when that division was constituted³.

¹ *Madras Presidency, 1881-1911* by G. T. Boag, 1933, pages 61-62.

For detailed information—See G.O. No. 1185, Revenue, dated 23rd May 1916.

G.O. No. 1801, Revenue, dated 8th August 1916.

G.O. No. 147, Revenue (Special), dated 22nd January 1920.

G.O. No. 774, Development, dated 7th June 1922.

G.O. No. 1047, Development, dated 8th August 1922.

G.O. No. 1053, Development, dated 10th August 1922.

G.O. No. 1424, Development, dated 30th September 1925.

² *Working Plan for the Chingleput Forest Division, 1954*, pages 17-18.

G.O. No. 2183, Development, dated 22nd May 1944.

G.O. No. 2292, Development, dated 15th June 1945.

G.O. No. 485, Development, dated 12th February 1947—See also G.O. No. 1743, Development, dated 24th September 1941.

G.O. No. 4824, Development, dated 11th November 1944.

G.O. No. 4257, Development, dated 30th October 1945.

³ *Working Plan for the South Salem Forest Division, 1942-1957*, para. graph 80.

The management of the South Arcot forests is now done in accordance with the Working Plans prepared for the South Salem and Chingleput Forest Divisions. The former Plan prepared in 1941 and introduced in 1942 will be in force till 1957, while the latter Plan prepared in 1948 and introduced in 1949 will be in force till 1963. The forests of Kallakkurichchi taluk included in Tirukoyilur Range are not yet covered by Working Plan.

The objects of the South Salem Working Plan which covers also the South Arcot forests of the Kallakkurichchi taluk, namely, Tagarai, Karai, Parigam, Puttai and Rangappanur, are to exploit with due regard to silvicultural purposes the reserves of the forests in fuel, sandalwood, bamboo and minor forest produce; to satisfy the demands of the local population in respect of fuel and small timber for agricultural purposes, to meet the local needs for manure leaf, and to conserve the forests and improve them wherever necessary in the interests of water supply and agriculture. Generally speaking in the case of small timber, fuel, sandal, bamboo and manure leaf, exploitation is prescribed on an area basis, the annual coupes being so arranged as to ensure substantial yields. Attempts are to be made, at the same time, on a small scale to supplement natural regeneration of timber, fuel, bamboo, manure leaf and minor forest produce, but nothing is to be done in regard to sandal regeneration as its natural reproduction is considered more than sufficient¹.

In order to achieve these objects nine Working Circles have been formed; namely, the Small Timber Working Circle, the Regeneration Working Circle, the Fuel Working Circle, the Bamboo Working Circle, the Sandalwood Working Circle, the Grazing Working Circle, the Minor Forest Produce Working Circle, the Manure Leaf Working Circle and the Protection Working Circle. The Small Timber Working Circle which is intended to obviate thefts of small timber and at the same time to satisfy the needs of the villages is confined to certain selected areas. None of the South Arcot forests are included in these areas, but it is provided that, where necessary, the selected areas might be increased. Extraction in this circle is to be done departmentally on a felling cycle of thirty years. The Regeneration Working Circle is formed for the artificial regeneration of fuel species. Areas likely to prove remunerative under concentrated artificial regeneration from among the plain forests are included in this circle². The South Arcot forests are not included in this circle, but discretion is given to the District Forest Officer and the Conservator of Forests to bring in new areas into the circle when necessary. The system prescribed in this circle is clear felling followed by one or

¹ *Working Plan for the South Salem Forest Division, 1942-1957*, paragraphs 126-127.

² *Idem*, paragraphs 133-147.

other forms of artificial regeneration. Rotation for teak and casuarina is not fixed, but for fuel it is fixed at forty years. Felling is to be done through contractors and the period of lease is to be one year. The planting of teak and casuarina is to be done by the Forest Department while fuel regeneration is to be done, as far as possible, by the Kumridars. The most common indigenous species such as *Acacias*, *Albizzias*, *Chloroxylon* are to be selected for regeneration. The areas planted with teak and casuarina are to be permanently closed to grazing while those planted with fuel are to be closed for five years¹.

The Fuel Working Circle extends over the whole of the less fertile plain forests as well as the several slopes of the hills of the division. It includes the Tagarai forest of the South Arcot District belonging to the Attur range. The method of treatment prescribed for this circle is simple coppice. Bamboo, sandal and minor forest produce trees are excluded from felling and reservation of tamarind is limited to two trees per acre. Rotation is fixed at forty years and felling is to be done through contractors, the lease period being fixed as one year. Kumri cultivation is to be encouraged and felled coupes are to be closed for five years². The Bamboo Working Circle does not include the South Arcot reserved forests but includes several other areas of the division. In these areas a felling cycle of three years is prescribed, felling is to be done through contractors as a rule, and the period of lease is to be one year. Artificial regeneration is to be carried on in certain reserves. Scattered growth of bamboos not included in the circle, such as those in the South Arcot forests, are to be sold on permits to satisfy the local demands³.

The Sandalwood Working Circle comprises all sandal bearing areas in the reserves and the unreserves as well as all patta fields assigned after 1924. It includes the Tagarai reserved forest of the South Arcot but not the Puttai, Kansai and Rangappanur reserves as these contain only small patches of sandal. An ocular stock-taking of sandal areas having been made, their locations are to be marked on the map while the details of the patta sandal trees are to be obtained through the Revenue Department. A modified selection method is prescribed, only dead trees are to be extracted and the extraction is to be done by uprooting the trees. A felling cycle of six years is prescribed for non-spiked series and three years for spiked series⁴.

¹ Working Plan for the South Salem Forest Division, 1942-1957, paragraphs 64-214.

² Idem, paragraphs 218-239.

³ Idem, paragraphs 246-252.

⁴ Idem, paragraphs 260-274.

The Manure Leaf Working Circle comprises the slopes of the hills above the fuel series limits as well as the lower portions of the hills in which there is demand for manure leaf. It includes the Tagarai reserved forests of the district. A rotation of three years is prescribed in this circle. The felling and removal of produce is to be carried out under the permit system and suitable areas are to be set apart for regeneration¹. The Grazing Working Circle comprises all the reserves of the division, including the South Arcot forests, save the regeneration and fuel coupes temporarily closed to grazing. Grazing is to be regulated by the issue of permits, in the forests at the rates of 8 annas per buffalo, 4 annas per cow and 2 annas per sheep. The grazing year is to be from the 1st July of each year to the 30th June of the following year. Goats are to be prohibited but penning of cattle is to be allowed at the rate of 1 rupee for 100 cattle or less². The Minor Forest Produce Working Circle comprises all the reserves of the division. For the collection of avaram bark each range is to be made into a separate farm and the farms are to be sold annually. Konnai, is to be worked on a five year rotation, one farm to be sold annually. Other forest produce, such as tamarind, are to be sold annually. While exploitation through contractors is to be the general rule, departmental working might also be resorted to wherever necessary. Orchards of valuable species like tamarind, soapnut, myrobalams, might be opened in suitable localities³. And, finally, the Protection Working Circle comprises the catchment areas of certain rivers and reserves. In these areas grazing is restricted, good patches are recommended to be brought under Kumri cultivation and others protected from theft. None of these areas however belongs to the South Arcot district⁴.

The Working Plan of the Chingleput Forest Division covers also the South Arcot forests included in the Marakkanam, Tirukkoyilur and Vriddhachalam ranges except the forests of Kallakurichchi taluk lying in Tirukkoyilur range. The objects of this plan are the exploitation of the forests for fuel, minor forest produce and manure leaves to a limited extent; the supply, conformably to strict principles of conservancy, of the agricultural, pastoral and domestic needs of the local population; the improvement of the quality of the forests by the regeneration of useful species such as casuarina, *Prosopis juliflora*, *Inga dulcis*, etc., and the conservation of the forests on the low hills and denuded slopes and the protection of them in the interests of water supply and irrigation. In pursuance of these objects six working circles have been created: the Casuarina Conversion Working Circle, the Fuel Working Circle,

¹ Working Plan for the South Salem Forest Division, 1942-1957, paragraphs 283-295.

² *Idem*, paragraphs 68, 297-305.

³ *Idem*, paragraphs 308-316.

⁴ *Idem*, paragraphs 318-321.

the Manure Leaf Working Circle, the Grazing Working Circle, the Minor Forest Working Circle and the Protection Working Circle¹

The Casuarina Working Circle:—The Casuarina Planting is now confined to the coastal areas in Marakkanam and Vriddhachalam Ranges. In Tirukkoyilur Range, planting of casuarina has since been discontinued though this was originally prescribed in the Working Plan. They are to be planted in areas supporting a degraded type of forest containing deciduous thorny species like *Maba buxifolia* (Irumbali), *Randia dumetorum* (Karai), *Carissa spinarum* (Sirukila) and *Webera corymbosa* (Therani). The silvicultural system prescribed is clear felling and planting with casuarina. Rotation fixed is eight years. Planting is to be done as laid down in the plan. Casuarina plantations are to be closed to grazing for three years including the year of planting and those due for felling are to be sold in public auction².

The Fuel Working Circle comprises the selected areas of the reserved forests in the vicinity of towns and villages where there is a demand for firewood. This circle which has an area of 4,210 acres is divided into three felling series, the Athipakkam North and Athipakkam South in the Tirukkoyilur range and the Pichavaram in the Marakkanam Range. These series cover parts of Athipakkam, Pichavaram and Kille reserved forests. The type of forest in this circle is dry deciduous shrub in the Athipakkam forest and mangrove in the Pichavaram and Kille forests. Rotation prescribed in this circle is forty years. The method of felling is simple coppice with the reservation of certain specific minor forest produce yielding species like tamarind, *Buchanania latifolia* (Sarai-paruppu), *Feronia elephantum* (Vilamaram), and *Sapindus emarginatus* (Boonthikottai). Felling is to be regulated by area and each felling series is to be divided into forty coupes and one coupe in each series is to be sold every year. Fellings are to be made through the agency of the contractors and coupes are to be sold in public auction every year. Regeneration of felled coupes is to be done from coppice. The felled coupes are to be closed to grazing for a period of four years but the cutting and removal of grass from them might be permitted³.

The Manure Leaf Working Circle comprises the plains portion of the Athipakkam reserved forest in the Tirukkoyilur range. These which were formerly under panchayat management need rest and rehabilitation but all the same, in order to meet local needs the removal of manure leaf from them is to be regulated by localized fellings. This area which comprises 1,070 acres is mostly local scrub and this area is to form one felling series of three coupes.

¹ Working Plan for the Chingleput Forest Division, 1954, page 49.

² Idem, pages 50-55.

³ Idem, pages 56-60.

The system prescribed is that the trees and shrubs are to be lopped, except neem, tamarind, *chloroxylon swietenia* (Porasu), *Sapindus emarginatus* (Boonthikottai), *Buchanania latifolia* (Saraiparuppu), Cashewnut, *Albizzia lebbec* (Vagai) and *Albizzia amara* (Thurinji). The felling cycle is to be three years and one coupe is to be worked annually. Permits are to be issued for the removal of manure leaf from the coupes of the year. The experimental artificial regeneration of manure leaf species, such as *Cassia siamea* (Ponnavaarai), *Cassia montana* (Malai avaram), *Cassia auriculata* (Avaram), *Peltophorum ferrugineum* (Iyalvagai), *Pongamia glabra* (Pungam), *Dodonæ viscosa* (Virali) and *Odina Wodier* (Odiya maram), started in the Kattur reserved forest of the Tirukkoyilur range in 1948-1949 has since been discontinued, as this was not successful. Regeneration is to be done through Kumridars wherever possible, and coupes under regeneration are to be closed to grazing for a period of three years, including the year of regeneration¹.

The Minor Forest Produce Working Circle comprises all the reserved forests and the unreserved lands under the Forest Department. The produce, that occur in this area, are tamarind fruits, mango fruits, wood apples, saraiparuppu fruits, nellikoi fruits, elandai fruits, nagai fruits, pungam seed, veppam seed, date fruits, palmyra fruits and leaves, broomstick grass, honey and wax and cashewnut. The existing system of exploitation through contractors is to be continued and the right to collect the produce is to be sold in auction, taking each range as a unit².

The Grazing Working Circle extends over all the reserved forests and unreserves of the division, except certain specified areas closed to grazing in the interests of conservancy. Grazing is to be regulated by licensing cattle to graze on payment of prescribed fees. From the year 1953 uniform rates of grazing fees have been introduced in all the forests in the Madras State. These are 8 annas per buffalo, 4 annas per cow or bull and 2 annas per sheep and these rates are now in force in the district. The grazing year is to run from 1st July to 30th June. Goats are not to be permitted to graze under any circumstances. Each of the ex-panchayat forests is divided into 3 blocks and one block in each is closed to grazing by turn in July, August and September every year, to allow the grass to grow. Rotational grazing or any other improved methods of grazing might be introduced, if necessary³.

The Protection Working Circle comprises all the reserved forests not included in any of the Working Circles, except the minor forest produce and the grazing working circles. The forests included in it are to be given complete rest from exploitation of any kind, except grazing of cattle, and collection of minor forest produce⁴.

¹ Working Plan for the Chingleput Forest Division, 1954, pages 60-62.

² Idem, page 62.

³ Idem, pages 63-64.

⁴ Idem, page 64.

The Working Plan has considered that, for the reasons already mentioned, no fire protection operations for the forests are necessary¹. It has suggested that motorable earth tracks branching from the main roads should be constructed for affording easy access to the planting centres². It has also suggested that the waste lands of the Malattar river bed should be artificially regenerated with *Prosopis juliflora*, that the unreserves of Kunnimedu, Setti-kuppam, Fudupet, Porto Novo (Parangipettai) and Ariyakoshti should be regenerated with *Prosopis juliflora*, *Pithecolobium dulce* (Kodukapuli maram) and *Dalbergia Multiflora* (Viruvetti) and that the Kiliyanur unreserve should be regenerated with *Acacia arabica* (Karuvelam)³.

In regard to the panchayat forests of South Arcot which might be brought under the management of the Forest Department, a separate Working Plan has been introduced in the district. When this working plan was drawn up in 1948 there were 36 reserved forests with an aggregate area of 95,808 acres still under the management of the forest panchayats working under the control of the Revenue Department in the Gingee (Senji), Villupuram, Tindivanam, Tirukkoyilur, Vriddhachalam, Kallakkurichchi and Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluks. Only eight reserved forests under the management of the panchayats had by then been brought under the Forest Department and included in the Marakkanam and Tirukkoyilur Ranges. The remaining 36 reserves have since been brought under the control of the Forest Department. All these 44 reserves had been greatly degraded under panchayat management by excessive grazing of cattle and browsing of goats, by illicit cutting and removal of trees and by indiscriminate collection of manure leaves, thorns and faggot woods. This had not only reduced the forests to mere scrub jungle but affected the soil deleteriously. The working plan proposes to set right this state of affairs by a series of judicious measures. A fuel working circle is to be formed over 28,141 acres. Artificial regeneration of fast growing fuel species is to be attempted in addition to coppice regrowth in three felling series. A Manure Leaf Working Circle is to be formed over 9,625 acres. Artificial regeneration of manure leaf species is to be done over 1,175 acres. A Minor Forest Produce Working Circle is to be formed with 22 reserved forests comprising 61,704 acres. A Protection Working Circle is to be formed comprising the rest of the reserved forests covering 5,102 acres. Nor is this all. All topes and plantations already existing are to be maintained, such as the tamarind tope in the Seedeivi B reserved forest; the teak plantation in the Gangavaram reserved forest; the bairboo plantation in the Nangur reserved forest; the cashew topes in the Velangulam and Kangiruppu Bit II reserved forest; and all

¹ Working Plan for the Chingleput Forest Division, 1954, page 64.

² *Idem*, page 65.

³ *Idem*, pages 65-66.

CHAPTER VIII.

INDUSTRIES AND TRADE.

South Arcot has very few large scale and not many small scale or cottage industries. Agriculture occupies in it a primary place and absorbs no less than 81·8 per cent of the population¹. Its only important large scale industry is the sugar industry and its only important cottage industry is the handloom industry. But its future prospects in the field of industries are by no means bleak; in fact they may be said to be very promising. For, here has been recently discovered lignite (brown coal) which, when exploited, will supply abundant power for the development of both large scale and small scale industries.

So far as the numbers go, there are 156 large scale industries in the district coming under the Factory Act; but of these only 15 employ more than 100 workers each, while the rest employ only between 50 to 100 workers each. Of the 15 large scale industries, four are oil mills, two are rice mills, one is a sugar factory, one is a sago manufactory, one is a cashewnut factory, one is a sewing thread company, one is a workshop for silver ornaments, one is a cigar factory, one is a fertilizer mining works, one is a boat-yard and one is a Central Jail Workshop. The rest are mostly oil mills, rice mills, restaurants and cigar factories². Almost all these industries are to be found in the Cuddalore (Gudalur), Chidambaram, Villupuram and Tindivanam taluks³.

The most outstanding of all these industries is the East India Sugar Distilleries and Sugar Factories Limited. It is situated at Nellikuppam and has been managed by Messrs. Parry and Company ever since its inception about a century ago. The founder of this company, Mr. Thomas Parry, came to Madras in 1788, served under the East India Company for a time and then took to private trade, partly on his own account and partly in partnership with others among whom were Mr. David Pugh, a nephew, and Mr. Charles Breithaupt, a relative by marriage. In 1810 he was granted some land containing an 'indigo house' in the hamlet of Settippadei near Panruti. In 1811 Mr. Breithaupt, on behalf of the firm, took up a small sugar factory which had been erected at Chidambaram a few years before by Mr. Edward Campbell. In 1843 Mr. Pugh opened a distillery on behalf of the firm at Bandipalayam near Cuddalore (Gudalur). In 1848 the firm opened two

¹ 1951 *Census Handbook, South Arcot district, 1953*, pages 21-26.

² This information was obtained from the office of the Director of Industries and Commerce.

³ 1951 *Census Handbook, South Arcot district, 1953*, page 8.

more distilleries, one at Nellikuppam and the other at Kallakkuri-bchi. And in 1855 it opened a sugar factory at Tiruvonnainallur in the Tirukkoyilur taluk. But all these ventures, except the Nellikuppam distillery, failed ¹.

The Nellikuppam distillery, however, soon grew from strength to strength and came to be called the East India Sugar Distilleries and Sugar Factories. It not only distilled arrack, some 1,60,000 gallons per year, but also made sugar from the cane grown in the district as well as from Palmyrah jaggery imported from Tirunelveli ². Nowadays it does not manufacture any arrack but it manufactures sugar, industrial and rectified spirits and carbonic acid gas. Its authorized capital is, at present, £ 7,50,000 and its paid up capital, £5,80,000. It employs over 2,000 workers and, what is more, gives great encouragement to sugarcane cultivation in the district. It does not grow any cane itself, except as an experimental measure, but it gives loans in the shape of cash as well as fertilizers to the cane-growers. It draws almost all the cane grown in the district and crushes annually no less than 3 to 3½ lakhs of tons of cane valued at over a crore of rupees. It produces sugar to the tune of 28 to 30 thousand tons in a season (December to May-June) valued at about Rs. 3½ crores. It manufactures industrial and rectified spirits to the tune of about 10 lakhs of gallons and prepares about 20 lakhs pounds of carbonic acid gas every year. The finished products are sold in Madras and Kerala States normally. The capacity of this factory is said to be the highest in India for any single sugar factory ³. There is also a confectionary at Nellikuppam called the Parrys Confectionary, Limited. Its authorized capital is Rs. 50,00,000 and its paid up capital is Rs. 7,50,000. It manufactures confectionary and special sugars by using raw materials such as glucose, colours, essences, oils, etc. The finished products are sold all over India ⁴.

Recently two new industries have been started in the district. One of these is the manufacture of refined groundnut oil, started by the Oil Products Corporation, Cuddalore. This firm has established a factory which is capable of producing 10 tons of oil per day, a portion of which is exported to Singapore and other places in Malaya. The other industry is the manufacture of flavouring essences started by the I.W.J. Bush Products Company Limited. The firm has a factory at Nellikuppam with a capacity of 2,50,000 lb. per year. Its capital investment is Rs. 4,00,000. It manufactures various types of non-alcoholic essences and flavours, liquid colours and preservative and perfume compounds by using raw materials

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot district*, by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 311-314.

² *Idem*, page 312.

³ This information was obtained from Messrs. Parry and Company, Limited, Madras.

⁴ Information furnished by the Assistant Director of Industries and Commerce, Cuddalore (N.T.)

such as aromatic chemicals, synthetic essential oils, natural essential oils, food colours, spices, etc. The Parrys Confectionary Limited is the main market for the products of this industry.

All these industries get their electric power supply from the Mettur Hydro Electric Stations in the Madras Power grid. The Parrys Confectionary Limited however meets part of their requirements by their own power generation ¹.

Turning to the cottage industries, hand-spinning, which was an important ancient industry and which in former days provided occupation and income to thousands of agriculturists in the off-season, is now confined only to a few people in a few villages. It has practically disappeared in this, as in the other districts, ever since the advent of power-spinning and the production of cheaper, finer as well as larger quantities of mill-made yarn. An attempt to revive it in 1921, during the Non-Co-operation Movement, led only to some spasmodic activity in a few places under the impulsion of the All-India Spinners' Association. It has also been considerably hit by the opening of the Toludur Project and the conversion of the cotton growing lands into paddy-growing lands. Efforts are now being made by the National Government, to revive it by their Intensive and Extensive Khadi Schemes. More about this will be said in the chapter on Welfare Schemes. Here it is enough to observe that hand-spinning is now found chiefly in Pandalam, Kallakkurichchi, Pennadam, Sathiyavadi, Siruvangur, Alathur, Ariyaperumanur, Elangianur, Katchagudi and some villages round about Chinnasalem. It is pursued mostly by the Vellalars and Udaiyars to whom it has been a hereditary occupation.

It should, however, be stated that hand-spinning is done mostly by women; that bowing and carding is done mostly by Muslim women; that the yarn used is generally uneven and full of knots; that no great care is usually taken to clean the cotton and to remove the dust and chaff from it; and that carding being very perfunctorily done, the slivers are full of grit and chaff. There is therefore much room for improving the preliminary processes of cleaning, bowing and carding, and above all, for standardizing the yarn. It should also be stated that some women in Pennadam and Sathiyavadi, besides using the handloom yarn for weaving cloth, make also 'thattu' or 'sedai' with it for the country balances used for weighing vegetables and condiments. Hand-spinning, however, cannot be made a whole-time occupation in these days of power-spinning; it brings only a slender income. But it can be made a subsidiary occupation for agriculturists in the off-season and for those who by their caste and sentiments find it difficult to take to other subsidiary occupations ².

¹ Information furnished by the Assistant Director of Industries and Commerce.

² G.O. No. 2211, Development, dated 18th December 1929—See the Report on the Survey of Cottage Industries in the Tanjore and South Arcot districts, pages 2, 5-8

G.O. No. 1524, Development, dated 29th June 1940, pages 6-24

Handloom weaving, on the other hand, has been the full time occupation of a large number of people from time immemorial. In olden days it depended upon the hand-spun yarn, but today it depends on the mill-made yarn. It now engages no less than 25,000 people in the district and in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk alone, over 1,000¹. It is, however, chiefly dependant either on middlemen who get the yarn wholesale from the dealers, distribute it to the weavers and take the stuffs woven to the capitalists, or on the capitalists themselves who advance money to the weavers, supply yarn, take the stuffs produced and sell them locally or export them to places like Java, Sumatra, Penang, Singapore, etc. And both the middlemen and the capitalists take a good slice of the profit and leave only a small slice of it to the weavers. Nor is this all. The weavers, who as a class are poor and improvident, become greatly indebted to the middlemen and capitalists and find themselves unable to come out of their clutches. They also, being ignorant, show hardly any business instincts. They never study the tastes and needs of the market, depending as they do for such matters on the middlemen and the capitalists. Nor do they take to improved methods of weaving. They do not, for instance, replace thread healds with wire healds, bamboo reeds with brass reeds or hand-sizing with machine-sizing.

In spite of these drawbacks the industry is still carried on in several places. Siruvanthadu was once a very famous centre for weaving pure silk saris of high value; but, at present, it turns out only ordinary silk saris. Ordinary silk saris and saris with an admixture of silk and cotton and kailis (cloths of various patterns and colours used for wearing round the waist) are also woven at Mokshakulam, Bhuvanagiri and Chidambaram. This is the occupation of various castes, such as the Saliars, the Kaikolars, the Sedars, the Padayachis, the Gounders, the Senguntha Mudaliars, the Devanga Mudaliars and the Muslims. The Saliars mostly engage themselves only in silk weaving, whereas the other castes engage themselves in weaving clothes with an admixture of silk and cotton.

The principal centres of weaving in the district are Chinnappanayakanpalayam, Bhuvanagiri, Naduvirapattu, Tiruppapuliur (Tiruppadirippuliur), Karunguzhi, Sangithamangalam, Udairpatti, Tittagudi, Avalurpet, Srimushnam and Chinnasalem. In all these, except in Chinnasalem, the weaving of kailis alone is predominant. Formerly Japanese yarn used to be preferred for these cloths which form three-fourths of the total consumption. Only pure cotton is normally used for kailis, but in Bhuvanagiri and Torappadi artificial silk is used for the woof. In kailis of superior variety the warp is of mercerised yarn and the woof of artificial silk; pure silk is not used, as there is no demand for such costly

¹ 1951 Census Handbook, South Arcot district, 1952, page 12.

cloths. Owing to the depression in the kaili industry, the people of some villages have now been forced to weave cloths of different varieties with broad stripes for borders and edges for use by males and artificial silk saris of various colours and borders.

Weaving of rough saris 8 yards long of 20 to 30 counts is done in Srimushnam, Chinnasalem and Torappadi. Dyed yarn, red and dark red from Madurai, yellow from Bombay and white from Madras, is obtained by a few capitalists and sold to the weavers in these places. In Torappadi is woven a peculiar variety of sari, which has on its body longitudinal spots or stripes broken at intervals, just like the dots of the Madurai sungadi saris. This is done by tying the yarn at intervals of equal length by strings and then dyeing it, so that the tied spaces do not take the dye. The yarn thus dyed is put into the woof and the position of the woof stand is so adjusted that the white spots will come in the appropriate places. The alternative of these dots are diagonalwise and this is obtained by pulling the woof yarn a little outwards or inwards as the case may be.

Weaving of cotton towels, 4 by 2 cubits and 5 by 2½ cubits, is done in Tittagudi, Tiruvadathurai, Vasistapuram, Asakalathur, Sirupakkam and Mangalur. For want of resources the weavers have been weaving here only towels and nothing else. Nor have they been making use of fly-shuttle looms, as they should, in several places¹.

Dyeing of yarn which was formerly extensively done in the district is now confined only to a few places. Before the import of chemical dyes began in the second half of the last century, the dyes used were purely vegetable dyes, and there is abundant evidence to show that the colours produced from them were not only sober and pleasing to the eye but also permanent. The substances used for dyeing in those days were kusum (safflower), stick lac, chay-root, and red sanders for red, vertangi (saffron wood chips) for orange, parasam flower or the seed of the Jabra plant for yellow and orange, turmeric and kasan leaves for yellow, indigo and pala for blue, indigo and turmeric for green and Annabedi (sulphate of iron) for black. The substances used for mordants were appalakaram, alum, tagara virai, chunam, gallnut, pista (tree gall), sheep dung, gingelly, milk hedge, lime juice and soda². Towards the opening of this century, aniline dyes having extensively come into vogue, the indigenous dyes disappeared, but still indigenous mordants continued to be employed. The dyeing of cotton thread was then stated to have been usually done as follows. The ashes of castor seeds and a number of different pungent weeds were mixed

¹ G. O. No. 2211, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Report on Tanjore and South Arcot districts, pages 11-16, 20-25.

G. O. No. 1524, Development, dated 29th June 1940, pages 9-12.

² *Monograph on Dyes and Dyeing in the Madras Presidency* by Edwin Holder, 1896, pages 1-9.

with water and stirred. The mixture was then allowed to settle and the clear part of it was poured off and mixed with gingelly or ground-nut oil until the latter was 'broken' and became white in appearance. A decoction of sheep dung was then sometimes added. The yarn was placed in the liquid so compounded and left to soak for three or four nights, being taken out during the day and dried and replaced each evening. It was next washed in clear water and dried. The bark of the root of noona plant was then finely powdered and mixed in water and the yarn was alternatively steeped in it and washed clean and steeped again. A cold infusion of the leaves of the kasan plant was sometimes used as an adjunct to this noona root to bring out the colour of the dye. Finally the imported mineral dye was mixed with water, some of the powdered bark of the vembadam tree was added to the mixture and the yarn was well boiled in the mixture and then given a last washing and drying¹.

At the present moment, however, dyeing is done only on a very small scale in Torappadi, Tiruppapuliyur (Tiruppadirippuliyur), Chidambaram and Bhuvanagiri. The dyes used are mostly chemical dyes, the most common being black and indigo². The old art of dyeing with indigenous dyes is gone for ever and with it is gone also all the beauty that the delicate, sober and durable tints could give to the fabrics.

Another lost industry for which Cuddalore and Porto Novo were once famous was hand-printing. Hand-printed cotton fabrics of those places were, as far back as 1737, exported to Manila. Even about 1890 they were made in considerable quantities and exported to Colombo; but now the industry is dead³.

The spinning and weaving of wool into cumblies is at present done in a few scattered villages of the three western taluks. It is done chiefly in Melandal in the Tirukkoyilur taluk; in Chidambaram, Ammayapuram, Nainarapalayam, Alambakkam, Mamundur, Pethanur, Rayapalayam, Kural, Pandiyankuppam and Kada-vali in the Kallakkurichchi taluk; and in Nagar, Seppakam, Sathiam, Vilangathur and Nariyur in the Vriddhachalam taluk. The Kurumbar of these villages who originally migrated from Mysore follow sheep tending as their chief occupation, and many of them not only own sheep but tend the sheep owned by the ryots. As, however, the sheep are primarily reared for the sake of manure and milk, wool is only of secondary importance to them.

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot district* by W. Francis. Vol. I, 1906, pages 156-157.

² G. O. No. 1524, Development, dated 29th July 1940, page 12.

³ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot district* by W. Francis. Vol. I, 1906, page 156.

There are two varieties of sheep, the white and the black. There is also a brown variety here and there but this sheep is not shorn and is used only for manuring. In some villages like Melandal, the white variety alone is found, while in the other villages like Chinnasalem, the black variety alone is found. Pure black wool is however rare; it is always mixed with some white, but it is invariably finer and thinner than the white. In all places the shearing is done only in a year, in July, August and September, after the rains commence. Usually the wool of the young ones is not separated from the wool of the grown up ones, nor is any attempt made to separate the long staple from the short staple. In villages like Melandal producing white-wool, however, good care is taken to shear off the black spots from the neck or other parts of the sheep separately so that the black wool may be used for putting one or two threads on the borders of the cumblies.

The spinning and weaving is done by the women-folk of the Kurumbars on days when they find no agricultural employment. The cumblies are woven in two pieces of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{3}{4}$ feet broad with 504 warp ends in each and joined together and stitched with woollen threads. There are about 10,000 wool-giving sheep in the district scattered in the different villages. But their breed is inferior. They have no proper grazing facilities in many places. The looms and appliances used are crude and primitive. The quality of the cumblies made is therefore necessarily poor¹.

The extraction of fibre from sunn-hemp and the weaving of gunnies and 'kabilai thattus' with it is a subsidiary occupation of Saluppas (who call themselves Nayaks) in Pukkaravari and Olaganallur villages of the Kallakurichchi taluk. They do not grow the sunn-hemp but buy it from the ryots who grow it. The spinning is done mainly by women and the weaving is done by men. The gunnies and pattis are sold locally and in adjoining villages. A patti 34 feet long is sufficient for making two gunnies. Some of the hemp is spun into yarn and sold to the fishermen along the coast. Of late there has been a considerable decrease in the area under sunn-hemp, owing to the preference given by the cultivators to more remunerative crops. The weavers are landless and too poor to take the lands of others on lease to grow sunn-hemp. The industry is accordingly gradually dwindling².

Carpet weaving, for which Periyavadavadi, a village 4 miles from Vriddhachalam, was once famous, is now practically extinct. Formerly this place used to manufacture excellent cotton carpets, floor as well as tent carpets, with stripes of black and red woven

¹ G. O. No. 2211, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Report on Tanjore and South Arcot, pages 34-36.

G. O. No. 1524, Development, dated 29th July 1940, pages 12-14.

² G. O. No. 2211, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Report on Tanjore and South Arcot, pages 36-37.

G. O. No. 1524, Development, dated 29th June 1940, pages 14-15.

alternately and worked with various designs. But now it rarely manufactures any such carpets, owing to the competition with cheap thin carpets dumped on the market and the difficulty of getting yarn consequent on the conversion of cotton growing areas into groundnut growing areas¹.

Metal work is a new industry of the district. Fifty years ago almost all the brass vessels needed for cooking and fetching water were imported from Kumbakonam, and only a few vessels were manufactured at Ananthapuram and Sangeethamangalam. Today, however, the industry flourishes not only in these two places but also in Kannanagaram and Kannarpet. It is in the hands of Kammalars or Kunnasaris. In the first two places old vessels are repaired and sold as new ones to the wholesale merchants; but in the other two places new vessels from brass plates are made. A large number of workmen are available in these villages and labour is therefore cheap. The vessels made are mostly water-pots. In Kannanagaram these pots are handed in an unfinished condition to the petty capitalists who send them to Kumbakonam for polishing and lining. In Kannarpet completely finished pots are made and exported to Tiruchirappalli, Karur, Kulittalai, Virudhunagar, Villupuram, Madurai and other pilgrim centres.

In Olakkur Melpadi, iron and brass chains are made for use as ornaments for the horns and necks of bulls. Big chains for cradles, ploughs and 'uris' are also made here. Iron rods are heated to remove the temper, and then cooled and worked while brass is worked without being heated. All the chains are sold locally as well as in the shandis held at Mailam, Tiruvannamalai, Malayanur, Chidambaram and other places. They are also transported and sold in Madras. The merit of this industry lies in the fact that it provides work to the workers throughout the year².

Korai mat weaving is found to a limited extent in a few villages in the district. It is the chief subsidiary occupation of Muslim women in Olakkur Melpadi. There are a few families of mat weavers also in Veerampatti, Vengal, Kadavanpakkam, Monon-parumbakkam, Mattur, Rajanur, Palpet, Pudupet, Edayambalayeri, Sirugramam and Krishna Kuppam. In tracts where wild reeds are readily available, the Harijans as a class have taken to this as a subsidiary occupation. In some places, however, the mat weavers have to get the korai from outside the district and consequently there is not much scope for development of this industry³.

¹ G. O. No. 2211, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Report on Tanjore and South Arcot, page 58.

G. O. No. 1524, Development, dated 29th June 1940, page 15.

² G. O. No. 2211, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Report on Tanjore and South Arcot, page 45-48.

G. O. No. 1524, Development, dated 29th June 1940, pages 15-16.

³ G. O. No. 1524, Development, dated 29th June 1940, pages 16-17.

Date mat weaving is more prevalent in the district. It exists chiefly in Pulichapallam, Vanur and Kallarapakkam in the Villupuram taluk and in Ambakkam, Kodur, Viluvanatham and Koduvuri in the Tindivanam taluk. It is pursued as a subsidiary occupation by the Tondamandalam Mudahars, Vanniyars, Gounders, Pathars, Yadavas, etc. Date palms are found in plenty in Vadanur, Tirumangalam, Tiruvakkarai, Kadaperikuppam, Tadanpuram, Kaludur and Kuchipalayam along the banks of channels and beds of ponds and on ryotwari lands. The right to cut the leaves is leased out every year and the lessees either sub-lease it or collect the leaves, dry them and sell them in head-loads. The leaves of the bigger variety of date palm alone are used for weaving mats.

The weaving of mats is done by the women. The mats made are of different dimensions, but the two standard dimensions are 6 feet by 4 feet or $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet. They are mostly sold locally. One good point about this industry is that it provides work throughout the year, another is that the mats turned out being fine, used for spreading purposes, find a ready sale in the market. As there are vast areas of spontaneous growth of date palms, this industry has great potentialities¹.

There is no rattan industry in the district, although rattan grows wild in some places, such as the banks of the Nallathambi river in Mathalapet and Kilingikuppam and in the stagnant pools and back-waters in Thyagavalli, Kirikuppam, Panchamkuppam and Saliyambimangalam; all in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk². There is, however, some bamboo industry in Sankarapuram and Vadakkanandal firkas of the Kallakkurichchi taluk. About seventy families who are engaged in this industry get the bamboo from the Jagir Hills. They make baskets, cages, 'thattus', sieves and winnows and transport them on asses to distant places like Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Chidambaram for sale. Local consumption is very limited and the workers are also poor. There is a co-operative society for bamboo workers at Ammapet, Vadakkanandal firka with about 120 workers and almost all the bamboo products in the firka are sold through this society. There is also some coconut coir industry in Singaratope, Muttakadu, Varankuppam, Anumandai, Kaippanikuppam, Settikuppam, Rajapettai and Porto Novo (Parangipettai). It is pursued by the Muslim women in Porto Novo (Parangipettai) and by the Hindu women of the Vellalar, Goundar, Chettiar and fishermen castes in other places. The process of beating the husks into fibre is, however, crude; and no attempt is made to develop coir-spinning, as in Malabar and the West Coast. The coir is simply twisted into ropes and the ropes are sold locally³.

¹ G. O. No. 1524, Development, dated 29th June 1940, pages 17-18.

² G. O. No. 2011, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Report on Tanjore and South Arcot, page 66.

³ G. O. No. 1524, Development, dated 29th June 1940, pages 18-19.

Ceramic industry is found in Panruti, Palayavendipalayam, Valavanur, Nellikuppam and Mambalapattu, Ayyurugaram and Bhuvanagiri. Panruti has gained more than a local reputation for toys, dolls, and imitations of fruits, vegetables, birds, animals, historical persons and Hindu deities. They are all made by the Pathers, the professional potters, out of the clay available locally at Tiruvendipuram, Cuddalore (Gudalur) Old Town and Panikuppam. Moulds of plaster of Paris (Karpura silasith) are first made, the plaster being obtained from Tiruchirappalli and from these moulds clay figures are cast, and afterwards dried, polished, painted and varnished. Paints are obtained from Madras, and varnish is got either from the local shops or prepared by the potters themselves by mixing wood oil with vellai kungilyam and boiling the mixture. In spite of the very good quality of the articles produced, the industry is said to be languishing for want of proper advertisement. There is scope for the expansion of this industry, as the raw material, i.e., clay, is plentifully available close to the places of manufacture¹. Brick manufacturing industry is another important industry in South Arcot and it is chiefly concentrated in Panruti, Vallambadugai and Sathiathope.

Wood carving is done by a few families in Thenkeeranur and Rauthanallur villages of the Kallakurichchi taluk. The finished articles are, however, too crude to be commercially profitable. Walking sticks, combs and fans are made of sandal-wood by a few families in Kacharapalayam and Vadakkanandal villages at the foot of the Kalrayan Hills. There is, however, not much scope for developing this industry, since very little sandal-wood is available here².

Fishing nets are made in the villages and towns along the coast, chiefly in Porto Novo, Marakkanam, Cuddalore (Gudalur), Kaipanikuppam and Muttakadu. They are made by the fishermen themselves out of pure cotton yarn, or sunn-hemp or of both with a mixture of coir. Men generally weave the nets while the women weave the sunn-hemp fibre into yarn and the boys twist the yarn with 'taklis'. Much of the yarn required is, however, purchased from the local shops³.

Palmyrah leaf mat making is a subsidiary occupation of the Vanniar and Muslim women in Marakkanam and surrounding villages. They purchase the tender leaves from the Harijans, split them, dye them when necessary and weave them into mats. These mats are in great demand for packing chillies. The weaving of 'tatties' from water reeds (campu) is done by shikari Naickers

¹ G. O. No. 2211, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Report on Tanjore and South Arcot, pages 71-74.

G. O. No. 1524, Development, dated 29th June 1940, pages 19-20.

² *Idem*, page 20.

³ *Idem*, page 21.

in Alampakkam, Pinnalur, Erumbur, Kavarpet and Kuppangal as a subsidiary occupation. Water reeds grow spontaneously in the railway ditches and on the beds of tanks; they are gathered by the men and woven by the women and the 'tatties' usually made, 6 feet by 5½ feet, are extensively used in rural parts as a protection against rain¹.

Oil pressing with chekkus as a cottage industry, is carried on in several places in the district. There are about 2,000 country chekkus in the district mostly in and around Vriddhachalam, Pen-nadam, Ulundurpet, Chidambaram, Bhuvanagiri and Palayamkottai. Although extensive areas are grown with groundnut, only a small portion of the produce is pressed into oil by the country mills. Oil from cashewnut shells is extracted only in the Kadambuliur-firka of the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk. Much of the oil extracted here is exported to the Kerala State. It is used for greasing axles of carts, for greasing 'kavalais' and for coating wooden articles as a protection against white ants².

Extraction of honey is done on a considerable scale in the Kallakkurichchi and Gingee taluks. But this honey is collected from the hills. The modern methods of bee-keeping and honey extraction are not followed in the district. Nor are the modern methods of jaggery-making generally employed in the district, although palmyra jaggery-making is done in several places.³

In olden days hand-made paper was manufactured in Tiruvendipuram and Kattumannarkoil, bangles were made in Krishnapuram, Ariyur, Palayamkottai and Parur; and tanning was done in Torasalur and several other places in the Kallakkurichchi taluk. But these industries have now disappeared⁴. Some new industries which have now come into existence on a small scale are the manufacture of tiles at Ariyankuppam, of cement pipes and statues at Chidambaram and of buttons at Tindivanam.

Several of these cottage industries are suffering from one drawback or other. Some need finance, some organization, some improved technical knowledge, and some greater facilities for procuring raw materials, storing finished goods and marketing them. The Government have been quite alive to these drawbacks which are existing not only in this district but also in the other districts. They have been trying to set right these drawbacks

¹ G.O. No. 1521, Development, dated 29th June 1940, pages 21-22.

² *Idem*, pages 22-23.

³ *Idem*, page 24.

⁴ G.O. No. 2211, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Report on Tanjore and South Arcot, page 2.

G.O. No. 1524, Development, dated 29th June 1940, page 22.

Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. François, Vol. I, 1905, page 161.

through the Industries, the Co-operative and the Rural Welfare Departments. What the Co-operative and the Rural Welfare Departments have done will be shown in the chapters on Co-operation and Welfare Schemes. But what the Industries Department has done may be indicated here.

The first attempt at developing the industries in this State was made in 1906 by the appointment of Mr. Chatterton as the Director of Industrial and Technical Enquiries. In 1908 as a result of an Industrial Conference held at Ootacamund, endeavours were made by the Government to reorganize the Industries Department, but these were frustrated by Lord Morley, who was then the Secretary of State for India. It was not till 1914 that the Department of Industries, which is now called the Department of Industries and Commerce, was reorganized and a Director of Industries with an adequate number of officials under him, was appointed. Since then this department has made many attempts to improve the cottage as well as the large scale industries in the State, by organizing periodical exhibitions, by instructing the weavers and other cottage industry workers in improved methods, by opening industrial and commercial museums and technical training institutes for groups of districts, by rendering financial assistance to private industrial schools and by giving grants in aid to industries under the State Aid to Industries Act of 1922 (Madras Act V of 1923). This Act which has been amended several times, provides now for the grant of financial aid to new or nascent industries, cottage industries, and even old industries (for special reasons). The aid may take the form of loans, guarantee of cash credit, over-draft or fixed advance with a bank, subscription of shares or debentures and guarantee of minimum return on part of the capital in the case of a Joint Stock Company and also subsidies which, in the case of cottage industries, may be given for any purpose and in the case of other industries for the conduct of research or purchase of machinery. The maximum value of the loans is 50 per cent of the net value of the assets of the industrial enterprise. Other forms of aid may consist of grants of land on favourable terms, and of raw materials, firewood, water or electricity at concessional rates. The Act has provided for a statutory Board of Industries whose business it is to advise the Government in the matter of the granting of loans. Loans up to Rs. 500 in the case of cottage industries, however, can be granted by the Director of Industries and Commerce¹.

South Arcot, like other districts, has been benefited by all these measures. Its industries are looked after now by an Assistant Director of Industries who has his headquarters at Cuddalore

¹ See the *Administration Reports of the Department of Industries from 1919. Monthly Digest of Economics and Statistics, Madras State,* January 1951, pages 1-6.

(Gudalur). He is assisted by an Inspector of Industries and a Supervisor of Industries. The district has also two private industrial schools aided and recognized by the Government. One of these is the St. Joseph's Industrial School, Tindivanam, where instruction is imparted in carpentry, cabinet-making, blacksmithy and fitting; and the other is the Danish Mission Industrial School, Panruti, where instruction is given in weaving and carpentry. Both these schools award certificates in the subjects taught by them.

So much about the existing industries. We may now chronicle the fortunes of an important industry started in the past in the district and show how, although it promised much, it failed completely for want of industrial power, and how the lignite that has recently been discovered might, in the future, make such a failure impossible.

About a hundred and fifty years ago, public attention in England was drawn to the subject of Indian steel manufactured out of the iron ores of Salem and some other places by adopting the country processes. The British scientists who examined this steel found that it possessed valuable qualities, that for all purposes of fine cutlery it could be used with great advantage, that, in fact, it was infinitely superior to the best steel made in England. The ore was stated to be a rich magnetic oxide of iron which yielded on an average 55 to 60 per cent of the metal in the blast furnaces. In 1818, Mr. J. M. Heath, a civil servant of the East India Company, thinking that by adopting English processes in the place of country processes he could manufacture even a better quality of steel, resigned from the service and devoted his whole attention to the subject. In 1825 he went to England and in 1830 he returned to Madras fully posted with all the information necessary and, with the permission of the Government, erected an iron works at Porto Novo (Parangipettai). He got the ores, it would appear, not only from Salem but also from the Kalrayans in South Arcot.* But the means at his disposal enabled him only to prove that pig iron could be manufactured without difficulty within the tropics, a result which, previous to his operations had been pronounced to be impracticable; they did not permit him to manufacture pig iron on any large scale. He therefore approached the Government for financial assistance and requested that a committee might be appointed to examine and report on the results he had obtained. This was done, and he was given a loan of Rs. 75,000 as well as

* Information obtained from the office of the Director of Industries and Commerce.

† Board's Consultations Nos. 2-3, dated 16th September 1841.

Board's Consultations Nos. 22-24, dated 15th March 1842.

certain concessions. Very soon however he again applied for assistance, and again a committee was appointed, and on its recommendation he was given a loan of Rs. 3,60,000 and extensive privileges for mining ores in South Arcot, Salem, Coimbatore, Malabar and Canara and cutting fuel in South Arcot, Tanjore and Tiruchirappalli districts. Confidence being thus established, he induced a few gentlemen at Madras to come forward in 1833 to form the Indian Iron and Steel Company. Furnaces, forges and rolling mills were then erected at Porto Novo and afterwards at Beypore also. Many difficulties had to be overcome. Nevertheless the Company succeeded in manufacturing iron of a very superior quality which sold readily both in England and India.

For a time the prospects appeared bright. It was felt that the capital hitherto employed was not adequate to fully develop the undertaking so as to supply the increasing demand for iron required by the railways and other public works; and, in order to meet these exigencies, a new company called the East India Iron Company, was formed in 1853 in London, with a nominal capital of £400,000. Operations at Porto Novo (Parangipettai) were carried on with renewed vigour; two subsidiary works were erected, one at Poolampatty in the Salem district, and the other at Tiruvannamalai in the North Arcot district; and large quantities of a very superior variety of pig iron were sent to England as ballast in cotton and tea ships.

Then came a series of troubles. The shipping of pig iron as ballast became difficult as sugar and other dead-weight cargo produced on the coast began to claim and share the same privilege. And, what is more, the conversion of iron into steel by using wood fuel and adopting the laborious puddling process held out very little hope of profit. The result was financial crisis which induced the manager to report his inability to make the undertaking profitable. As, however, the main difficulty lay in supplying large quantities of wood fuel and in carrying on puddling and reheating on a large scale, it looked as if the difficulty could be got over by adopting the Bessemer process which had just then come into vogue in Europe, and by which crude iron could be converted into steel by simply forcing through the molten metal powerful jets of atmospheric air for a few minutes. This new method was therefore tried, but it was soon found that small sized ingots produced by it were greatly honeycombed and that numerous flaws resulted in them when they were hammered out into bars. Large sized ingots produced by the method, however, were found to be much more perfect, but the cost and labour of reducing them with steam hammers—again with the use of wood fuel—proved to be unprofitable. Attention was then turned to the desirability of executing orders for heavier classes of work such as rails for railways, wagon-wheel tyres, axles, etc., but the manager, Mr. Maylor, pointed out that, with wood fuel, it was impossible to compete with English manufacturers. It was accordingly decided to wind up

the concern and this was done in 1867 . All this makes it crystal clear that the industry in spite of every form of State aid that it received failed chiefly for want of industrial power. It is this supply of industrial power in abundance that the discovery of lignite promises to offer for the development of industries.

The lignite field of South Arcot lies between North Latitudes $11^{\circ} 24'$ and $11^{\circ} 37'$ and East Longitudes $79^{\circ} 24'$ and $79^{\circ} 33'$. This area lies between the Gadilam in the north and the Vellar and the Manimuktanadhi in the south. The existence of lignite in this region was recently discovered while putting down deep bore wells. Investigation by means of over 200 bore holes has proved the occurrence of lignite in an area of about 100 square miles in and around Neyveli in the Vriddhachalam, Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Chidambaram taluks. The bore holes have revealed that the lignite seam is a lenticular bed intercolated in a mixture of Tertiary sands and clays with pebble beds, that its thickness varies from zero to 89 feet; and that its least recorded depth (which is at the northern limit of the deposit) is 150 feet below the surface. The samples tested have shown that when mined it contains 50 to 60 per cent moisture, that on dry mineral free basis it usually contains from 65 to 70 per cent of carbon, from 20 to 25 per cent of oxygen and about 5 per cent of hydrogen; that its calorific value on dry mineral basis is usually from 11,000 to 12,500 B.t.u. lb. but that in use it is less as there is about 50 per cent of moisture present in the lignite as mined and 15 to 20 per cent even in the air-dried lignite. The amount of ash in the lignite is variable, but it seems to be between 3 to 10 per cent. Taking the average calorific value for the pure coal substance as 12,000 B.t.u.lb. the calorific value of the lignite containing 20 per cent inerts (i.e., moisture plus mineral matter) is some 9,600 B.t.u.lb. This does not seem to compare favourably with 11,300 B.t.u. lb. for grade II Jharia coal with 25 per cent inert matter. The calorific value of pure coal in the Jharia field is much higher, namely, 15,500 B.t.u. lb. Yet, the lignite has several advantages over coal, it burns free, it does not coke, it has a low ash and it gives off rapid and complete combustion; and as the volatile matter in it is usually about 50 per cent it burns readily.

There is no evidence of any aquifer above the lignite seam. But there is positive evidence of at least two artesian aquifers at known depths below the lignite with confined water under considerable pressure. This confined water has been tapped by the bore holes drilled over a considerable extent of country to the south of the Neyveli area and is discharged at the surface from bore holes at rates varying from 400 to 2,250 gallons per minute.

¹ G.O. No 1032, Revenue, dated 14th March 1896. See Mr. Maylor's Memorandum.

Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 283-290.

The bore holes have tapped the confined water between zero to 20 feet below the base of the lignite seam. There is no evidence of the existence below the seam of a continuous barrier of impermeable ground of sufficient thickness to withstand the considerable water pressure of about 8 tons per square foot which would be exerted, if the lignite were extracted.

Investigations have indicated that there is a zone in the lignite seam about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide from north-west to south-east. It extends along the strike parallel to the north-west boundary and, within this, the thickness of the overburden varies from 160 feet to 250 feet and the thickness of the lignite is, except at one or two places, over 20 feet and averages over 50 feet. The average ratio therefore of the overburden to lignite is 4 to 1. The reserves in this area are estimated at about 200 million tons workable under comparably more satisfactory mining conditions. But the essential pre-requisite to the actual mining of the lignite is the control of the ground water below it. In this area, the surface is higher, about 160 feet above sea-level, and the confined water does not rise to the surface in the bore holes drilled to tap it but stands in the holes about 50 feet lower. It has been pointed out that unless the water table below the immediate mine excavation area could be lowered to a depth of about 50 feet below the base of the lignite, mining operations would not be practicable, as there is then a grave risk of a heave up of the confined ground water in actual mining conditions. It has been considered that such a depression in the water table could be effected by means of a grid of bore holes of sufficient depths, drilled at appropriate distances apart and equipped with submersible pumps, the new bore holes being drilled and the pumps moved forward progressively with the advance of the mine workings. It has been estimated that it would be necessary to pump out 20,000 gallons of water per minute from the aquifers below the lignite over a period of about 100 days to lower the water pressure over a test area below the safety level, in order to facilitate the removal of the lignite without any risk of a heave up during the mining operations. It may be stated here that steps are now being taken to pump out the water with the requisite number of pumps.

The early stages of the work of boring, etc., were undertaken by the State Government, but now the Government of India have taken up the work. If the ground water can be controlled and lignite won economically, there can be no doubt that it will immensely help the development of industries in this State. It can not only be used as fuel but also utilized for generating electric power. It can not only be processed and used for the production of iron and steel, but also utilized for most of the purposes for which coal is used. And coal being not available in the south, it holds out promise to supply the industrial as well as domestic fuel, to arrest the denudation of forests and to supply the lack of thermal power to back the hydro-electric stations. It has also many other uses:

it can be processed into a number of products, including tar and diesel oil, petrol, ammonium sulphate, fertilizers, etc.¹

Coming now to trade, the chief commodities of trade are cotton, coal, coke, dyes and tans, grains and pulses, hides, skins and leather, metals, manganese, unwrought wood, provisions, spices, salt, sugar, oils and oil seeds, especially groundnut. The inward and outward movement of marketable commodities by road cannot be ascertained as no figures of these are available. It may, however, be stated that a good deal of the commodities are transported by lorries owned by private firms and individuals and that the lorries registered in the district alone, for instance, in 1954, numbered about 250². The outward and inward movement of commodities by rail can however be gathered from the statistics of goods transported by the railways. In 1953-54, for instance, the outward movement of commodities amounted to 10,131,000 maunds of which sugar accounted for 897,080 maunds, grains and pulses 57,454 maunds, coal and coke 296,256 maunds, oil 171,868 maunds, groundnut 145,743 maunds, and salt 124,496 maunds. The inward movement of commodities amounted to 92,31,990 maunds of which oils accounted for 517,339 maunds, grains and pulses 271,807 maunds, metals and manganese 238,306 maunds, unwrought wood 163,657 maunds, coal and coke 149,689 maunds, provisions 131,298 maunds, sugar 102,706 maunds and groundnut 102,251 maunds³.

Since 1939 a marketing committee consisting of the representatives of the traders, growers and the Government has been constituted in South Arcot under the Madras Commercial Crop Markets Act of 1933 in order to provide better markets for the chief commercial crops of the district. Originally (in 1939) it dealt only with groundnut, but now (since 1953) it is dealing also with cotton and gingelly. It has established 9 markets so far at Tindivanam, Vriddhachalam, Tirukkoyilur, Ulundurpet, Cuddalore (Gudalur) Old Town, Villupuram, Chidambaram, Panruti and Kallakkurichchi. It may be mentioned here that of these crops, groundnut is the most important, occupying as it does about 4 lakhs of acres which is about 25 per cent of the cultivated area of the district and 20.6 per cent of the total area grown under groundnut in the State⁴.

There are two ports in the district, one at Cuddalore (Gudalur) and the other at Porto Novo (Parangipettai). There is hardly any import or export trade at Porto Novo (Parangipettai) in these days.

¹ Information supplied by the Chief Executive Officer, Lignite Investigations, Madras.

² Report on the Administration of the Motor Vehicles Act, 1954, page 6.

³ Goods Revenue Statistics, Southern Railway, 1953-1954, pages 16-18 and 41-42.

⁴ Report on the Administration of the South Arcot Market Committee for 1954 and 1955.

At Cuddalore (Gudalur), however, the imports in 1955-56, for instance, consisted of coal and oil cakes valued at Rs. 94,19,685, while the exports consisted of building and engineering materials, earthenware and porcelain valued at Rs. 4,91,991¹.

Prior to the Second World War there was no restriction on the internal movement of any commodities in the districts. But as a result of the war and the acute scarcity of several essential commodities, controls of various kinds were introduced in this State by the Government for fixing fair prices, for preventing hoarding and black-marketing and for ensuring an equitable distribution of the essential commodities. Among these measures the most important was the compulsory procurement of foodgrains, especially rice, through Government agency, and its rationing through co-operative societies and other authorized dealers. South Arcot being a surplus district in the matter of rice, procurement was introduced in it in 1942 as in the case of other surplus districts. Rationing in urban areas was introduced in 1944 and informal rationing in rural areas in 1945-46. In December 1947 rationing (both urban and rural) was discontinued in the whole State, but in January 1949 it was again introduced in South Arcot as well as in all other districts (except Tanjore) on account of the extraordinary rise in prices. On 15th June 1952, however, the position having improved, both procurement and rationing were abolished in the whole State. It may be noted that almost throughout this period, restrictions were imposed on the movement and distribution of various articles like sugar, jaggery, kerosene oil, groundnut and other oils, onions, chillies, etc.

It remains now to deal with the weights and measures of the district. Here 3 tolas (each 0.4114 of an ounce) = 1 palam; 8 palams = 1 seer; 40 palams (5 seers) = 1 viss; and 50 palams = 1 tukku (or in Telugu vettu). Fractions of the palam, viss and tukku are also in use and so is the rattal which weighs 12 palams and a fraction (varying in different localities) and is employed for special purposes, such as dealings in indigo. The viss is used in some taluks, while in others, the tukku is the common weight. No larger weights than these are usually employed, but groundnut is sold by the baram (or candy) which is equal to 500 English pounds or 48 French pounds. The goldsmith's subdivision of the seer are : 32 kundumanis (the small scarlet and black seeds of the *Abrus precatorius* tree) make one varahanedai (or pagoda weight), 10 varahanedais make a palam and 8 palams (as usual) make a seer. They also use other sub-multiples of the varahanedai. In regard to salt, a seer is equal to 80 tolas; 40 seers make an Indian maund and 12 maunds make a garce (4.39 tons).

The officially recognized table of grain measures is as follows :—
132 tolas of rice = 1 (heaped) Madras Measure; 2 Madras

¹ Information obtained from the office of the Collector of Customs, Madras.

Measures = 1 marakkal. And only even multiples and sub-multiples (a half, a quarter, an eighth and a sixteenth) of this measure are stamped by the stamping establishments. But the ordinary standard used by the ryots for measuring grain wholesale is the kalam and, though this is always equal to twelve marakkals, the capacity of the marakkal differs widely in different taluks and the kalam is a very variable affair.

Liquids are usually sold by fractions of the Madras Measure. But milk, buttermilk and curds are not usually measured with any exactness, being sold at so much a potful; and ghee and oil are retailed by weight by the seer and palm mentioned above.

Lengths are measured by the English inch, foot and yard, but they are also measured by the popular table according to which 9 ankulams (thumb's breadths) = 1 chan (span); 12 ankulams = 1 ati (foot); 18 ankulams = 1 mulam (cubit, length from elbow to top of middle finger); 2 mulams = 1 kajam (yard); and 2 kajams = 1 mar (distance between the tips of the two middle fingers measured across the chest with the arms outstretched). Acres and cents are the only land measures now recognized by the revenue authorities but the ryots still use the terms kani and kuli among themselves. The table is this, 24 feet = 1 kol (rod); 1 square kol (576 square feet) = 1 kuli; and 100 kulis = 1 kani (1.32 acres). A

kal' (a mile stone) is usually employed as the equivalent of a mile. A nalikai distance is the distance which can be walked in a nalikai or 24 minutes and may be taken at about $1\frac{1}{3}$ miles. A katam corresponds to ten miles. There are also the usual inexact phrases in the popular use, such as the Kuppududuram or the distance at which a shout can be heard. The width of a bodice of cloth is a standard measure among weavers, and the width of the silk border of women's cloths is measured by the number of atukku in it.

English hours and minutes are often used but the old measures of time are also sometimes used. These are $2\frac{1}{2}$ nalikais (of 24 minutes each) = 1 mani (hour) and 3 manis = 1 jamam (watch). There are also in use many vague measures of time such as, 'the time it takes to chew betel'. The hour of the day at which an event occurred is sometimes indicated by phrases such as 'cock-crowing time', 'the time when the cattle come home' and 'the lamp-lighting time'.

CHAPTER IX.

CO-OPERATION.

Co-operation has come to play an increasingly important part in the present century, alike in agriculture, in industries and in other economic and social activities. It has been claimed as the most efficient method by which planned development in various fields can be secured by providing State guidance and assistance to almost all forms of joint enterprise. It has also been hailed as a sovereign remedy both for curing the ills of capitalism and for achieving the ideals of communism, aiming as it does, at the establishment of a new economic order under which wealth, instead of being appropriated by the few, is shared and enjoyed equally by the many. As is well known, it aims at the achievement by joint endeavour of what is difficult of achievement by individual endeavour, especially by individuals of limited means. And nowhere is joint endeavour more necessary than in agriculture and industries which employ mostly men of very limited means. But co-operation has its uses not only for the poorer but also for the middle classes, inasmuch as it can provide them too with better facilities and greater amenities. It is the gradual realization of this that has slowly but steadily spread the co-operative movement in our country.

Agriculture has always stood in need of credit and the agriculturists have always found it necessary to borrow for meeting cultivation expenses, for maintaining their families and, if they are indebted, as they generally are, for paying the ever increasing interest on their debts. The money lenders are the only source from which they have been accustomed for ages to borrow, and the money lenders have not only charged them exorbitant rates of interest but very often, ultimately, deprived them of their lands and turned them into mere agricultural labourers. It was estimated in 1935 that more than 90 per cent of the credit requirements of the agriculturists were met by money lenders ¹.

The Government have from time to time taken several measures to afford credit facilities to the agriculturists and to free them from the clutches of the money-lenders. Of these, the formation of the agricultural co-operative credit societies is one of the most important measures. But, before we deal with the co-operative societies, we may mention here something about the other measures too that have been designed to assist the agriculturists. In 1883

¹ *Report on Agricultural Indebtedness by W. R. S. Sathianathan, 1935, page 43.*

Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 356-361.

the Government passed the Land Improvement Loans Act (India Act XIX of 1883) under which long term loans repayable in 20 to 30 years can be granted at cheap rates of interest for making such improvements to the land as would increase its letting value, like the construction of wells, tanks, irrigation channels, etc. In 1884 they passed the Agriculturists' Loans Act (India Act XII of 1884) under which short term and medium term loans can be granted for the purchase of seed, grain manure, cattle, fodder, pump-sets, etc. In 1918 they acquired power under the Usurious Loans Act (India Act X of 1918) to stop recovery of usurious rates of interest. In 1935 they passed the Madras Debtors' Protection Act (Madras Act VII of 1935) which fixed a reasonable maximum rate of interest and prescribed an improved system of keeping of accounts by money-lenders for the benefit of small debtors who borrow sums below Rs. 500. In the same year they amended the Agriculturists' Loans Act (Madras Act XVI of 1935) so as to permit the grant of loans to agriculturists for discharging their debts and for scaling down their debts by amicable adjustment with the creditors through Special Loans Officers. In 1936 they passed the Madras Debt Conciliation Act (Madras Act XI of 1936) which provided for voluntary and amicable settlement of debts by bringing together the agriculturist debtors and their creditors through the medium of Special Conciliation Boards. In the same year they amended the Usurious Loans Act in order to make it more effective (Madras Act VIII of 1937). Finally, in 1938, they passed the Madras Agriculturists' Relief Act (Madras Act IV of 1938) for according substantial relief to indebted agriculturists by scaling down their existing debts, by reducing the rate of interest on their future debts and by writing off their arrears of rent due to zamindars, jenmis and other landholders. Experience has, however, shown certain defects in the working of these Acts, which have, to some extent, nullified the intentions of the Government. The Takkavi Loans granted under the Acts of 1883 and 1884 are stated to have failed to become popular because of the delays and irksome enquiries, because of the insufficiency of the loans granted and because of the rigour with which they are collected as arrears of land revenue. The Debtors' Protection Act of 1935 has been found to be defective, inasmuch as the creditors have been required to render accounts only, if asked for by the debtors. The Agriculturists' Loans Amendment Act of 1935 and the Debt Conciliation Act of 1936 are said to have given only an infinitesimal relief to the agriculturists on account of the voluntary element involved in them. Even the Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1938 is stated to have not attained its object, as it has tended to curtail rural credit, to drive the agriculturists, as before, to the money-lenders and to drive the money-lenders to devise various ways for circumventing the Act¹.

¹Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by R. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 263-264, 269-274.

In industries too the conditions have been no better. Most of the cottage and small scale industries have gradually come into the grip of capitalists, money-lenders, master-weavers and master workers¹. Most of the workers, as a rule, have facilities neither for obtaining credit, nor for purchasing raw materials at cheap rates and marketing their finished goods at competitive prices. The State Aid to Industries Act of 1922 (Act V of 1923), under which loans are granted, is said to have failed to touch even the fringe of the problem of industrial credit. Nor have the various attempts made to improve industries by opening industrial schools and museums and by rendering technical aid by demonstration, removed the need to devise some machinery for procuring and distributing raw materials and arranging for the sale of finished goods².

It is in this background that the value of the co-operative organizations which the Government have encouraged becomes evident. As early as 1892 they appointed Sir Frederick Nicholson as a special officer to enquire how far the methods of co-operation adopted in Europe could be adopted in Madras to relieve rural indebtedness. He recommended the formation of rural co-operative societies on the lines of the Raiffeisen Societies of Germany for the provision of rural credit on reasonable terms and for the encouragement of thrift among the rural population. Nothing came of this³, but within a few years the Government of India appointed a committee on co-operation with Sir Frederick Nicholson as one of the members and, on the recommendations of that committee, passed the Co-operative Credit Societies Act, Act X of 1904. This Act envisaged the formation of "small and simple co-operative societies for small and simple folk with simple needs and requiring small sums only" for short periods. Under this Act the Madras Central Urban Bank and two district central banks were registered with the object of financing the co-operative credit societies and several such co-operative credit societies soon came into being. This Act was, however, replaced in 1912 by another Act (India Act II of 1912), which was more comprehensive and which made provision for the formation of central credit societies and co-operative institutions of all types and for all purposes. Under this Act central banks were formed in one district after another as well as urban banks and societies of various types other than agricultural credit societies, such as the marketing societies, the weavers' societies and the consumers' stores. Then came the First World War and close upon its heels the provincialization of the subject of co-operation under the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, and a period of agricultural prosperity, of

¹ Chapter VIII, page 221.

² *Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras* by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 311-312.

³ *Report Regarding the possibility of introducing land and Agricultural banks into the Madras Presidency*, 1895, Vols. I and II.

G.O. No. 1576, Revenue, dated 27th April 1898.

G.O. No. 701, Revenue, dated 18th October 1899.

rapid expansion of the co-operative movement. In 1917, in order to finance the central banks and to co-ordinate their activities, the Madras Central Urban Bank was converted into the Madras Provincial (now State) Co-operative Bank. And, as these banks could not grant long term loans to agriculturists, the formation of land mortgage banks on co-operative basis was sanctioned in 1926 for granting such loans. These banks were authorised to float debentures on the security of the lands mortgaged to them by individual borrowers. But, as each one of these banks issued its own series of debentures and caused confusion and reluctance on the part of the public to purchase them, in 1929, on the recommendation of the Town and Country Committee, the Central Land Mortgage Bank was organized for the centralised issue of debentures and for financing the primary land mortgage banks. The economic depression which then began set the clock back for a time and ushered in a period more of consolidation and of reconstruction of the existing societies than of formation of new societies. This period, however, witnessed several happy auguries. It witnessed the expansion of land mortgage banks and non-credit societies. It witnessed the passing of Act VI of 1932, which remedied the defects noticed in the Act of 1912, and the passing of Act X of 1934 which regulated the working of the land mortgage banks. It also witnessed the appointment of a special committee (Vijayaraghava Achariar Committee) in 1939 which made several suggestions for the improvement of co-operative societies. Co-operation was thus put on a better footing, but its chance for an unprecedented expansion came only with the outbreak of the Second World War when, owing to the rise in prices and the scarcity of food-stuffs, the introduction of controls and rationing and the need for settling ex-servicemen in profitable avocations, several new types of co-operative societies came into existence and several old types of co-operative societies began to undertake new work. And the introduction of total prohibition in this State gave also not a little fillip to co-operation since it made it necessary to absorb the ex-toddy-tappers in useful industries and other avocations and provide the ex-addicts with all sorts of amenities. Meanwhile, the Government of India appointed two committees, the Agricultural Finance Sub-Committee (Gadgil Committee) and the Co-operative Planning Committee (Saraya Committee) for suggesting post-war development of co-operation and their recommendations were considered by the conference of the Registrars of Co-operative Societies held in Madras in 1947. All these recommendations as well as the Post-War Reconstruction Scheme drawn up by the Adviser Government in 1945 were examined, and, where necessary, modified and implemented by the National Government¹.

¹ *Madras Co-operative Manual 1952*, Vol. I, pages 4-11.

Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 361-369, 375-378.

Post-War Reconstruction and Development Schemes of the Government of Madras 1945, pages 5, 53-58, 69-70.

In accordance with the First Five-Year Plan approved by the Indian Parliament, the Madras Government in 1952 provided Rs. 100 lakhs for the development of co-operation. This sum was to be spent on various schemes such as the organization of co-operative land colonization societies for the benefit of Harijans, landless labourers and ex-servicemen, the intensive cultivation of lands through village co-operatives, the construction of warehouses for storage of agricultural produce, etc. The Government also provided a sum of Rs. 371 lakhs for several other co-operative schemes for housing, dairying and milk supply and cottage industries, amelioration of backward classes, etc. In 1953 when the Andhra State was formed, the cost of all these schemes for the Residuary Madras State came to about 278.77 lakhs of rupees¹. About the same time, under the Indo-U.S. Technical Co-operation Agreement, the Indian Planning Commission allotted six Rural Community Projects to the Composite State during 1952-53. And in pursuance of a supplemental agreement, the Community Projects Administration, New Delhi, allotted four Community Development Blocks to the Residuary State for the year 1953-54, and one of these Blocks was located in the South Arcot district². By 1954-55, the year upto which this chapter is confined, the district could boast of two Community Development Blocks, one at Chidambaram and the other at Panruti and two National Extension Service Blocks, one at Kurinjipadi and the other at Chinnasalem. Co-operative Societies were organized in all these areas³.

Turning to the various types of co-operative societies, the structure of co-operative credit gradually built up at different times now consists of the Madras State Co-operative Bank and the Madras Central Land Mortgage Bank at the apex for securing the needs of the whole State and the various central banks, the urban banks, the primary land mortgage banks, the agricultural credit societies, the employees' credit societies and other miscellaneous credit societies at the base for securing the needs of the districts. The Madras State Co-operative Bank obtains its funds from Government loans, from borrowings from the Reserve Bank of India and the State Bank of India and from deposits, and passages on these funds to the central banks which, in turn, pass them on to the primary agricultural credit societies, urban banks, etc. It normally borrows at a concessional rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest and lends to the central banks at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest and the central banks lend to the agricultural credit and other societies affiliated to them at about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest and these societies in turn

¹ *Report on the Working of the Co-operative Societies for 1952, pages 10-11. Idem for 1953, pages 12-13.*

² *Madras State Administration Report, 1952-53, Part I, pages 110-111.*

³ *Annual Administration Reports of the Deputy Registrars of Co-operative Societies of Cuddalore and Tirukkoyilur for 1954-55.*

lend to their members at $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent¹. The Central Land Mortgage Bank raises funds from the public in the shape of 20 year debentures guaranteed by the Government (up to 7 crores) at rates consistent with the prevailing market conditions, retains a margin of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and lends the funds to the district or primary land mortgage banks which in turn, lend them to the agriculturists on the security of their lands².

The agricultural credit societies form the most numerous as well as the most important of the primary societies. They obtain their funds chiefly from borrowings from the central banks. Each one of them is organized on the collective guarantee of the agriculturists of the village with unlimited liability and limited dividends. Credit is obtained on the joint security of the members who are all generally residents of one village. The societies are managed on the democratic principle of one member, one vote. The general body of the society elects a panchayat in which is vested the executive administration and the panchayatdars elect a president and a secretary from among themselves. The bye-laws of these societies permit not only the granting of the loans, but also the taking up of a wide variety of functions. Normally, however, the societies are largely confining their attention to the granting of loans, credit being the crying need of the ryots. But, during the Second World War, when rationing and controls were in force, many of these societies undertook the purchase and distribution of essential commodities. And since February 1949, under a scheme introduced by the National Government³, several of them have undertaken multi-purpose activities such as the supply of agricultural, industrial and domestic requirements of the members, the marketing of their produce, the collection and sale of milk and the promotion of the social and recreational activities. They have also taken part in the food production measures launched by the Government by distributing chemical manure, iron and steel, by arranging to get fallow lands on lease for cultivation and by encouraging the members to dig pits for making rural compost⁴.

¹ See the pamphlet entitled *the Co-operative Movement* by J. C. Ryan, 1954, page 1.

Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 368—369.

The Madras Co-operative Manual 1952, Vol. I, pages 94—138.

Report on the Working of the Co-operative Societies, 1953, page 6.

² See the Pamphlet entitled *the Co-operative Movement* by J. C. Ryan, 1954, pages 2-3.

Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 375-378.

The Madras Co-operative Manual 1952, Vol. I, pages 138-174.

Co-operation in Madras State, a pamphlet published by the Director of Information and Publicity, 1954, page 9.

³ G.O. No. 5618, Development; dated 12th November 1948.

⁴ *The Madras Co-operative Manual*, 1952, Vol. I, pages 13-70.

Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 368-369.

Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies in the State of Madras 1950, pages 31-34.

Pamphlet on Co-operation in Madras State, 1954, pages 6-8.

The non-agricultural credit societies, the urban banks, the employees' societies and the other miscellaneous credit societies are situated in the towns and cater to the credit needs of the middle class and lower middle class people such as the artisans, traders, public servants, mill hands, etc. The urban banks raise funds chiefly by obtaining deposits from the members and non-members and sometimes by borrowing from the central banks. They issue loans on personal security, on the mortgage of immovable property, on the security of non-agricultural and industrial produce, on agricultural produce where there are no marketing societies, on jewels and on insurance policies other than those coming under the Pension-cum-Provident Fund Scheme of the Government. Those that have a working capital exceeding one lakh of rupees and fully qualified paid secretaries have been permitted to undertake the business of discounting cheques and collection of bills of their members after adopting the necessary safeguards. The employees' societies raise funds chiefly by borrowing from central banks, collect, compulsory thrift deposits from the members, issue loans to the members and recover the dues by deduction from the pay bills, if necessary¹.

In South Arcot there are all these co-operative credit organizations, the central banks, the urban banks, the land mortgage banks, the agricultural credit societies and the employees' and other credit societies. There is a central bank at Cuddalore (Gudalur). It finances all the societies in the districts such as the wholesale stores, the sale societies, the weavers' societies, the urban bank and the agricultural rural credit societies. In 1954-55 it had 1,130 members of whom 1,004 were societies and 126 were individuals and a paid-up share capital of Rs. 5,46,623; and it issued loans amounting to Rs. 58,97,205 and earned a net profit of Rs. 15,000. There are also seven land mortgage banks in the district situated at Cuddalore (Gudalur), Chidambaram, Villupuram, Vriddhachalam, Kattumannarkoil, Tindivanam and Kallakurichechi and a large number of agricultural credit societies. In 1954-55 there were 907 agricultural credit societies with a membership of 57,593 and a share capital of Rs. 5,93,702; and they issued loans to the extent of Rs. 17,02,686. Among these there were also rural banks, palm jaggery manufacturing co-operative societies, field labourers' co-operative societies for Harijans and Backward Classes, and a grain bank. All these served about 10 per cent of the population. The rural banks are started with the object of issuing medium term loans and loans on the security of jewels and produce and of affording banking facilities in rural areas. Two such banks were opened in 1955 at Kattumannarkoil and Tiruvannainallur. The palm jaggery manufacturing co-operative societies are formed for providing alternative employ-

¹ *Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies in the Madras State, 1950, page 25.*

The Madras Co-operative Manual, 1952. Vol. I, pages 71-80.

ment to ex-toddy tappers who have been thrown out of work by the introduction of prohibition. For the organization and supervision of these societies the Government have at their own cost appointed a special staff of senior inspectors, and for teaching the members of these societies the manufacture of refined jaggery and for developing the industry in general they have also appointed a State Palm Gur Organizer with headquarters at Madras. They have also trained a number of Palm Gur Instructors at the Government of India Palm Gur Training School established at Cuddalore (Gudalur) and sent these instructors to the districts for giving training to the members of the societies. The manufacture of jaggery being a seasonal occupation, the members of the societies have been encouraged to take to subsidiary occupations, like dairying during the off season. In 1954-55 there were 58 such societies in the district. The field labourers' societies are started for the benefit of the Harijans and landless labourers who have a bias for agriculture. They take on lease lankas, padugais and other cultivable lands from the Government and sub-lease them among their members for cultivation. There were 118 such societies in the district in 1954-55. The grain bank which is situated at Mudiyanur is a singular type of society. It transacts its business in kind; it issues loans in the shape of paddy and recovers them with interest in kind. Besides these societies, there were in 1954-55, 56 non-agricultural credit societies like urban banks, employees' credit societies, etc. The membership of these societies was 17,906, their share capital Rs. 4,49,330, and the loans issued by them Rs. 20,53,215¹.

So much about the co-operative credit organizations. As to the non-credit organizations, there are two types of such organization, namely, the agricultural and the non-agricultural societies. The agricultural societies of the district consist chiefly of loan and sale societies or marketing societies, milk supply unions and societies, poultry farming societies, fishermen societies, irrigation societies, agricultural improvement societies and rural housing societies.

The loan and sale or marketing societies are intended to enable the agriculturists to market their produce profitably, holding it over, if necessary, until the prices rise. They generally advance loans to the members on the security of their produce, own or rent godowns for storage and deal in a wide variety of produce. They obtain their finances from the central banks. During the Second World War they were utilized for distributing manure and other agricultural produce in connection with the Grow More Food Campaign. Since the year 1948-49 the National Government have given a great fillip to these societies as well as to the rural credit societies by granting subsidies to the extent of 50 per cent of the

¹ Annual Administration Reports of Deputy Registrars of Co-operative Societies of Cuddalore and Tirukkoyilur for 1954-55.

cost of godown put up by them.¹ In 1954-55 there were 11 such societies in the district. They had 6,592 members, their share capital amounted to Rs. 47,744, they advanced loans to the extent of Rs. 9,28,902, and they sold chemical manure, seeds and agricultural implements worth Rs. 74,821. Besides these societies there was a Cashewnut Marketing Society at Kadambuliur whose area of operations extended over 55 villages in the Kurinjipadi National Extension Service Block and the Panruti Community Development Block. It had 133 members and a share capital of Rs. 3,840. It maintained two godowns at two centres and issued loans to members to the amount of Rs. 6,900².

The milk supply unions and societies are started with the object of collecting milk under sanitary conditions from the producers in the country parts and distributing it to people living in towns and cities and to public institutions like hospitals, jails, etc. The first milk supply society was formed in Madras in 1926-27. The success of this society led to the formation of similar societies in other towns and the Second World War gave them a great fillip. They have received an added impetus under the Three-Year Plan inaugurated by the National Government. Under this plan the Government have given interest-free loans to the unions and societies to purchase milch animals, lorries and vans. The Government have also provided them free veterinary assistance. Nor is this all. Under the Dairy Development Scheme initiated by the Government in 1948 the milk supply unions have received technical assistance for hygienic milk production, for the feeding of animals, for the improvement of their breed and for the establishment of dry stock farms. These unions and societies have done much to provide employment to the ex-toddy tappers and counter-attractions to drink to the ex-addicts. The societies borrow the funds required by them from the unions to which they are affiliated, from the central banks and from the Government. They give loans to the members for the purchase of milch animals, buy and maintain breeding animals for their use and buy or rent the machinery required for the preparation of by-products³. In South Arcot there were three milk supply unions, namely, those of Cuddalore

¹ *Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies in the State of Madras for 1949*, pages 45-47.

Idem for 1950, pages, 52-53.

Idem for 1951, pages, 41-42.

Idem for 1952, pages, 47-48.

G.O. No. 1807, Development, dated 2nd April 1949.

The Madras Co-operative Manual, 1952, Vol. I, pages 177-218.

² Annual Administration Reports of the Deputy Registrars of Co-operative Societies of Cuddalore and Tirukkoyilur for 1954-1955.

³ *Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies in the State of Madras for 1949*, pages 50-56.

Idem for 1950, pages, 58-61.

Idem for 1951, pages, 45-50.

Idem for 1952, pages, 52-56.

The Madras Co-operative Manual, 1952, Vol. I, pages 217-258.

G.O. No. 5930, Development, dated 2nd December 1948.

(Gudalur), Chidambaram and Tindivanam and several milk supply societies. In 1954-55 there were 17 milk supply societies attached to the three unions and 10 independent milk supply societies. In that year, the unions and societies sold milk to the value of Rs. 4,97,888 and by-products worth Rs. 9,223. They advanced loans to the members for the purchase of milch animals and also distributed cattle feed to them¹.

The poultry farming societies are formed for assisting the ryots to improve the breeds of poultry and to enable them to find good markets for the eggs in urban consuming centres². There were 3 such societies in the district in 1954-1955, but none of them was working well³.

The fishermen's societies are intended to improve the socio-economic condition of fishermen and to promote the technical and commercial aspects of the fishing industry. Their members are mostly drawn from the fishermen community, the Harijans and other backward classes. Considering the helpless condition of these societies, the Government have been giving them leases of inland fisheries at reduced rates⁴. There were 23 such societies in the district in 1954-1955, with a membership of 2,965 and a share capital of Rs. 10,526. These societies are now under the control of the Fisheries Department⁵.

The irrigation societies generally known as kudimaramath societies are formed for the purpose of keeping the supply and feeder channels and irrigation works generally in proper repair, for regulating and supervising the supply of water to the lands belonging to the members and for preventing the stray cattle from damaging the crops on the members' lands. The expenses of carrying out the repairs and of keeping the irrigation sources in proper condition are expected to be collected from the members (as also from non-members) according to the provisions of the Madras Compulsory Labour Act (India Act I of 1858). But this is rarely collected⁶. There were 9 irrigation societies in the district in 1954-1955, but only one of these was actually working⁷.

¹ Annual Administration Reports of the Deputy Registrars of Co-operative Societies of Cuddalore and Tirukkoyilur for 1954-1955.

² *The Madras Co-operative Manual*, Vol. I, 1952, pages 264-265.

³ Annual Administration Reports of the Deputy Registrars of Co-operative Societies of Cuddalore and Tirukkoyilur for 1954-1955.

⁴ *Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies* for 1950, page 110.

⁵ Annual Administration Reports of the Deputy Registrars of Co-operative Societies of Cuddalore and Tirukkoyilur for 1954-1955.

⁶ *The Madras Co-operative Manual*, 1952, Vol. I, pages 286-287.

⁷ *Report on the Working of the Co-operative Societies in the State of Madras* for 1950, page 50.

Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaaswami, 1947, page 381.

⁸ Annual Administration Reports of the Deputy Registrars of Co-operative Societies of Cuddalore and Tirukkoyilur for 1954-1955.

The agricultural improvement societies have for their object the propagation and supply of improved varieties of seeds, manure, implements, etc., and in some cases for finding a sale for the produce of the members. They encourage the members to carry on demonstration on their own lands¹. There was only one such society in the district in 1954-55 and that was not working well².

The rural housing societies are meant for enabling villagers to build durable houses with the help of Government loans. Loans up to Rs. 5,000 are granted strictly on business lines to solvent villagers with adequate repaying capacity. The houses built under this scheme originally were to have a minimum floor space of 340 square feet³, but this requirement has since been reduced to 240 square feet. There were 4 such societies in the district in 1954-1955, with 66 members and a share capital of Rs. 9,720⁴.

Coming to the non-agricultural non-credit societies, a wide variety of them is found in the district. There are here, the urban, semi-urban and rural co-operative stores, the consumers' stores, the students' stores, the co-operative canteens, the handloom weavers' societies and the cottage industries societies such as the mat weavers' societies, the metal workers' societies and the toy manufacturers' societies. There are also here, the house building societies, the labour contract societies and the ex-servicemen's societies.

The consumers' stores or the primary co-operative societies or the urban, semi-urban and rural co-operative stores, aim at eliminating the middlemen in trade by purchasing wholesale and distributing the consumers goods to their members at reasonable prices. Ordinarily they are expected to raise the funds required by them from their share capital, but they are not precluded from borrowing from central banks. They were started in this State as early as 1905, but with the single exception of the Triplicane Stores, all of them proved unsuccessful. They have, however, assumed not a little importance since the Second World War, since the procurement, the rationing and the control began. During the War they purchased and sold all kinds of goods and rationed articles like mill-cloth, kerosene and sugar, not only to the members but also to the general public. Since the conclusion of the War and the abolition of controls, their activities have naturally become restricted; but still they are occupying an important place and selling goods not only to the members and the public but also to the hospitals, jails,

¹ *The Madras Co-operative Manual*, Volume I, 1952, pages 275-276.

² *Annual Administration Reports of the Deputy Registrars of Co-operative Societies of Cuddalore and Tirukkoyilur for 1954-1955*.

³ G.O. No. 830, Development, dated 23rd February 1951, pages 61-62.

⁴ *Annual Administration Reports of the Deputy Registrars of Co-operative Societies of Cuddalore and Tirukkoyilur for 1954-1955*.

devasthanams, hostels, etc.¹. In 1954-55 there were, in the district, 40 stores with a membership of 12,339 and a share capital of Rs. 1,35,356. They sold goods to the value of Rs. 14,65,812. As to the students' co-operative stores there were 20 of them in the district with a membership of 1,041 and a share capital of Rs. 2,227; and they supplied books and stationery to the value of Rs. 35,552. And as to the co-operative canteen there was only one in Nellikuppam, attached to the East India Distilleries and Sugar Factories; it had 246 members and a share capital of Rs. 1,555 and its sales amounted to Rs. 54,852².

In order to assist the primary stores in obtaining their supplies at economical prices, a wholesale co-operative stores has been organized at Cuddalore for catering to the needs of the whole district. Its membership includes not only the primary stores but also individuals. It makes bulk purchases from supply or production centres at the proper time and functions as a central distributing agency for its affiliated primary stores. The latter, however, are at liberty to make their purchases from other sources, whenever it is advantageous for them to do so. The central stores obtains special allotment of coffee seeds from the Coffee Marketing Board and acts as the sole agent of Government for stocking ammonium sulphate. It also exports chillies on special permits to Ceylon. In 1954-1955 it had 1,099 members and a share capital of Rs. 1,53,750; and it purchased goods worth Rs. 12,02,000 and sold goods worth Rs. 16,07,000³.

The most important organizations of the cottage industries type are the weavers' co-operative societies formed principally for providing raw materials like yarn or small cash advances, to weavers and for finding markets for their finished goods. These societies started in the earlier days were not very successful owing to the vested interests of the master weavers and other intermediaries, to the indebtedness among the weavers and to the difficulties experienced in finding a sale for their finished goods. Their chief difficulty lay, of course, in marketing, since they had to compete with cheaper mill-made cloth of all sorts. In 1935, however, they received an impetus under the Government of India subvention scheme 'which made it possible to organize a central co-operative society for the State, called the Madras State Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Society. This State society, to which all primary weavers' societies are affiliated, purchases and distributes raw materials and appliances required by the societies, arranges for marketing their finished goods and gives them financial as well as technical assistance when required. The weavers' societies received a temporary

¹ *The Madras Co-operative Manual* 1952, Vol. I, pages 329-372.

See also *the Reports on the Working of the Co-operative Societies*, for 1950, 1951 and 1952.

² Annual Administration Reports of the Deputy Registrars of Co-operative Societies of Cuddalore and Tiruġkovilur for 1953-1954.

³ *Idem* for 1954-1955.

⁴ *G.O.* No. 358, Development, dated 8th March 1935.

fillip during the Second World War period when there was scarcity of cloth, but very soon, owing to the scarcity of yarn and loss of export markets, they suffered a setback. The societies raise funds by borrowing from the central banks, purchase yarn from the State Co-operative Society and distribute it to the weaver-members specifying the varieties of cloths to be produced and receive the finished goods. The cloth is mostly sold by the societies locally, but such of it as cannot be sold by them is marketed through the State Society, through its numerous emporiums and sales depots not only in this State but also outside the State. The State Society maintains also one printing factory, some dyeing factories and one co-operative spinning mill.

In order to relieve the distress caused among the weavers by the slump in the handloom industry, the Government sanctioned in July 1952 a scheme of relief to weavers through the co-operative societies. Under this scheme, the weavers in co-operative societies were assured of a subsistence wage (maximum of 6 annas per knot) and continuous employment, and relieved of the burden of marketing their cloth as far as possible. The weavers outside the co-operative fold were at the same time given advances of Rs. 25 per head so as to enable them to join the co-operative societies. The losses incurred under this scheme were met by the Government. This scheme was in force till 1st February 1954 when it was replaced by what is called the Cess Fund Scheme. This new scheme arose out of a cess levied by the Government of India at the rate of 3 pies per yard of cloth produced by the mills, for resuscitating the handloom industry. The proceeds of the cess were allotted to the various States to finance the schemes relating to all aspects of the handloom industry such as the granting of interest-free loans to weavers to enable them to join co-operative societies, the provision of working capital to the societies, the appointment of staff for their supervision, the opening of rural and regional depots, the running of mobile shops, the conversion of throw shuttle looms into fly shuttle looms, the provision of standard reeds, the establishment of dyeing, warping and pattern-making factories, the improvement of designs, and the subsidies to consumers on purchases of handloom cloth. Nor is this all. The Government have restricted the production of dhotis by mills to 60 per cent of what they were producing in 1951-52. All this has considerably helped the handloom industry in this State ¹. In 1954-55 there were in the district 59 weavers' societies with a membership of 9,127 and a share capital of Rs. 3,55,802; and they produced goods to the value of Rs. 20,38,611, and sold goods to the value of Rs. 18,89,518 ².

¹ *Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies in Madras for 1952*, pages 75-76.

Idem for 1953, pages 80-83.

Idem for 1954, pages 78-79, 83-87.

² *Annual Administration Reports of the Deputy Registrars of Co-operative Societies of Cuddalore and Tirukkoyilur for 1954-55*.

The other co-operative cottage industries societies, though still in their infancy, hold out much scope for rural reconstruction. But co-operation in their case is greatly handicapped for want of finance. The central banks are very chary of giving loans to these societies composed generally of poor and illiterate workmen with no tangible assets¹. Realising, however, the importance of encouraging these cottage industries societies, the Adviser Government in 1945 drew up a Five-Year Plan for their development². The National Government, after much consideration, replaced this plan by One-Year Plan in 1949 and placed a lump-sum grant at the disposal of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies for subsidizing deserving cottage industries by giving grants for the purchase of tools and equipment and for meeting part of the establishment and contingent charges. Since then under the new Five-Year Plan, a lump-sum grant has been, year after year, placed at the disposal of the Registrar for subsidising the industries. The Government have also constituted a Cottage Industries Board consisting of officials and non-officials to devise ways and means for the intensive development of the cottage industries. This Board aims at reviving and developing the cottage industries in such a manner as to make full use of all the manpower, all the traditional artistic skill and workmanship and all the raw materials available in the rural areas. It also aims at achieving the economic self-sufficiency of the villages, at raising the standard of living of the villagers, and at establishing, where possible, mechanised cottage industries based on modern technique³. A great deal, however, yet remains to be done. In South Arcot, in 1954-1955, there were only 7 cottage industries societies formed for purposes like mat weaving, metal working and toy making. The total membership of all these societies was only 555 and their total share capital only Rs. 10,246⁴.

The house building societies finance their members for the construction of dwelling houses. They acquire where necessary land selected by the housing committees, divide the land among the members and construct houses for them as their agents with the help of loans taken from the Government. There were 5 such societies in the district in 1954-1955. They had 576 members with a share capital of Rs. 3,52,418; and they built 165 houses. The main object of labour contract societies is to obtain contracts for the execution of public or private works and to get them executed through members by paying them reasonable wages. There was

¹ *The Madras Co-operative Manual, 1952, Volume I, pages 310-328.*

² *Post-War Reconstruction and Development; Schemes of Government of Madras, 1945, pages 53-54.*

³ *Report on the Working of the Co-operative Societies for 1950, page 96.*

Idem for 1951, pages 74-75.

Idem for 1952, pages 79-80.

⁴ *Annual Administration Reports of the Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies of Cuddalore and Tirukkoyilur for 1954-1955.*

only one such society in the district in 1954-55, and even that was not working properly¹. The ex-servicemen's motor transport societies are intended to resettle ex-service personnel in civil life; and they are financed by the Post-War Services Reconstruction Fund Committee. There was only one such society in the district in 1954-55².

The district has been, for administrative purposes, divided into two circles since 1951, namely, the Cuddalore (Gudalur) Circle and the Tirukkoyilur Circle³. Each of these circles is under a Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies and the two Deputy Registrars are assisted by a number of subordinates. In 1954-55 they had under them 7 Sub-Registrars, 34 Senior Inspectors, 38 Junior Inspectors, 1 Dairy Assistant and 2 Palm-Gur Instructors. In the same year there were also 8 Supervising Unions in the district with a number of supervisors employed by the central banks for the supervision of societies affiliated to them⁴. The chief function of the Deputy Registrars is that of organizing new societies and auditing and guiding the existing societies and banks. It is needless to state that they are placed under the control of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies who is the head of the department. The Registrar is assisted in his work by three Joint Registrars and several Deputy Registrars on Special Duty and other technical officers.



¹ *The Madras Co-operative Manual*, 1952, Vol. I, pages 403-435.

Pamphlet on Co-operation in Madras State, 1954, pages 21-22.

Annual Administration Reports of Deputy Registrars of Co-operative Societies of Cuddalore and Tirukkoyilur for 1954-55.

² *Idem*.

³ *Report on the Working of the Co-operative Societies for 1951.*

⁴ *Annual Administration Reports of Deputy Registrars of Co-operative Societies of Cuddalore and Tirukkoyilur for 1954-55.*

CHAPTER X.

WELFARE SCHEMES.

Welfare Schemes are the very breath of life of modern States. And of the various welfare schemes introduced in this State none is better calculated to produce an all round improvement in rural areas than what is called the Community Development Programme which has come in the wake of what was called the Firka Development Scheme or the Rural Welfare Scheme.

The idea of reviving the corporate life of the villages which had become almost extinct under foreign rule and of making them self-sufficient in the matter of food, clothing and other necessities and, at the same time, of inducing the villagers to take an active and intelligent interest in all affairs affecting their welfare, is to be traced to Gandhiji. In formulating a constructive programme for the villages he said: "My idea of village swaraj is that it is a complete republic, independent of its own vital wants and yet interdependent for many others in which dependence is a necessity. Thus every village's first concern will be to grow its own food crops and cotton for its cloth. It should have a reserve for its cattle, recreation and playground for adults and children. Then, if more land is available, it will grow useful money crops, thus excluding ganja, tobacco, opium and the like. The village will maintain a village theatre, school and public hall. It will have its own water-works ensuring clean water-supply. Education will be compulsory up to the final basic course. As far as possible every activity will be conducted on the co-operative basis." And considering that more than eighty per cent of the people in India live in villages, he remarked that "if the village perishes, India will perish too" and with her will perish "her own mission in the world".¹ Imbued with his ideas, the National Government, as soon as they came to power in 1946, took up his programme in right earnest and formulated the Firka Development Scheme or the Rural Welfare Scheme.² This scheme envisaged many reforms for the regeneration of the villages. It envisaged the construction of roads, the improvement of water-supply, sanitation and health, the development of agriculture, livestock and cottage industries, the introduction of electricity, the encouragement of khadi, the provision of basic education, the formation of co-operative societies and the reorganization of the panchayats. As, however, it could not be implemented

¹ G.O. No. 65, Rural Welfare, dated 1st August 1950, page 7.

² *Community Development in Madras State*, issued by the Director of Information and Publicity, 1955.

³ G.O. No. 575, Food, dated 10th September 1946.

G.O. No. 4891, Development, dated 14th December 1946.

in all villages at once, the Government selected for its implementation, in the first instance, 34 firkas in the various districts, where some pioneer work had already been done by non-official agencies, where the villagers manifested enthusiasm or where the general backwardness of the village called for urgent attention¹. In the South Arcot district they selected first the Kadambuliur firka and the Chinnasalem centre and later on extended the scheme to the Vadakanandal and the Tirunavallur firkas and the Kurinjipadi firka².

The Collector of each district was placed in direct charge of the scheme in the selected firkas in his district and under him were appointed for each firka, a Firka Development Officer of the rank of a Deputy Tahsildar and a few Grama Sevaks of the rank of Revenue Inspectors, each in charge of a group of five or six villages. In order to co-ordinate the work in the various firkas and to attend to the technical aspects of the scheme, a Provincial Firka Development Officer, later called the Director of Rural Welfare, of the status of a Head of a Department, was also appointed, with two Regional Firka Development Officers to assist him. And, as the essence of the scheme consisted in enlisting the co-operation of the villagers, committees consisting of officials and non-officials were constituted in each firka to implement the schemes drawn up. The drawing up of the schemes was entrusted to a State Firka Development Board formed at Madras consisting of the Heads of Departments and influential constructive workers, and this Board was assisted by a Standing Advisory Sub-Committee. Publicity and propaganda work was, at the same time, entrusted to a Central Publicity Committee set up at Madras³.

From the very inception of the scheme the problem of finding suitable persons to work it successfully engaged the attention of the Government. For generations the villagers had lost their initiative and had become accustomed to look to the Government for even small things which they could easily and quickly do by themselves with a little co-operation. It was no easy task to change this mentality and to make them conscious of their duties and responsibilities as citizens of the State. It demanded a great deal of patience and tact and, what is more, an ability to win the confidence of the villagers. A number of persons who had already taken part in public affairs were therefore selected as Firka Development Officers and Grama Sevaks and given special training in the principles and practice of rural reconstruction⁴.

The Rural Welfare Scheme was in 1953 merged with the Community Development Programme. Before, however, describing this programme, we may summarise the results achieved by the Rural Welfare Scheme.

¹ G.O. No. 65, Rural Welfare, dated 1st August 1950, page 8.

² *Administration Reports of the Firka Development or Rural Welfare Department for 1949, 1950 and 1951.*

³ G.O. No. 548, Firka Development, dated 19th June 1950, pages 8-11.

⁴ *Idem*, pages 12-12a.

One of the important measures that was initiated under the Rural Welfare Scheme was the construction of roads for linking up the villages to the main roads leading to the towns. This provided not only better facilities for communication but also greater facilities for trade. By 1952-53, in the five firkas in South Arcot, 82 miles of new road were laid, some existing roads and cart-tracks were improved and 24 culverts, road dams and foot bridges were constructed¹.

Public health being the very foundation upon which all other activities depend, particular attention was paid to the improvement of sanitation and water-supply and the provision of medical aid. Clean drinking water is not generally available in the villages, nor are proper drains and latrines to be found in them. The digging of drinking water wells and the construction of sanitary latrines and drains were therefore given priority. A sanitation squad was formed in each village under the guidance of the Grama Sevaks for giving necessary advice to the villagers, for supplying cheap disinfectants, for providing sanitary latrines, dust bins, soak pits and drainage. Maternity and Child-Welfare Centres and dispensaries were also opened. By 1952-53 in the five firkas 64 new wells were sunk, 56 old wells were repaired, and 32 latrines of the Wardha type, 821 latrines of other types and 4 septic tanks were constructed. Besides this 1,052 insanitary pits were filled up, 2,288 manure heaps were removed outside the dwelling places, 20 soak pits were dug, 6 public bath rooms were erected and 3,712 feet of drainage were constructed. In addition, 18 first-aid centres, 4 leprosy clinics, 6 dispensaries and 8 maternity centres were opened².

In order to make the villages self-sufficient in the matter of food, much attention was paid to agriculture and irrigation. Attempts were made to increase the productivity of lands by the supply of better seeds and manure, by the protection of crops against pests and diseases and by the use of better implements and better cattle. Agricultural implements were distributed at half the cost price to the poor cultivators and the importance of preparing and using compost manure was emphasised through the Grama Sevaks. Several Grow More Food concessions, such as the hiring out of pump-sets, the distribution of improved seeds of paddy and chemical manures at cheap rates, the supply of iron materials like cart tyres and grants of interest free loans for the purchase of seed and manure, were also extended to the cultivators. Nor was this all. Encouragement was given to the cultivation of subsidiary food crops like sweet potato, tapioca and vegetables. Model agricultural farms were started in some places, while in others, demonstration

¹ *Administration Reports of the Rural Welfare Departments for the years 1949 to 1953.*

² *Idem.*

plots were laid out in private fields. Efforts were made to bring under cultivation as much waste land as possible. Special steps were taken to improve the minor irrigation works and the investigation of some major schemes was also undertaken. The South Arcot firkas naturally received the benefits of all these concessions and facilities granted by the Government. In the five firkas by 1952-1953, 5,846 manure and compost pits were dug, 6,577 tons of compost were made, 2 agricultural farms and 174 agricultural demonstration plots were started, 5 stud bulls and 10 rams were supplied to the ryots, 2 poultry farms were opened, poultry breeding was encouraged in several places and 1,500 acres of waste lands were brought under cultivation. As to irrigation, 142 irrigation works of all kinds were repaired ¹.

In regard to industries, in 1946, an elaborate scheme was drawn up for the development of cottage industries in the selected firkas. The main features of this scheme were the establishment of demonstration-cum-training units, the reorganisation of industrial and commercial museums and the provision of financial aid to cottage industries. Under this scheme 40 training units were established in the various firkas. It was, however, soon found that the training of artisans was not so important as the production of utility articles of improved quality and accordingly a revised scheme was drawn up in 1948 by which demonstration and training units were to be transferred to non-official agencies like co-operative societies and the Government were only to assist them in procuring raw materials, in obtaining technical advice and assistance and in marketing the products. The units were to be confined to 25 firkas and to six basic trades, namely, wood-work, blacksmithy, light metal casting, sheet metal work, tanning and leather goods manufacture. But, as private agencies failed to come forward to take up the demonstration-cum-training units, 13 out of the 40 units were by 1950 converted into production-cum-training centres in the six basic trades as well as in bamboo and rattan work. As a complement to the scheme two model centres of village industries were opened, one of these in the present Andhra State and the other at the Tamilnad Grama Sevak Vidyalayam, Kallupatti. The centres were placed in charge of officers who had undergone a year's training at Maganwadi, the headquarters of the All-India Village Industries Association in Wardha. By 1951 they were able to give training to selected village artisans in Oil-pressing, Bee-keeping, Paper-making and Maganchula-making. ²

¹ *Administration Reports of the Rural Welfare Department for 1949, 1950 and 1951.*

² *Rural Welfare in Madras, 1952, pages 27-29.*

Administration Reports of the Rural Welfare Department for 1949, 1950 and 1951.

G.O. No. 4551, Development, dated 14th December 1949.

Electrification of the firkas was given priority with a view to providing power for agricultural, for industrial, as well as for domestic purposes. Even where electrification schemes were not remunerative according to the departmental standards, they were pushed through with the help of subsidies from the Government and, in this manner, eight villages of the Kadambuliur firka were provided with electricity, and 40 wells were given electric connection by 1953.¹

In order to attain self-sufficiency in cloth, the Government formulated in 1946 an intensive Khadi Scheme and in 1949 an extensive Khadi Scheme. Under the intensive Khadi Scheme which was introduced in a few centres (eight centres till 1952-1953) it was aimed to provide at least one charka for each family by the supply at cost price of charkas and carding and slivering equipments. In the case of the poor, payment in instalments was permitted. The spinners were encouraged to grow their own cotton and to gin, card and sliver it themselves but, where they could not grow cotton, it was supplied to them by the authorities. A subsidy was also given to the spinners to make use of the cloth spun out of their yarn. Under the extensive Khadi Scheme which was introduced into many firkas, it was aimed to supply at concessional rates, where necessary, 1,000 charkas a year in each of the firkas. Arrangements were also made under this scheme for supplying cotton and ginning and carding equipments and for giving subsidies to spinners who used cloth produced by their own yarn. The idea was that the extensive Khadi Scheme should pave the way gradually for the intensive Khadi Scheme and the entire Khadi Scheme was intended to provide an ideal subsidiary occupation to the agriculturists in the off-season. Having been included in the list of the Post-War Development Schemes, it became eligible for financial assistance from the Government of India, and for the first three years it received such financial assistance to the extent of Rs. 11.85 lakhs. The All-India Spinners' Association guided the activities of the scheme till 1950, but when it withdrew its men, the Government appointed their own staff. In order to encourage Khadi, the Government ordered that it should be used for all State purposes and that all officers, except those in the Police Department of the Government who have been enjoined to use uniforms, should wear Khadi uniforms². So far as South Arcot was concerned, the intensive Khadi Scheme was introduced in the Chinnasalem centre in 1947 and the extensive Khadi Scheme was introduced in the Kadambuliur firka in 1949³.

¹ *Administration Reports of the Rural Welfare Department for 1949 to 1953.*

² G.O. No. 135, Firka Development, dated 15th March 1948.

G.O. No. 965, Firka Development, dated 22nd October 1949.

³ *Administration Reports of the Firka Development Department, for 1949 to 1953.*

In the sphere of education, the old type of education which lays emphasis on learning from books was replaced by the new type of education, called the basic education, which lays emphasis on learning by doing. The old types of schools that existed were, wherever possible, converted into basic schools and new basic schools were also opened. Night schools for the benefit of adults and libraries, reading rooms, cinemas and radio sets for the benefit of all were provided. The object was nothing less than the supply liquidation of illiteracy and the quick dissemination of general knowledge. By 1952-1953 in the five South Arcot firkas, 49 elementary schools, 6 basic education schools, 66 night schools, 115 adult schools, 8 reading rooms, 1 central library and 48 branch libraries were opened. Besides this, 73 school buildings were newly built and 23 radio sets were installed.¹

Co-operative societies were formed in many firkas coming under the scheme. In 1951 there were, in the four firkas of South Arcot, 1 town bank, 78 rural credit societies, 7 co-operative stores, 1 weavers' society, 3 milk supply societies, 4 jaggery manufacturing societies, 1 cottage industries federation, 1 cashew marketing society, 1 irrigation society, 1 agricultural development society, 1 agricultural and industrial society, 1 public servants' society and 1 wage earners' society.²

In some other miscellaneous directions too the villagers of the several firkas showed considerable interest. By 1953, they organized 255 grama sevak sanghams, planted 138,467 trees, introduced 849 charkas, cleaned 214 streets and held some spinning classes for women.³

Such were the results achieved by the Rural Welfare Scheme in the district. As has already been stated, this scheme was merged with the Community Development Programme. This programme which is subsidized by American aid was ushered in by the Indian Planning Commission in 1952, and today it covers wide areas in the various parts of India. Its aim is the same as the aim of the Rural Welfare Scheme, namely, that of securing an all-round rural development. But it seeks to achieve this aim in a more intensive as well as a more comprehensive manner. Under it there are Community Projects located in favourable areas of assured rainfall or irrigation facilities, there are Community Development Blocks located in select areas and there are also National Extension Service Blocks located in less developed areas. In the Community Project areas and the Community Development Blocks a higher standard of development than that of the National Extension Service Blocks

¹ *Administration Report of the Firka Development Department for 1949 to 1953.*

² *Administration Reports of the Rural Welfare Department for 1951 pages 16-18.*

³ *Administration Reports of the Rural Welfare Department from 1949 to 1953.*

has been planned; but in all the three areas, the people have been enthused to act as a body or a community, and to do all that they can, to contribute to their own welfare. They are to contribute funds as well as labour, and, through joint effort, backed by Government aid, financial as well as technical, provide themselves with various amenities. This programme is to be progressively expanded until it covers the entire State by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan. New National Extension Service Blocks are to be opened every year, and a certain number of the old National Extension Service Blocks are to be taken up annually for intensive development as Community Development Blocks.

The programme was launched in 1952 in four Community Projects in this State, namely, the Lower Bhavani Project comprising certain portions of the Coimbatore and Tiruchirappalli districts, the Periyar Project comprising certain parts of the Madurai district, the Malampuzha Project covering the Palghat taluk and the South Kanara Project covering certain portions of the South Kanara district. In none of these areas was any part of the South Arcot district included. But, in October 1953, South Arcot came to share the benefits of the programme. In that year, 28 National Extension Service Blocks and four Community Development Blocks were constituted in this State. The National Extension Service Blocks were made to cover all the firkas included in the Rural Welfare Scheme and South Arcot now came to have three National Extension Service Blocks, the Panguti, the Kurinjipadi and the Chinnasalem Blocks. It also came to have at the same time, one Community Development Block, namely, the Chidambaram Block. As it is proposed to stop with the year 1953, the progress made under the programme which had just then been started, cannot be dealt with here. It may however be stated that the programme embraces a number of activities connected with the development of agriculture, irrigation, animal husbandry, sanitation, drinking water-supply, education, including social education and communications. It is administered at the State level by a State Committee of Ministers at the district level, by the Collector of the district who acts as the Development Commissioner, an Additional Development Commissioner, a Joint Development Commissioner, a Deputy Development Commissioner and three Assistant Development Commissioners, and assisted by the Chief Secretary to the Government who acts as the District Development Commissioner, the Revenue Divisional Officer and a number of Project Executive Officers, Block Development Officers and Grama Sevaks. The heads of departments and the district officers under them are expected to co-operate fully with the Government and the Collectors. Advisory Committees consisting of Officials and non-officials have also been set up both at the State level and at the district level to make the programme a success ¹.

¹ This account is based on the literature supplied by the Development Commissioner.

While the Community Development Programme has for its primary object the improvement of the economic condition of the people in the villages, prohibition has for its primary object the amelioration of not only the economic but also the moral condition of the people, not only in the villages, but also in the towns. Temperance reform, the forerunner of prohibition, was hailed as a blessing by all thinking persons in India from the very dawn of political consciousness. The Indian National Congress had it at heart from the very beginning. As early as 1889 the Congress welcomed the endeavours made by the British temperance leaders to reduce drunkenness in India and in 1900 it appealed to the Government "to pass measures like the Maine Liquor Law of America and Sir Witham Wilfrid Lawson's Permissive Bill or the Local Option Act and impose an additional tax upon intoxicants not intended to be used as medicine".¹ From that time onwards the temperance movement gathered momentum under the impulsion of the national leaders. But it became a formidable force in South Arcot and elsewhere only from the time of the Non-Co-operation and the Khilafat movements. In South Arcot, as we have seen, picketing of liquor shops and auction sales of toddy licences assumed serious proportions in 1921. All this led to considerable loss of revenue to the Government.² In 1921-22, for instance, the excise revenue in the State fell from Rs. 546.46 lakhs to Rs. 486.23 lakhs, thus resulting in a loss of no less than Rs. 60.23 lakhs.³

The agitation entered the legislature itself, where the Government were again and again urged to pass laws for the gradual introduction of prohibition. Between 1921 and 1927 one Temperance Bill and two Local Option Bills were brought forward with a view to introducing prohibition in all areas where the majority of the people were in favour of it. These attempts, however, failed chiefly because the Government were not prepared to forego the excise revenue before finding alternate sources of revenue, and also because the Government held that Madras had already gone far ahead of the other Provinces in the field of temperance by placing as many restrictions as possible in the way of getting drunk by reducing the spirit content of liquor and by eliminating road-side liquor shops, etc.⁴ But the agitation outside the legislature still went on. In the 1930-31 Civil Dis-

¹ *The History of the Congress* by B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, 1935, page 83.

² See page 102 of Chapter IV.

³ *Excise and Temperance in Madras* by D. N. Strathie, 1922, page 60.
G.O. No. 1103, Revenue, dated 21st July 1923.

⁴ G.O. No. 2040, Revenue, dated 15th November 1922.
G.O. No. 1103, Revenue, dated 21st July 1923.
G.O. No. 521, Revenue, dated 9th March 1927.
G.O. No. 587, Revenue, dated 26th March 1927.
G.O. No. 1457, Revenue, dated 28th July 1927.
G.O. No. 1029, Revenue, dated 16th May 1928.

obedience Movement, large-scale picketing of toddy shops was launched by the Congress in South Arcot as in other districts. The cause of prohibition was also at this time not a little strengthened by the issue of two important pamphlets by Sri C. Rajagopalachari, entitled the Indian Prohibition Manual in English and Ur Kattu Padu in Tamil. The former dealt with all aspects of drink and its evils and stressed the need for prohibition, while the latter pointed out that the most effective way to achieve prohibition was by forming caste compacts in the villages for ostracising all those who indulged in drinking¹.

The British Government were throughout sceptical of the sincerity of the Congress. They thought that the whole campaign was designed to cripple their revenue and to make political capital out of the financial distress of the State. They even thought that it was a grand stunt skilfully engineered for discrediting them, for encouraging lawlessness and for holding out the hope of millennium to the masses under the Congress regime.² But in this they were completely mistaken. The moment Sri C. Rajagopalachari formed the first Congress Ministry in 1937, he took up prohibition with ardour and introduced it boldly by a Special Act (Madras Act X of 1937) first in the Salem district³ and then in the Cuddapah, Chittoor and North Arcot districts. Other districts would have also soon come under prohibition but for the resignation of his Ministry in 1939. There is evidence to show that the measure proved a success in all the four districts. It was reported that it was "a real boon to that large class of the population who lived on the border-line of want," that it had improved their standard of living and put an end to drunken brawls and domestic quarrels, that their women, one and all, had welcomed it, and that it had on the whole led to better home life, better outlook on life and better building up of character.⁴ But, as soon as the ministry resigned, popular enthusiasm for prohibition began to wane, illicit distillation began to increase and the Adviser Government suspended the Prohibition Act in all the four districts. In 1944 the toddy shops were opened and in

¹ G.O. No. 126, Public (General) (Confidential), dated 21st January 1932.

² G.O. No. 1103, Revenue, dated 21st July 1923.

Excise and Temperance in Madras by D.N. Strathie, 1922, pages 18-23 59-62.

³ G.O. No. 197, Legal, dated 1st October 1937.

Report on the Administration of the Excise Revenue for 1937-1938, pages 18-23.

Idem for 1938-1939, page 19.

Idem for 1939-1940, page 19.

⁴ *Report on the Administration of Excise Revenue for 1937-1938*, pages 21-22

Idem for 1938-1939, page 23.

Idem for 1939-1940, page 23.

1945 the arrack shops were also opened.¹ This was, however, a passing phase. When the National Government came to power in 1946 they introduced prohibition again not only in the four districts but also in all other districts, so that by 1948, the whole State went dry.²

In South Arcot prohibition was introduced from 2nd October 1948 by extending the Prohibition Act of 1937 to that district.³ All dealings in liquor and intoxicating drugs were prohibited, except for medicinal, scientific, industrial or such like purposes. Permits for possession and consumption of liquor were issued only in exceptional cases. They were issued to a few persons who were accustomed to take foreign liquor, to non-proprietary clubs for sale to such of their members as held permits and to the church authorities for sacramental wine. Licences were also prescribed for the possession and sale of denatured spirits and rectified spirits, for the possession and sale, on prescription, of brandy and medicated wines by chemists, for the possession of brandy in hospitals for medicinal purposes and for the tapping of trees for sweet toddy for making jaggery. Opium was issued on permits to opium addicts, but no permits were issued for ganja and bhang. On the recommendation of the Madras Prohibition Enquiry Committee, the quantity of opium issued to addicts was directed to be reduced annually from 1st October 1949 by 20 per cent and the issue was ordered to be completely stopped after a period of five years. The enforcement of prohibition was entrusted to the Excise department.⁴

A series of measures were, at the same time, taken in the district to provide counter-attractions to drink and employment to ex-toddy tappers. A special staff was appointed under the Collector consisting of a Special Development Officer, an Assistant Development Officer and a Ballad Singer in every Revenue Division, and a Rural Welfare Officer and a Village Guide in every taluk, to organise ameliorative work. A number of tea shops and refreshment stalls were opened, first by the Government and later by private persons. The Indian Tea Market Expansion Board, through their mobile canteens, distributed tea and light refreshments at concessional rates throughout the district. Taluk and Village Committees and a District Advisory Council were constituted to help the enforcement machinery in the detection of

¹ *Madras in 1942*, page 46.
Madras in 1943, page 56.
Madras in 1944, page 33.
Madras in 1945, page 17.

² *Madras in 1946*, page 12.
Madras in 1947, page 17.
Madras in 1948, page 22.

³ *Madras in 1948*, pages 22-23.

⁴ *Excise Revenue Administration Report for 1937-1938*, pages 18-19.
Idem for 1949-1950, page 1.

offences. Grama Sanghams were formed to undertake various kinds of rural uplift work. All kinds of games, tournaments, ballad singing parties, bhajanās, kathaprasangams, cinema shows, dramatic performances, public readings of the Ramayana and the Mahabharatha as well as rural uplift schools and thrift schemes were organized on a wide scale. The unemployment of ex-toddy tappers in this district did not assume any serious proportions; they were gradually by 1951 absorbed without difficulty, either in agriculture or in trade, or in the newly formed milk supply societies, jaggery manufacturing societies, etc.¹

As may be expected, the proximity of the French establishment of Pondicherry (Puducherry) gave a good deal of trouble to the enforcement staff. The French Government refused to co-operate with the Madras authorities, withdrew prohibition in the three border communes of Pondicherry (Puducherry) and thereby encouraged illicit distillation and illicit tapping on a large scale in those areas, while the ex-addicts of South Arcot made it a habit to resort to those areas to satisfy their cravings for drink. Nor was this all. Smuggling of illicitly distilled liquor and foreign liquors 359 cases of smuggling were detected in 1949-50, 460 in 1950-51, 372 in 1951-52 and 342 in 1952-53, the year with which we propose to close this section of the chapter. Illicit distillation of arrack also became a menace in the district. Four hundred and fifty cases of illicit distillation were detected in 1949-50, 499 in 1950-51, 1,374 in 1951-52 and 1,650 in 1952-53. The total prohibition offences too showed an increase in the district. They numbered 2,740 in 1949-50, 2,798 in 1950-51, 4,976 in 1951-52 and 4,971 in 1952-53. These are undoubtedly blots which remain to be removed. But, all the same, according to all accounts, prohibition in the district has effected not a little general improvement in the moral and material condition of the people. It has been said that it has chased away drunken brawls and affrays, brought cheer to the homes of many and diverted the money sunk on drink to more useful forms of expenditure. It has also been said that it has been generally well received by the people and specially by the women.²

Harijan Welfare, another important social reform, had its origin in the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Sri Dadabhai Navroji in the Imperial Legislative Council on 16th March 1916. It has since 1920 formed an important plank in the Congress programme. Of all the reforms urged by the Congress, none was more dear to Gandhiji than the removal of the social, economic and religious inequalities of the Harijans. He called the

¹ *Madras Information* 15th July 1948, pages 14-21.

See, e.g., G.O. No. 1065, Development, dated 14th March 1952.

² *See the monthly reports on the working of Prohibition Act Recorded in the Government Orders of 1950 to 1952.*

Also the pamphlet on 'Sample Surveys of the working of Prohibition in South Arcot' published by the Annamalai University in 1949.

"Untouchables", the "Depressed Classes" or the "Scheduled Castes" as the Harijans, 'God's Children', a name which has since stuck to them everywhere. He made untiring efforts to remove untouchability, an evil which has been for centuries responsible for keeping down socially, morally as well as economically all the suffering millions of the Harijans. He believed with a conviction not to be shaken that "swaraj was a meaningless term" without the removal of the taint of untouchability. And, as every one knows, he undertook on behalf of the Harijans the epic fast of 1932 which for the first time impressed in a manner not to be forgotten, the importance of Harijan uplift. As soon as the Congress Ministries came to power, therefore, they introduced various measures for securing the welfare of the Harijans.

Not that the previous Government were unconcerned about the Harijans. In Madras, Mr. Paddison was appointed as a Labour Commissioner as early as 1920¹, as a result of the resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council of 1916 and, on his recommendations, several steps were taken to improve their condition. Steps were taken to relieve congestion in Harijan quarters by allotting to the Harijans house-sites either by assignment or by acquisition, the cost of acquisition being advanced by the Government as a loan to be recovered in instalments. Steps were also taken to provide them with sanitary amenities such as wells, pathways and burial and burning grounds. Steps were likewise taken to open schools for them and to award scholarships to them, in order to encourage their education. But notwithstanding all this, the Harijan uplift movement never assumed the same importance as it did under the Congress and National Governments.

The credit for passing legislation for the removal of the civil and social disabilities of the Harijans belongs to the first Congress Ministry presided over by Sri C. Rajagopalachari. During the period of this Ministry two Acts called the Removal of Civil Disabilities Act (Madras Act XI of 1938) and the Temple Entry Authorization and Indemnity Act (Madras Act XII of 1939) were passed. The first enactment removed several disabilities of the Harijans, their inability to have access to public streams, rivers, wells, tanks, pathways, sanitary conveniences and means of transport, as also their disability to be appointed to public offices.² The second enactment indemnified and protected the officers of the Government, trustees, etc., of the Sri Meenakshi Sundareswarar temple in Madurai as well as six other temples, including the Sri Brahadeswarar temple in Tanjore, against legal action for having permitted the Harijans to enter those temples and offer worship and, at the same time, permitted the trustees of other temples

¹ G.O. No. 748, Revenue, dated 29th March 1919.

G.O. No. 271, Revenue, dated 2nd February 1920.

² G.O. Nos. 227-229, Legal, dated 21st October 1937.

G.O. No. 43, Legal, dated 3rd February 1939.

also to throw open the temples to the Harijans, provided the worshippers were not opposed to the measure.¹

The two Acts mentioned above were further modified and amplified by three more Acts passed by the National Government in 1947 and 1949 (Madras Act XI of 1947, Madras Act V of 1947 and Madras Act XIII of 1949). The first of these Acts prohibited all discrimination against the Harijans in secular institutions like refreshment rooms, hotels, boarding and lodging houses, laundries hair dressing saloons, etc., and forbade all dealers from refusing to sell the Harijans any goods kept for sale.² The second Act which repealed the earlier Act of 1938 conferred on the Harijans the right of entering any temple which is open to the general Hindu public and of offering worship in the same manner and to the same extent as other classes of the Hindus.³ And the third Act enabled the Harijans even to enter and offer worship in temples meant for special communities.⁴ The Constitution of India, which was soon afterwards passed, gave even greater facilities to the Harijans. It declared that the educational and economic interests of the Harijans (the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) should be promoted with special care and that the Harijans should be protected from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. It also reserved seats for the Harijans in the Legislature for a period of ten years, gave them special preference in the matter of appointments to services and provided for the appointment of a special officer to look after their welfare.⁵ It is needless to say that the Harijans of South Arcot enjoy all the benefits granted by these Acts and the Constitution.

Nor is this all. As soon as the National Government came to power in 1946, they set apart one crore of rupees as a special fund for ameliorative work among the Harijans (in addition to the expenditure incurred from general revenues) and appointed a State Harijan Welfare Committee for formulating a Five-Year Plan and acting as a standing advisory committee on all questions connected with Harijan Welfare work.⁶ Since then, a separate department, called the Harijan Welfare Department, under a Director of Harijan Welfare, has been organized.⁷ The Collectors of the districts are primarily responsible for the work of the department in the districts and they are assisted by the District Harijan Welfare Officers. The Director of Harijan Welfare,

¹ G.O. No. 224, Legal, dated 11th July 1939.

G.O. No. 293, Legal, dated 11th September 1939.

² G.O. No. 2896, Development, dated 4th July 1947.

³ G.O. No. 53, Legal, dated 13th May 1947.

⁴ G.O. No. 664, Firka Development, dated 20th July 1949.

⁵ *Harijan Welfare in Madras State*, 1951, pages 32-33.

⁶ *Harijan Welfare in Madras State*, 1951, pages 26-27.

G.O. No. 2628, Development, dated 16th June 1947.

G.O. No. 199, Finance, dated 25th March 1947.

⁷ *Harijan Welfare in Madras State*, 1951, pages 4, 28-29.

however, co-ordinates the activities of the Collectors and formulates and controls the implementation of the various measures for Harijan Welfare.¹

These measures, in the main, consist of the provision of house-sites, the grant of special educational facilities, the provision of water-supply and sanitary amenities and the assignment of lands for cultivation. The chief difficulty of the Harijans is that they do not generally own the houses or huts in which they live and, even where they own a hut, the land seldom belongs to them. They are thus liable to be evicted from their huts at any time by unscrupulous landlords. They have therefore been given house-sites on suitable vacant lands belonging to the Government and where no such lands are available, private lands have been acquired under the Land Acquisition Act and distributed to them. Formerly the cost of the sites was recovered from them, but from 1949 sites have been given free of cost to them, except in cases where they can afford to pay for them. Each family is assigned 3 cents in wet areas and 5 cents in dry areas exclusive of the land required for common places like streets, lanes and pathways. Where they have already built houses on Government poramboke lands, such lands, if unobjectionable, have been assigned to them and, if objectionable, alternate sites have been allotted to them. Thus, from the commencement of the Harijan Welfare operations in South Arcot down to 1952-53, 4,522 house-sites were assigned to the Harijans on Government lands and 3,668 house-sites were assigned to them on lands acquired from private persons.²

Education of the Harijans which had been more or less neglected has, in recent times, been fostered in various ways. The policy of the Government has been to get the Harijan pupils admitted into the existing schools and to open special schools for them only in exceptional cases. The authorities of the private schools were formerly compelled to take in the Harijan pupils on the threat of withdrawal of grants, but since the passing of the Civil Disabilities Act of 1947 the Harijan pupils have equal rights with other pupils for admission into all educational institutions. Ten per cent of the seats in all recognized Secondary and Training Schools and all Arts and Professional Colleges have also been reserved for them and a number of special schools too have been opened for them.³ In 1952-53 there were in South Arcot 177 schools for the Harijans and eligible communities in which were studying 9,240 boys and 4,510 girls. In these schools, in South Arcot as elsewhere, mid-day meals have been supplied free to children, and in 1952-53 in South Arcot, Rs. 3,54,229 were spent

¹ *Harijan Welfare in Madras State*, pages 29-30.

² *Administration Report of the Harijan Welfare Department for 1952-1953*, pages 47 and 54.

³ *Harijan Welfare in Madras State*, 1951, pages 7-9.

over these mid-day meals¹. As for fees, education in all elementary and secondary schools, whether special, public or private, has been imparted free to all the Harijan pupils irrespective of the income of their parents. In the case of high schools, however, the full concession fee has been allowed only where the income of the parents does not exceed Rs. 1,200 per annum; and in the case of colleges only if the annual income does not exceed Rupees 1,500. This is not all. Poverty certificates for fee concessions which were formerly required to be produced from Government officials are not now insisted upon. Many scholarships including residential scholarships have been offered to the Harijan students in elementary and secondary schools as well as in colleges.² In 1952-53 in South Arcot, 559 non-residential scholarships of the value of Rs. 10,322 and 77 residential scholarships of the value of Rs. 31,790 were given to the Harijan students.³ Full exemption from the payment of examination fees has also been granted to the Harijan students in the case of all Government examinations, and in the case of University Examinations, whenever half exemption is granted, the Government have made grants to the students to meet the other half. Several Government hostels for the Harijan students have likewise been provided and, where private hostels for such students exist, they have been subsidized by the Government.⁴ In 1952-53 in South Arcot there were eleven private hostels for the Harijans subsidized by the Government at a cost of Rs. 40,350. Of these, the Victory Memorial Scheduled Classes Hostel, Vriddhachalam, and the Gandli Poor Students Hostel, Kattumannarkoil received grants amounting to Rs. 11,850 and Rs. 6,900 respectively.⁵

In regard to the provision of water-supply and sanitation to the Harijans, the Collectors of the districts have been authorised to sanction a non-recurring expenditure up to a limit of Rs. 4,500 in each case for the construction of wells, tanks, pathways, latrines, levelling of house-sites, etc., and the Director of Harijan Welfare has been empowered to sanction a similar expenditure up to a limit of Rs. 7,500. Up to 1952-53 in the South Arcot district, 289 wells were constructed and 78 wells were repaired at a cost of Rs. 2,31,521.⁶

¹ *Administration Report of the Harijan Welfare Department for 1952-1953*, pages 72-74.

² *Harijan Welfare in Madras State, 1951*, pages 9-13.

³ *Administration Report of the Harijan Welfare Department for 1952-1953*, pages 9, 15.

⁴ *Harijan Welfare in Madras State, 1951*, pages 13-15.

⁵ *Administration Report of the Harijan Welfare Department for 1952-1953* page 26.

⁶ *Idem*, page 103.

A liberal policy has been pursued in the matter of assignment of lands to the Harijans for cultivation purposes. A fair proportion of waste lands in each village is reserved for them for free assignment. So also is reserved for them a good portion of the large blocks of lands such as unreserved forests, unassessed waste lands and porambokes whenever they are transferred to the head of assessed lands. Even in the case of valuable lands, like wet lands which are generally sold in public auction to the highest bidders, a concession has been shown to the Harijans. Such lands are sold to them privately at a fair market price and the price collected in easy instalments. Where necessary, large blocks of lands which are generally sold in public auction to the highest consisting mostly of the Harijans¹. In the South Arcot district, up to 1952-53, 3,373 acres were reserved for the Harijans and of these 66 acres were assigned to them.²

As to the special preference shown to the Harijans in the matter of appointments to public services, they are considered to possess general educational qualification even if they obtain a lesser number of marks than those prescribed for others in the Secondary School-Leaving Certificate Examination. They are exempted from paying the prescribed fees when they sit for competitive examinations conducted by the Madras Public Service Commission, provided they have passed the Intermediate Examination. They are also exempted from the age limits prescribed in the service rules for appointments under certain conditions. In deserving cases, they are even given special preference in the matter of appointments by the relaxation of service rules, if necessary.³

Thus the dream of Gandhiji is now being made capable of realization. The Government have deliberately and systematically endeavoured to remove the social disabilities of the Harijans and to improve their economic condition. But the Government alone can by no means solve this vast and age long problem. A change of heart among all the caste Hindus is absolutely necessary before the Harijans can take their rightful place as equal members of the society. In socio-religious matters like this, legislation and executive action can only pave the way, but the goal can be reached only with the whole-hearted support and co-operation of the people.

Industrial Labour Welfare, to which we now turn and which nowadays causes not a little anxiety to all Governments owing to the increasing prevalence of strikes, has had a history of more

¹ *Harijan Welfare in Madras State 1951*, pages 18-20.

² *Administration Report of the Harijan Welfare Department for 1950-1951*, page 94.

Idem for 1952-53, page 104.

³ *Harijan Welfare in Madras State, 1951*, pages 24-26.

than seventy years in India. The idea began undoubtedly as a humanitarian reform, but it gradually assumed a political complexion until today it has become one of the most crucial problems confronting all States. The Indian Factories Act (India Act XV of 1881) was passed for regulating the employment of children in big factories and providing fencing for machinery for protecting the workers against injury. It was amended in 1891 for bettering the working conditions of children as well as women and for bringing in smaller factories also under its scope. In 1911 another Act was passed which reduced the hours of work alike in the case of men, women and children and made provision for their health and safety. Then came the amending Acts of 1922, 1923 and 1926 and the comprehensive Act of 1934 (India Act XXV of 1934) which was based on the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labour in India. The last Act divided the factories into seasonal and non-seasonal factories, brought in many more small factories under its scope, regulated the hours of work of all workers and required the big factories to provide rest sheds and creches. But even this Act was soon found to be inadequate. It was amended in 1935, 1936, 1937, 1940, 1941, 1944, 1945, 1946 and 1947 and eventually in 1948 it was repealed and replaced by a new Act (India Act LXIII of 1948) by the National Government, based on the standards set by the International Labour Organization. The 1948 Act which is now in force includes many progressive features. It provides for the licensing and registration of all factories, including non-power factories employing 20 or more persons and power factories employing 10 or more persons. It abolishes the distinction between seasonal and non-seasonal factories and shifts the entire responsibility for taking up safety precautions, like fencing and guarding of machinery, on the factory owners. It prescribes standards of comfortable working condition such as adequate ventilation, lighting and prevention of over-crowding, dust, nuisance, etc., the prior approval of plans by the Chief Inspector of Factories for the purpose of enforcing the above standards in the case of construction of new factories and extension of existing factories, higher standards of safety provisions based on modern industrial practice relating to working conditions, the periodical inspection of hoists, lifts, cranes, revolving machinery and pressure plant and the grant of leave with wages at the rate of 1 day for every 20 days of work for adults and one day for every 15 days of work for children. It prohibits the employment of children below 14 years, reduces the hours of work of young persons to $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours a day within a spread-over of 5 hours, regulates the hours of work of adults to 9 hours a day and 48 hours a week provides for the payment of overtime wages to the workers at double the ordinary rate of wages including all allowances, and insists upon the provision of sitting facilities, spittoons, latrines, good drinking water, first-aid facilities, canteens, rest sheds and creches. It provides also that young persons who have completed 18 years of age should not be allowed to work as adults without certificates of physical fitness. Factories

employing 500 workers or more are required to appoint Special Welfare Officers. All the factories in the District covered by this provision have appointed such Welfare Officers. In 1955 there were 115 factories in South Arcot district employing 5,067 workers. Among these factories were those manufacturing food beverages and tobacco and a sugar mill, a number of rice mills and oil mills and a few textile mills. There were also some printing presses, engineering works and coach-building and motor-repairing works.

Besides the Factories Act, the Government have enacted several laws aiming at the social welfare and security of the workers and employees. The earliest of these laws, the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923, assures the disabled workers and the dependants of the workers who sustain injuries and die in the course of their work, the payment of monetary compensation. Under this Act, compensation amounting to Rs. 7,368-12-0 was deposited by employers in South Arcot during 1956. The Indian Trade Unions Act (India Act XVI of 1926) provides for the registration of trade unions and lays down the rights and obligations of registered trade unions. There were 19 registered trade unions in South Arcot district on 1st October 1956. The Payment of Wages Act of 1936 (India Act IV of 1936) ensures prompt and regular payment of wages to the workers in factories and certain other concerns whose wages and salaries average below Rs. 200 per month. It also provides for the appointment of authorities to enquire into and pass orders in cases arising out of delayed or non-payment of wages and wrongful deductions from wages, and to award compensation. The amounts awarded are recoverable as though they are fines imposed by a magistrate. The Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act of 1946 (Indian XX of 1946) requires the employer of every individual establishment in which one hundred and more workmen are employed to submit to the Certifying Officer, for certification, draft standing orders proposed for adoption in his Industrial Establishment. It requires the draft standing orders to contain provisions on matters relating to terms of service specified in it. Such provisions shall, as far as practicable, be in conformity with the model standing orders prescribed by the State Government. The Commissioner of Labour, who is the Certifying Officer, sees whether the draft complies with the above requirements and before certifying it gives the employers and the representatives of the workers an opportunity of being heard. This Act was amended by the Industrial Disputes (Amendment and Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1956. The amended provisions, which came into force on 17th September 1956, empower the Certifying Officer to adjudicate on the fairness and reasonableness of the provisions of any of the standing orders and also bestow on the workmen a right to apply for the modification of standing orders. The State Government have extended the provisions of Act to all registered factories engaged in the manufacture, assembly or repair of goods

or articles of iron, steel, non-ferrous metals and plastics by the use of machine tools including the foundries and forging plants which produce materials for the manufacturing, assembling and repair establishments. The provisions of the Act have also been extended to the newspaper establishments by the Working Journalists (Conditions of Service and Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1955.

The Industrial Disputes Act of 1947 (Indian Act XIV of 1947) provides for the investigation and settlement of Industrial disputes and specifies the machinery for the purpose. The Conciliation Officers appointed under the Act try to settle the industrial disputes arising in their jurisdiction and where a settlement by conciliation is not possible, the Government are empowered to refer the dispute to a Board or to a Court of Enquiry for promoting a settlement or to an Industrial Tribunal for adjudication. The awards passed by the tribunal and the settlements brought about by conciliation officers are binding on both the parties. The Act also imposes restrictions on strikes and lock-outs being declared during the pendency of conciliation proceedings, proceedings before a tribunal and during the period of operation of settlements and awards, and also prohibits strikes and lock-outs in Public Utility Services without due notice. The managements of industrial establishments in which 100 or more workmen are employed, are required to constitute Works Committees consisting of representatives of the employers and workmen with a view to promoting measures for securing and preserving amity and good relations between the employers and workmen. The Act was amended in 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953 and 1956. The important amendments provide for enforcement of awards, empower the Government to extend the period of operation of the awards and further improve the privileges given to the workmen in the matter of retaining conditions of service unchanged during pendency of proceedings and representation of parties in such proceedings. The Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Act of 1953 besides providing for payment of compensation for involuntary unemployment, requires the employers to give a month's notice, or wages in lieu thereof, and compensation of fifteen days' wages for each year of service in case of retrenchment. The retrenched workers will also have a preferential claim over outsiders at the time of future recruitment. The benefits of lay-off compensation which apply to factories and mines employing 50 workmen and more have since been extended to workmen in plantations.

The Industrial Disputes (Appellate Tribunal) Act of 1950, which provided for an appeal against the awards of Industrial Tribunals, has since been repealed by the Industrial Disputes (Amendments and Miscellaneous Provisions) Act of 1956, and some of its important provisions have been incorporated in the Industrial Disputes Act itself. The important amendments introduced by this Act

include the introduction of a three tier system of adjudication machinery, viz., Labour Courts, Tribunals and National Tribunals, provision for voluntary reference of disputes to arbitration, liberalisation of the definition of the term 'workmen', Provision for giving notice of proposed changes in conditions of service by employers to workmen, recognition of settlements arrived at between the parties otherwise than in the course of conciliation proceedings, imposition of the penalty of imprisonment for breach of settlement or award and recognition of a specified number of office-bearers of unions as 'protected workmen'.

The provisions of the Industrial Disputes Act have also been extended to cover working journalists by the Working Journalists (Conditions of Service and Miscellaneous Provisions) Act of 1955, which also aims to regulate the conditions of service of the working journalists and other persons employed in newspaper establishments.

The Minimum Wages Act of 1948 (India Act XI of 1948) requires the fixation of minimum rates of wages for specified employments in which it is considered that 'sweated labour' is most prevalent or in which there is a big chance of exploitation of labour. Employment in agriculture and employment in oil mills, rice mills, dhal mills, tanneries and leather manufactories are some of the more important items which at present come under the scope of this Act. The Government have fixed minimum rates of wages for all the employments covered by the Act except for employment in agriculture and employment in lac manufactories. The Government have since revised the minimum rates of wages for employments in rice, floor and dhal mills, oil mills, and tanneries and leather manufactories. The question of revising the minimum rates of wages in respect of the other employments is under consideration. The minimum rates of wages for the employment in Beedi and Cigar Industries are not in force as they have been held to be invalid by the High Court.

The Employees' State Insurance Act, 1948 (India Act XXIV of 1948) provides for sickness benefit, maternity benefit, disablement benefit, dependant benefit and medical benefit to the workers. The important provisions of the Act which are being brought into force under a phased programme have not yet been extended to the South Arcot district. The Madras Maternity Benefit Act of 1935 (Madras Act VI of 1935) prohibits the employment of women in factories for 3 weeks before and 4 weeks after confinement and provides for the payment during the period of maternity benefit to them. The Employees' Provident Fund Act of 1952 (India Act XIX of 1952) benefits the factory employees in six major industries, viz., cement, cigarettes, electrical, mechanical or general engineering products, iron and steel, paper and textiles. Workers are required to contribute $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of their wages towards the

Provident Fund and the Act makes it obligatory on the part of employers also to make an equal contribution.

And finally the Madras Shops and Establishments Act of 1947 (Madras Act XXXVI of 1947) which has been made applicable to all shops, hotels, theatres and commercial establishments in Municipalities and First-class Panchayats in the State, provides several benefits to the employees more or less similar to the benefits provided to the workers under the Factories Act. Under this Act, adults are not allowed to work for more than 8 hours a day and 48 hours a week, young persons between the ages of 14 and 18 years are not allowed to work for more than 7 hours a day or 42 hours a week and children below 14 years are prohibited from working in any establishment. It also provides for the grant of a weekly holiday with wages, grant of twelve days annual leave, twelve days casual leave and twelve days sick leave with pay every year and the prompt payment of wages without deductions other than those authorised. It confers on any dismissed employee a right of appeal against his dismissal to an appellate authority.

Nor is this all. Some employers have paid much attention to the welfare of their workers and have, of their own accord, provided at considerable cost, housing and other facilities to their employees. In South Arcot, the East India Distilleries and Sugar Factories, Limited, Nellikuppam, have constructed a number of houses for their workers and also given financial aid for the education of their children. The problem of housing labourers has been engaging the attention of both the Central and State Governments. The State Government have, in this matter, been handicapped for want of finances. The Central Government have introduced the Subsidized Industrial Housing Scheme, under which they are granting 50 per cent of the actual cost of construction including cost of land as subsidy and 50 per cent as loan in respect of schemes undertaken by statutory housing boards and up to 25 per cent as subsidy and 37½ per cent as loan in respect of schemes undertaken by private employers. The scheme also prescribes the standards of accommodation, the maximum cost of construction for the purpose of calculation of the amounts to be given as loans and subsidies, the constitution of managing committees for the tenements constructed with the assistance under the scheme, the maximum rent that can be charged, etc. The East India Distilleries and Sugar Factories, Limited, Nellikuppam, have taken advantage of the scheme and have constructed 26 tenements with the assistance under it. The Government also are considering proposals for taking the assistance and for constructing houses for the industrial workers in the State including those in this District.

The inspectorate which enforces all the Acts passed for labour welfare, originally consisted of the Deputy Commissioner of Police in Madras City and the District Magistrates in the districts. In the year 1900 an Inspector of Factories was appointed to relieve

the Deputy Commissioner of Police of the work connected with the Factories Act. In 1914, in order to assist him in inspecting the factories in the State an Assistant Inspector of Factories was appointed. In 1920, as has been seen already a Labour Commissioner was appointed. He looked after not only Harijan Welfare work but also industrial labour welfare work and took upon himself the supervisory duties till then exercised by the Board of Revenue. He became also the Chief Inspector of Factories. After the introduction of the Factories Act of 1934, the Madras Maternity Act of 1934, and the Payment of Wages Act of 1936, his responsibilities increased and his department was rapidly expanded. Additional Inspectors of Factories were appointed in 1941, 1942, 1945 and 1947. A Deputy Chief Inspector of Factories was appointed in 1945 and Women Inspectors were appointed, one in 1941 and two in 1947. With the passing of the Industrial Disputes Act of 1947, a Deputy Commissioner and an Assistant Commissioner of Labour and Labour Officers in the districts were appointed. In 1948, after the passing of the Madras Shops and Establishments Act of 1948, the Factories Department was re-organised. At the end of 1956, the department consisted of the Commissioner of Labour who was also the Registrar of Trade Unions, Certifying Officer under the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act and Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation; an Assistant Commissioner of Labour and a Personal Assistant to the Commissioner of Labour; 10 Labour Officers and a Labour Welfare Officer on the labour side; and a Chief Inspector of Factories, a Personal Assistant to the Chief Inspector of Factories, 5 Grade I Inspectors of Factories, 7 Grade II Inspectors of Factories, an Inspectress of Factories, 5 Inspectors of Plantations and 125 Assistant Inspectors of Labour, who were also additional Inspectors of Factories on the Factories side. The Labour Officer, Tiruchirappalli, has jurisdiction for taking up conciliation proceedings in respect of industrial disputes arising in South Arcot district and the Inspector of Factories, Tindivanam has jurisdiction over the district in respect of work relating to the enforcement of the Factories laws.

With effect from 1st November 1956, the Government have taken over the administration of the Employment Exchanges and the Commissioner of Labour has been appointed as the Director of the National Employment Organization. He is assisted by a Deputy Director, an Assistant Director and 15 District Employment Officers of whom two are holding supernumerary posts. There is a District Employment Officer under the control of a District Employment Officer at Cuddalore.

One of the important welfare schemes undertaken by the Government is the Women's Welfare Scheme. This scheme had its origin in the Women's A.R.P. Corps started in 1941 during the Second World War for instructing illiterate and ignorant women in air raid precautions. In 1945, after the cessation of the war

the corps was reconstituted to undertake general social welfare work among women and its name was changed to Indian Women's Civic Corps. It had a central organization and centres both in the city and in the districts and it did useful work in slums by holding classes in cooking, knitting and handicrafts, by giving talks on various subjects connected with women's welfare and by organizing, excursions and undertaking similar activities intended to make homes brighter. As soon as the National Government came to power, they decided to utilise this useful organization for carrying on systematic social work among women on a wider scale. In 1948 they constituted it into a separate department called the Women's Welfare Department with a Women's Welfare Officer as its head and a number of Assistant Women's Welfare Officers and Women's Welfare Organizers in the districts¹. In 1953, the post of the Women's Welfare Officer was abolished and the department was added to the charge of the Director of Rural Welfare, but it has been revived again in 1955 under the designation of the Director of Women's Welfare. In 1955 South Arcot had one Assistant Women's Welfare Officer and four Women's Welfare Organizers.

The Department aims at the social, economic and cultural improvement of women at large and endeavours to achieve these aims by providing for field work, maternity welfare, service homes and industrial training. Field work consists of regular house to house visit by trained welfare organizers for advising and assisting women in matters like health, hygiene, maternity, child care, nutrition, cooking, gardening, and means of earning supplementary income by partaking in simple cottage industries such as spinning and tailoring. It also consists of inducing women to take an active part in community centres organised for the free mingling of women of all classes, for providing recreation like indoor and out-door games for them and for training, such of them as need training, in home crafts and cottage industries like spinning weaving, tailoring, etc. It likewise consists of holding pre-basic classes for children aged between 3 and 7 years and of helping destitute women by securing admission for them in the Service Homes set up at Madras and Madurai and, after they are trained and discharged from these Homes, in finding useful employment for them. Several of the welfare branches are located in the villages. Of the two or three centres in each branch, one is normally a model centre provided with a 'balavadi' section, a maternity and health clinic and facilities for reading, playing games and practical demonstration in handicrafts with a show room. In South Arcot, in 1955, there

¹ *Madras in 1949, Part I, pages 144-145.*

G.O. No. 2921, Public, dated 19th September 1947.

G.O. No. 3376, Public, dated 13th November 1947.

Women's Welfare in Madras State, 1952, page 3.

Handbook of Information issued by the Department of Women's Welfare, 1952, pages 3-4.

were altogether four branches with eight centres situated in four villages. Some of these branches rendered assistance in ameliorative work connected with prohibition by arranging other attractions such as various games, bajanas, etc.

A centre at Aziznagar for Ex-Criminal Tribes was started in March 1954 with a grant-in-aid from the Central Government in order to promote the welfare of the women folk, who are very backward in civilisation and who have almost settled in this place permanently. The administration of the Aziznagar Centre in South Arcot district which was originally under the Collector of that district has been ordered to be transferred to the Department of Women's Welfare in August 1954.

Between 25 to 30 members attend the centre regularly. In the mornings pre-basic class for children between the ages of 3 and 7 are conducted. The main features of the welfare work done are education of the women in all subjects relating to the welfare of women and children and teaching of simple cottage industries to these tribal women who are quite ignorant. The members have improved to a great extent in spinning, knitting and needlework and they are eager to learn more crafts.

With a view to enlisting the co-operation and assistance of the local women to the maximum extent possible each Women's Welfare Organizer has started Mauther Sanghams in her headquarters village as well as in important villages within a radius of 2 miles around her branch headquarters. There are 7 Mauther Sanghams started in South Arcot district with the help of educated women. The Organizer visits the Sangham once a week and the amenities required by these Sanghams are collected by local contribution.

Maternity welfare is sought to be provided for by appointing a trained midwife in each selected village branch. The midwives are trained in social work as well and are expected to work in co-operation with the Welfare Organizers. It is hoped to provide, in due course, one midwife for each rural branch

As has been stated already, here are two Service Homes; one of these is situated at Royapuram in Madras and the other, called Sevikasram, is situated at Gandhigram in Madurai district. It is proposed to start more Homes in the districts. The Homes are intended for helping destitute women to re-establish themselves and to lead respectable lives. They take in women with children also where necessary. Whenever the Welfare Organizers find deserving cases of destitute women, they recommend them for admission into the Homes and here they are maintained free, educated up to the middle school standard and trained as teachers, house-keepers, balasevikas and midwives. They are also trained here in handicrafts like spinning, weaving, tailoring, basketry and rattan work printing and dyeing, paper-making and soap making

after they are so trained, they are either absorbed in the field staff or are assisted to start life independently. The Sevikasram at Gandhigram was opened in 1949 with 10 inmates and in 1951 it had 40 inmates¹. Besides the Service Homes, there was also an Industrial School for Women at Madras in which a one-year course of training in cutting and tailoring, weaving of sari lace borders, ribbon and gota and making of glass beads and bangles is provided to women who, though not destitute, are poor and are anxious to learn a trade and earn an independent livelihood. This Industrial Section was later transferred to Andhra Mahila Sabha in 1953. The destitute and poor women of South Arcot, as of other districts, have availed themselves of the facilities provided by the Homes and the Industrial School. For women who had received a limited education and who were anxious to pursue their studies further, a Rural College was started at Tanjore, but as the response was poor, this college was closed in 1952².

In this age when women are claiming equal rights with men and when the Constitution of India has definitely conceded these rights and placed them on an equal footing with men, women's welfare assumes at once a special importance. If it is admitted that the women have a vital role to play in the building of new India, it should also be admitted that this can be made possible only by improving alike the social, the economic and the cultural position of women. The working being new and important, great attention is being paid to the selection of the right type of welfare workers and to their training. Equal attention is also being paid to propaganda by bringing out a new journal called the Women's Welfare Journal³.

While the Women's Welfare Scheme is of very recent origin, electrification of urban and rural areas is of some years' standing. Madras City began to receive electricity through a private undertaking as early as 1908; Ootacamund received it through another private undertaking in 1924; but the districts began to receive it in a large measure only after the Electricity Department was organized in 1927 and the Pykara, the Mettur and the Papanasam Hydro-Electric Schemes were completed in 1933, 1937 and 1941 respectively. The credit for initiating an active policy for developing the power resources of the State goes to Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar who, as a Member of the Executive Council, did much to organize the Electricity Department and to start the Pykara Scheme. And the credit for pushing through all the three schemes successfully belongs to Sir Henry Howard, the Chief Engineer for Electricity.

¹ *Administration Report of the Women's Welfare Department for 1949 and 1951.*

² *Idem* for 1951-52.

³ *See Women's Welfare in Madras State, 1952;* and *Handbook of Information* issued by the Department of Women's Welfare, 1952.

So far as South Arcot is concerned, a private undertaking, namely, the South Arcot Electricity Distribution Company Limited, was given licence in 1933 for supplying electrical energy to the taluks of Chidambaram, Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Villupuram¹. In 1937 its licence was extended to the Tindivanam taluk². The company erected local thermal stations using oil engines at Villupuram and Chidambaram, but in 1938 it closed these stations when it began to be supplied with power from Mettur. Chidambaram, Cuddalore (Gudalur), Villupuram and Nellikuppam came to be lighted up in 1935, Valavanur in 1938 and Tindivanam in 1939³. Since then the Government themselves have begun to supply electricity to a portion of the Tirukkoyilur, Villupuram and Vridhachalam taluks⁴. They have also sanctioned (in 1952) a scheme for supplying electricity to certain places selected for rural development in the Kallakurichchi taluk⁵. The district uses electric power not only for domestic and industrial purposes but also predominantly for agricultural operations in recent years. In 1955-56, for instance, there were 48 towns and villages supplied with electricity by the electricity Department and 88 towns and villages supplied with electricity by the licensee undertaking in the district⁶. In the same year, the licensee supplied 11,90,172 units for domestic purposes, 41,84,459 units for industrial purposes, 1,11,36,557 units for agricultural purposes, 22,67,615 units for commercial purposes, 4,26,823 units for public lighting, 3,43,052 units for bulk supplies and 9,64,512 units for miscellaneous purposes, totalling altogether 2,05,13,190 units⁷.

This is not the place for describing the various new schemes undertaken by the National Government for developing the power resources of this State. But it may be stated here that the discovery of lignite at Neyveli—a discovery which we have already described in the Chapter on Industries—offers very good possibilities of power generation with a large power station located at Neyveli, and that this is likely to meet fully the demands of the State in conjunction with the new Periyar and Kundah schemes, in the near future.

¹ G.O. No. 1505, Public Works (Electricity), dated 11th July 1933.

² G.O. No. 1733, Public Works (Electricity), dated 24th August 1937.

³ G.O. No. 2321, Public Works (Electricity), dated 21st October 1940.

⁴ *Five-Year Progress, South Arcot District*, a pamphlet in Tamil issued in 1951 by the Public Information Department, page 25.

⁵ G.O. No. 5051, Public Works (Electricity), dated 11th December 1952.

⁶ Based on information furnished by the Electricity Department.

⁷ *Idem*.

A welfare scheme which came directly in the wake of electricity was the Rural Broadcasting and Community Listening Scheme. Early in 1934 the Government recognized the propaganda as well as the educative and entertainment value of broadcasting and engaged the services of an engineer of the British Broadcasting Corporation for formulating a broadcasting scheme for this State. He recommended the erection of two broadcasting stations, one at Madras and the other at Tiruchirappalli and the installation of 500 village receivers. But, as the Government of India desired to retain control over all transmitting stations in their own hands and installed the All-India Radio Stations at Madras and Tiruchirappalli (1938), the Madras Government, then under the first Congress Ministry, turned their attention solely to the provision of facilities for rural broadcasting and community listening. It is to this Ministry that goes the credit for organizing the Provincial (State) Broadcasting Department and installing the first community receiver sets. The scheme thus launched was expanded by the National Government which came to power in 1946. That Government felt that it was essential to explain to the people the logic behind all their administrative, executive and legislative activities; that this could best be done by the spoken word; and in order that this spoken word might be made to reach as many people as possible it was necessary to increase the broadcasting facilities. They therefore made representations to the Government of India to give a high priority in their development plans for the construction of more stations. This led to the starting of the All-India Radio Stations at Vijayavada and Kozhikode. Meanwhile more and more community receiving sets, public address systems and wireless broadcasting systems in various rural centres were installed by the State Government and suitable arrangements were made for their field maintenance. Wherever these facilities have been given—and they have been given in many places—the people can listen to the programmes broadcast by the All-India Radio, including rural programmes on subjects like public health, sanitation, agriculture, prohibition, education, etc. The sets are worked generally for about two hours a day¹.

Nor was this all. In 1949 the Government authorized the Collectors of all districts, except Madras, to sanction from the allotment of their discretionary grant, the cost of battery operated radio sets, including the cost of installation, not exceeding Rs. 500 in each case to villagers in all the firkas and centres selected for intensive rural reconstruction work. In 1950 they authorized the Collectors to sanction half the cost of mains operated radio

¹ G.O. No. 3081, Public Works, dated 18th July 1952—See the note at the end.

Annual Administration Reports of the State Broadcasting Departments from 1938 to 1953-54.

² G.O. No. 330, Firka Development, dated 23rd March 1949.
G.O. No. 128, Rural Welfare, dated 8th February 1951.

sets, including cost of installation, or Rs. 200, whichever is less, to villages wherever electricity was available in the firkas and centres¹. The Government also allowed concessional rates of maintenance charges in respect of radio sets installed by the local bodies and sanctioned schemes for assembling cheap sets capable of receiving all the short and medium wave stations. The State Broadcasting Department now consists of a Radio Engineer, a few Assistant Radio Engineers and a number of Radio Supervisors, besides the usual supervisory staff. It has also a well equipped laboratory and workshop suitable for research and other work at Madras and many service stations in the districts².

The South Arcot district began to receive this amenity from December 1938³. By March 1954, the Department was maintaining in this district, 100 sets in the panchayats, 11 sets in the Municipalities, 14 sets in the schools, 5 sets belonging to private bodies, and 1 set belonging to a Government institution. They were either main or battery sets. The district is in charge of the Assistant Radio Engineer who has headquarters at Tiruchirappalli. It has five service stations for Cuddalore (Gudalur), Tindivanam, Tirukkoyilur, Chidambaram and Villupuram, all situated at Cuddalore (Gudalur)⁴.

We may close this chapter by referring to certain important measures undertaken by the Government for the proper upkeep and maintenance of the hundreds of temples, maths and other Hindu religious institutions existing in this State. These have a history going back to a period of more than a century. As early as 1817 a Regulation (Regulation VII of 1817) was passed for enabling the Board of Revenue and, through it, the Collectors of the various districts, to exercise control over all endowments in land or money belonging to the religious institutions⁵. In 1841, however, on the instructions of the Court of Directors, the Government divested themselves of this responsibility and handed over the management to the trustees⁶. This having led to mismanagement and complaints, in 1863, they passed an amending Act (Madras Act XX of 1863) to prevent the abuses⁷.

¹ G.O. No. 421, Firka Development, dated 12th May 1952.

² G.O. No. 3081, Public Works, dated 18th July 1950—See the note at the end.

³ *Administration Report of the State Broadcasting Department for 1938-39*, page 4.

⁴ *Idem* for 1953-54, pages 25-26, 42, 79 and 82.

⁵ *Madras Code*, pages 68-71.

Board's Consultations, No. 56, dated 30th November 1817.

⁶ Revenue Consultations, Nos. 19-24, dated 15th June 1841.

⁷ Board's Consultations, No. 32, dated 24th March 1842.

Idem Nos. 5-9, dated 3rd November 1842.

Idem No. 4, dated 21st November 1842.

Idem Nos. 9-16, dated 19th November 1845.

G.O. Nos. 1586-1587, Revenue, dated 13th September 1860.

G.O. No. 118, Judicial, dated 31st January 1872.

Regulation VII of 1817 divided the religious institutions into two classes, namely, those in which the nomination of trustees, managers or superintendents, was vested in the Government and those in which this was not the case. For the superintendence of the institutions falling under the first description, the Act of 1869 provided for the appointment, once for all, by the Government, of local committees of three or more persons to exercise the powers of the Board of Revenue and the Collectors, the vacancies in the committees being filled up by election. But it left the institutions of the second class in the hands of the then existing trustees, free from the control of any local committees, the trustees, however, being made liable to be sued by any person for breach of trust or neglect of duty¹. This arrangement was soon found to be by no means satisfactory. It was found that the trustees could not be compelled to perform their duties; that the committees' powers were, to say the least, ill-defined; and that both the trustees and the committees being unpaid agencies had little inducement to discharge their responsibilities². Various attempts were therefore made between 1870 and 1920 to bring in further legislation. First came a bill by Sri V. Ramiengar (1871)³. Then followed several Bills framed by various committees presided over by Sir William Robinson (1877)⁴; by Mr. Carmichael (1883); by Mr. Sullivan (1886)⁵; by Justice Muthuswami Ayyar (1893)⁶ and by Sri Chentsal Rao (1896)⁷. Some individual Bills were also brought forward by the members of the Imperial as well as the Madras Legislature. Sri Kalyanasundaram brought forward a Bill in the Madras Legislative Council in 1896⁸; Sri Ananthacharlu brought forward another in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1897⁹; Sri Srinivasa Rao brought forward a third in the Madras Legislative Council in 1902¹⁰ and Sri T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar and Sri L. A. Govindaraghava Ayyar

¹ *The Unrepealed Acts of the Governor-General in Council (1898)*, Vol. I, pages 405-412.

² G.O. No. 1975 (A), Judicial, dated 23rd October 1874.

³ G.O. No. 118, Judicial, dated 31st January 1872.

⁴ G.O. No. 639, Judicial, dated 4th April 1876.
G.O. Nos. 33-34, Judicial, dated 10th January 1879.
Copy of the Bill of 1879.
G.O. No. 1471, Judicial, dated 21st June 1880.
G.O. No. 1681, Judicial, dated 15th January 1880.

⁵ G.O. No. 58, Legislative, dated 5th February 1884.
G.O. No. 543, Public, dated 15th April 1887.
G.O. No. 364, Public, dated 14th April 1888.

⁶ G.O. Nos. 72-74, Legislative, dated 26th May 1894.
G.O. No. 114, Legislative, dated 30th October 1894.

⁷ G.O. Nos. 1065-66, Public, dated 23rd September 1899.
G.O. No. 223, Public, dated 2nd March 1909.

⁸ *Legislative Council Proceedings*, dated 26th February 1896 and 9th April 1897.

⁹ G.O. Nos. 183-184, Public, dated 13th February 1899.

¹⁰ G.O. No. 11, Legislative, dated 12th March 1902.

brought forward a fourth in the same Council in 1912¹. Next came Imperial Legislation by the passing of the Religious and Charitable Trusts Act of 1920². But even this Act proved a failure. It was not till 1925 that something was sought to be done to place the religious institutions on a better footing by the passing of the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act I of 1925; and it was not till 1927 that certain doubts regarding the validity of this Act were removed by the Madras Act II of 1927³.

This Act set up a statutory Board consisting of a President and some Commissioners in whom was vested, subject to the provisions of the Act, the general superintendence and control of all Hindu religious institutions in the State, with judicial and administrative powers over them⁴. The Hindu Religious Endowments Board which thus came into being sought to set right matters; but even this Board found it difficult to discharge its duties efficiently for want of adequate powers and, as a result, several amendments were made to the Act which created it⁵. The position, however, did not improve. Complaints of mismanagement and inefficient supervision still began to pour in, until at last, the first Congress Ministry under Sri C. Rajagopalachari resolved to take over the direct administration of the endowments. Before, however, it could do so, it resigned office⁶. Some amendments were then made to the existing Act by Act V of 1944 and Act X of 1946⁷; but, the important step, that of direct administration, was taken by the National Government only in 1951 by passing the Madras Act XIX of 1951⁸. This Act consolidates the law relating to the Hindu Religious and Charitable institutions and endowments of the State and specifies several controlling authorities, the Commissioner, the Deputy Commissioners, the Assistant Commissioners and the Area Committees.

¹ G.O. Nos. 627-628, Public, dated 28th May 1912.

² G.O. No. 363, Public (Confidential), dated 10th March 1915.
G.O. No. 250, Public (Confidential), dated 11th February 1916.
G.O. No. 1982, Local and Municipal, dated 18th October 1922.

³ G.O. No. 1982, Local and Municipal, dated 18th October 1922.
G.O. No. 272, Law (Legislative), dated 5th December 1922.
G.O. No. 29, Law (Legislative), dated 27th January 1925.
G.O. No. 2612, Local and Municipal, dated 17th June 1926.
G.O. No. 43, Law (Legislative), dated 5th February 1927.

⁴ G.O. No. 45, Law (Legislative), dated 5th February 1927.

⁵ G.O. No. 89, Law (Legislative), dated 9th February 1928.
G.O. No. 251, Law (Legislative), dated 1st June 1929.
G.O. No. 278, Law (Legislative), dated 8th April 1930.
G.O. No. 360, Law (Legislative), dated 9th October 1931.
G.O. No. 468, Law (Legislative), dated 20th November 1934.
G.O. No. 240, Law (Legislative), dated 6th June 1935.

⁶ G.O. No. 2540, Public Health (Confidential), dated 10th June 1940.
G.O. No. 4026, Public Health, dated 1st November 1939.

⁷ G.O. No. 16, Legal, dated 3rd July 1944.
G.O. No. 15, Legal, dated 1st April 1946.

⁸ For the Bill, see G.O. No. 9, Legal, dated 14th January 1949.

It empowers the Commissioner to exercise general superintendence and control over the administration of all religious endowments. It invests the Area Committees with jurisdiction over the temples and specific endowments attached to the temples with an annual income of less than Rs. 20,000. And it requires the trustees of every religious institution to keep regular accounts of all receipts and disbursements and also provides for the payment annually to the Government, by every such institution, of a contribution of not less than 5 per cent of its income in respect of the services rendered by the Government and their officers¹. The Government have since then arranged for the audit of accounts of the religious institutions, the annual income of which is not less than 1,000 rupees, by the Local Fund Audit Department, instead of by private auditors. Further the Act enables the Commissioner to utilize the surplus funds of religious institutions for religious, educational or charitable purposes.

The religious institutions of South Arcot have naturally been affected by all these measures. In 1817 they came under the supervision of the Board of Revenue and the Collectors; in 1841 they were left to be managed, without any interference, by their own trustees and managers; in 1863 they came to be controlled either by the local committees or by their own trustees; in 1925 they came under the supervision of the Religious Endowments Board; and finally, in 1951, they came under the control of the Commissioner, and his assistants under a separate department of the State Government. There are now 687 major religious institutions in the district under the jurisdiction of the Assistant Commissioner appointed under the Act.

¹ *Madras State Administration Report, 1951-52, Part II, page 10.*

CHAPTER XI

COMMUNICATIONS.

South Arcot is adequately served by roads and railways. It has 251 miles of metre gauge railway and 2,376 miles of roads, which give it 6 miles of railway for every 100 square miles of country and 52 miles of road for every 100 square miles of country.

Of the 2,376 miles of roads, 671 miles are under the Highways Department, 1,490 miles are under the district board, 102 miles are under the Public Works Department and 113 miles are under the municipalities. There is one National Highway and there are two Provincial Highways in the district. Both these and most of the major district roads are managed by the Highways Department. The rest of the major district roads and other district roads and village roads are managed by the district board, while the Public Works Department roads are managed by that department and the municipal roads by the municipalities. The Highways Department takes under its management more and more major district roads almost every year so that, in course of time, it might control all major roads in the district.

As to the length of the various classes of roads, the National Highway constitutes 86 miles, the Provincial Highways 90 miles, the major district roads under the Highways Department 495 miles, and under the district board 192 miles, the other district roads 487 miles, the village roads 811 miles, and, as has already been stated, the Public Works Department roads 102 miles and the municipal roads 113 miles¹. As to the types of roads, 21 miles of the Highways Department and one mile of district board roads are cement-concrete surface roads, 377 miles of the Highways Department, 4 miles of district board and 18 miles of municipal roads are black-top surface roads; 262 miles of the Highways Department, 761 miles of the district board, 1 mile of the Public Works Department and 85 miles of the municipal roads are metalled roads; and 11 miles of the Highways Department, 724 miles of the District Board, 101 miles of the Public Works Department, and 10 miles of the municipal roads are unmetalled roads. Large sums of money are being annually spent over the capital works and repairs of all these roads. For instance in 1956-57, the expenditure over the Government roads amounted to Rs. 23,33,061 and over the district board roads to Rs. 12,55,234².

¹ These figures relate to the year 1956-57—Information furnished by the Chief Engineer (Highways), Madras.

² *Idem.*

Of these roads, the National Highway is, of course, the most important. This is the old 'Southern Trunk Road' from Madras to Tiruchirappalli which passes through the towns of Tindivanam, Villupuram and Ulundurpet. Next come the two 'Provincial Highways', namely, the Cuddalore (Gudalur)—Chittoor road, passing through Panruti and Tirukkoyilur and the Ulundurpet—Attur road, passing through Kallakurichi and Chinnasalem. The district and other roads are too numerous to be mentioned and may be seen from the map.

The soil of the district is by no means favourable to road-making. In the Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Villupuram taluks it is sandy-loam, which has to be stabilised with clay to form a base for any surfacing to come on top. In the Chidambaram taluk, which is a delta area, it is not only unfavourable but also waterlogged. So also it is unfavourable in almost the whole of the Vriddhachalam taluk and most parts of the Kallakurichi and Gingee (Senji) taluks where it is black cotton soil. Granite is available only in a few places in the southern taluks of the district and the rest of the district has to be satisfied with laterite. The paucity of granite in the Cuddalore (Gudalur), Vriddhachalam and Chidambaram taluks makes it necessary to transport by rail granite from distant parts for the maintenance of main roads. Usually granite is used for roads with heavy traffic and laterite is used for roads with light traffic¹.

It is these factors that have made the maintenance of the roads a difficult problem in the district. About a century ago, the roads here were said to be 'generally execrable'². Even to-day, save for the main roads, they leave much to be desired³. The roads are however sufficiently broad; the normal width of the metalled portion of the trunk roads is 12 feet; and that of the district roads is 12 to 10 feet⁴.

Another reason why the roads go quickly bad here, as elsewhere, is the increasing volume of heavy traffic. In olden days merchandise was transported in bullock carts and on the backs of pack bullocks and people also used to travel only on bullock carts. The wear and tear of the roads in those days was therefore not much⁵.

¹ Madras Information for August 1953, page 21—see also, e.g., G.O. No. 3086, Local and Municipal, dated 5th August 1932.

District Board Report for 1930-31, pages 11-12.

G.O. No. 2328, Local and Municipal, dated 12th May 1934—District Board Report for 1932-33, page 14.

G.O. No. 2235, Local and Municipal, dated 11th June 1937—District Board Report for 1935-36, pages 10-11.

G.O. No. 136, Local Administration, dated 11th January 1938—District Board Report for 1936-37, page 11.

² Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 169.

³ Madras Information for August 1953, page 21.

⁴ G.O. No. 2455, Local Administration, dated 21st December 1950—See District Board Report for 1949-50, page 8.

⁵ Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 169-170.

But to-day merchandise is carried on heavily loaded motor trucks, 3 to 5 tons and sometimes over 5 tons in weight; and people travel in buses, equally heavily loaded. The traffic intensity in the National Highway from Madras to Tiruchirappalli up to Cuddalore (Gudalur) is over 1,500 tons per day; and it is only further south that it tails down to 500 to 600 tons. The traffic intensity in the Provincial Highways is normally 500 to 600 tons, but on the Cuddalore (Gudalur)-Chittoor road, it sometimes reaches 1,500 to 2,000 tons per day. On the remaining roads it is normally 500 tons, save on the Vikravandi Lower Anicut Road which carries a traffic of more than 1,000 tons¹. It may be stated that in 1954 there were in the district alone 217 public lorries, 217 private lorries and 191 buses².

Avenue trees have been long associated with roads in this district. They began to be first planted in 1852, and in 1950-51 they numbered 1,04,370; 91,369 on Government roads and 13,001 on District Board roads. Special attempts have been recently made to plant trees in all the gaps³.

There are several bridges and culverts in the district. Most of them have again and again severely suffered under floods, as has already been stated in Chapter I; and most of them therefore have had to be rebuilt at different times. The chief bridges now in existence are those over the Ponnaiyar and the Gadilam near Cuddalore (Gudalur), that across the Shatiatope anicut, those over the Manimuktanadi at Vriddhachalam, and between Tiyyagadrag and Kallakurichchi, those across the Gadilam and Gomukhi on the Madras-Tiruchirappalli road and the Malattar and Tirunjalar on the Cuddalore (Gudalur)-Chittoor road, that over the Khan Sahab's Canal on the Chidambaram-Mannargudi road, those in mile 4-1 of the Bhuvanagiri-Kurinjipadi road, and in mile 17-6 of Morattandi-Tindivanam road, and those across the Vellar near Bhuvanagiri and Coleroon (Kollidam) at Anaikaran Chatram on the Chidambaram-Sirkali road and across the Pambai river near Villupuram, those in mile 1/1 of Marakkanam-Tindivanam-Gingee road and in miles 110/2-4 of V. L. A. road across Sankaraparam near Gingee and in miles 15/3 of Cuddalore-Vriddhachalam road⁴ some

¹ *Madras Information for August 1953*, pages 21-22.

² *Report on the Administration of the Motor Vehicles Act, etc., for 1954*, page 6.

³ *Madras Information for August 1953*, page 23.

Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 170.

⁴ *Gazetteer of the Tanjore District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 171-172.

Idem, Vol. II, 1932, pages XXXII.

G.O. No. 3088, Local and Municipal, dated 5th August 1932—See the District Board Report for 1930-31, pages 16-17.

G.O. No. 1222, Local and Municipal, dated 18th May 1933—See the District Board Report, page 21.

G.O. No. 2328, Local and Municipal, dated 12th May 1934—See the District Board Report for 1932-34, page 17.

G.O. No. 764, Local Administration, dated 31st March 1950—See the District Board Report for 1948-49, page 8.

Administration Report of the Highways Department for 1951-52, page 28.

Idem for 1952-53, page 29 and information furnished by the Chief Engineer (Highways), Madras.

of these bridges were constructed by the Government and some were constructed by the district board with the aid of Government grants.

There are also several travellers' bungalows, rest houses, chatrams or choultries and water-pandals in the district. In 1952-1953 the Highways Department had two travellers' bungalows of Class I, 6 travellers' bungalows of Class II and 5 rest houses under its charge. The Class I travellers' bungalows were situated at Tindivanam and Gingee (Senji) (New); the Class II at Marakkanam, Gingee (Senji) (old); Tirukkoyilur Ulundurpet, Kallakurichchi and Panruti; and the rest houses were situated at Kelianur, Vikravandy, Kurinipadi, Bhuvanagiri and Veppur. The District Board had 13 choultries under its charge, of which 12 were endowed. They were situated at Avalurpet, Gingee (Senji), Vanur, Maragathapuram (called Ellis choultry), Chinnasalem, Tiyyagadurg, Kallakurichchi, Tirukkoyilur, Manalurpet, Vriddhachalam (called Hyde's choultry), Kalandur, Kammapuram and Shatiatope (called Vellar Ancient Choultry)¹. Hyde's Choultry is named after Mr. Hyde who was the Collector of the district from 1813 to 1826; and Ellis Choultry is called after Mr. F. W. Ellis who was a Tamil Scholar and who met an untimely death in Ramanathapuram in 1819.

The story of Ellis Choultry is rather curious. In 1814 the Government issued orders to the Board of Superintendence of "the College" at Madras, of which Ellis was the first member, that encouragement should be given to the production of translations into the Indian languages of authoritative works on Hindu and Muslim law. Chidambara Vadyar, the head Tamil master of the College, had just then finished a translation of the Mitakshara which won high praise from Ellis, and he agreed to part with the copyright of this for 1,000 pagodas and a rent-free village, intending to build and endow therewith a choultry on the Tiruchirappalli road. The Government and the Court of Directors (in consequence, no doubt, of Ellis's commendation of the book) approved the purchase, and in 1819 Anangur was ordered to be granted as an inam village. Meanwhile Chidambara Vadyar died. The Government none the less gave an inam for the choultry, but, though they directed that the institution should be named after the deceased pandit, it somehow became known instead by the name of his patron².

Besides the choultries mentioned above the district board also maintains watersheds in several places. There are also some municipal and many private chatrams in the district, especially at places of pilgrimage like Chidambaram³.

¹ *Administration Report of the Highways Department for 1952-53*, page 162. G.O. No. 2455, Local Administration, dated 21st December 1950—See the District Board Administration Report, pages 11-12.

² *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 172-173.

³ *Idem*, page 173.

G.O. No. 2455, Local Administration, dated 21st December 1950—See the District Board Report for 1949-50, pages 12-13.

The district board likewise maintains over a dozen ferries in the district, while the Highways Department maintains a ferry at mile 1 of Marakkanam-Tindivanam road. The income derived from the ferries by the district board is not negligible; it amounted to about Rs. 2,000 in 1949-1950¹. The income derived from the ferry by the Highways Department is considerable; it amounted to over Rs. 10,000 in 1952-1953².

The waterways of South Arcot are few. The Buckingham (formerly called the East Coast) Canal, from Madras ends in the Marakkanam backwater. An estimate for extending it to Cuddalore (Gudalur) was twice prepared (1883 and 1876-1878). At Porto Novo (Parangipettai) an isolated section of it can still be traced for some miles from the Vellar to the Uppanar. Improvements to the Canal were also contemplated at the time when the Post-War Reconstruction and Development Plans were drawn up in 1945. But nothing tangible has been done and the canal has silted up³. So also has silted up another canal on the south bank of the Vellar (opposite Porto Novo or Parangipettai) and running to the Coleroon (Kollidam) constructed by the old Porto Novo (Parangipettai) Iron Works Company to facilitate the transport of iron ore from the Salem district to their furnaces⁴. The improvements made to yet another canal, "the Khan Saheb's Canal" have already been indicated in the Chapter on Agriculture and Irrigation; there is however hardly any navigation in this canal, although formerly, about a century ago, it was said to be most useful for transporting produce from the interior to the sea-port of Porto Novo (Parangipettai)⁵.

Turning now to the history of the roads, as has already been stated, what few roads that existed about a hundred years ago were in a ruinous condition. Writing in 1853 Captain (afterwards Colonel) Ouchterlony, R. E., who was then Civil Engineer in charge of the district said: "At the head of the list of wants for its improvement, I should certainly place roads, in respect of which this province (i.e., the district) is more deficient than any in which I have ever been employed." He spoke of the grievous absence of any one road which can be veraciously described as practicable except in the 'finest weather' and to this absence he attributed the decline in the shipping trade at the ports, and the languishing condition of

¹ G.O. No. 2455, Local Administration, dated 21st December 1950—See the District Board Report for 1949-50, page 11.

² *Administration Report of the Highways Department for 1952-53*, page 159.

³ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 173.

Post-War Reconstruction and Development Schemes, 1945, pages 184-185.

⁴ *Notes on Irrigation, South Arcot district* by V. N. Kudva, dated 1st July 1953.

⁵ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 174.

Notes on Irrigation, South Arcot district by V. N. Kudva, dated 1st July 1953.

⁶ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 174.

agriculture and salt manufacture. The least wretched of the lines of communication was the old 'coast road' from Madras which entered the district on the north, near Marakkanam and ran close to the sea. It was this road that was later on extended and converted into the trunk road to Tiruchirappalli. Another road sanctioned in the early days was the road from the port of Cuddalore (Gudalur) to the Salem frontier; it was designed in 1832 to facilitate the transport of salt inland. Shortly afterwards a branch was made from the road, beginning at Panruti and passing south across the bridge (built in 1850-1851) over the anicut on the Vellar at Shatiatope down to the Lower Anicut across the Coleroon (Kollidam). In 1853 Mr. Maltby, the Collector, suggested that one anna per kani of land revenue should be set aside as a separate fund for the construction and repair of roads. His proposal was approved and from the nucleus began the levy of road cess. By 1854, 400 miles of road were under construction or improvement, and the expenditure, excluding the outlay on the trunk roads, came to over a lakh of rupees. But the chance for more rapid expansion came only with the passing of the Madras Local Funds Act of 1871 and the Local Boards Act of 1884 which authorised the local bodies to levy a road cess and placed the roads under their charge.

This is how the change was effected. The construction and maintenance of roads in the early days of the East India Company was attended to by three different agencies, the Maramath Department of the Board of Revenue, the Trunk Road Department and the Engineering Department of the Military Board. The Engineering Department looked after the roads and bridges in Madras City and in all the cantonments; the Trunk Road Department looked after all trunk roads; while the Maramath Department looked after all other roads. In 1858 these three departments were abolished and the Public Works Department was for the first time organized with the Chief Engineer at the head and several District Engineers below him. Very soon, however, it became increasingly clear that, unless some special taxation was resorted to, the road could not be properly maintained. After the Indian Mutiny the Government of India began to dole out smaller and smaller grants from Imperial funds to maintain trunk roads which were then called Imperial roads and this Government found it impossible to maintain in fair condition both the trunk roads and the district roads, the latter of which were specially under their charge. In 1866, therefore, the District Road Cess Act III of 1866 was passed by which a cess not exceeding half an anna in the rupee on the rent value of occupied land was imposed so as to form a fund for the construction and maintenance of district roads. Then came the Local Funds Act of 1871 which repealed the District Road Cess Act of 1866, transferred the road funds raised under the latter Act to the Local Fund Boards and authorised the

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 169-170.

local bodies to levy a cess similar to the district road cess but with a maximum of one anna in the rupee and to establish tolls upon roads, two-thirds of the cess and the whole of the tolls being earmarked for road development. The agency of execution was, as before, left with the Public Works Department¹.

Thus commenced a new chapter in the history of road development. The Government now began to make annual contributions from Provincial funds to the local fund boards as grants-in-aid for expenditure upon main roads. In 1879-1880 the Government also transferred the entire execution of the maintenance and construction of roads from the Public Works Department to the local fund boards which therefore employed their own engineering staff directly responsible to them. Close on the heels of this came the Local Boards Act of 1884 which created the district boards and taluk boards. But, though it increased the local funds, it took away the salutary restriction imposed by the Act of 1871 which prescribed that, besides the income from tolls, a sum of not less than two-thirds of the land cess should be spent on communications. This gave a handle to the district boards to spend less and less upon roads with the result that the Government found it necessary in 1895 to interfere and direct by an executive order that the local bodies should spend not less than half the income from their land cess upon roads. But this order was seldom followed. It was therefore in 1900 withdrawn and the Government thereafter began to grant to the local bodies 25 per cent of their land cess for the improvement of roads in addition to the sums allotted from the Imperial grant. From 1920 the Government also began to give special grants from time to time for special repairs of important roads, for the maintenance of second-class roads and for the construction of bridges and culverts, subject to a maximum. The payment of all these grants was also made subject to the condition that the roads were kept in a reasonably good condition. The inspection of the trunk roads was then entrusted to the Superintending Engineers of the Public Works Department, while that of the second-class roads was entrusted to the Collectors of the respective districts. In 1930-31, on the introduction of the motor vehicles tax, the tolls were abolished and the local bodies were given compensation for the loss of income from tolls².

Under all these circumstances, the South Arcot District Board began to pay more and more attention to its roads. In 1885-1886, for instance, it maintained 978 miles of roads (out of 1,169 miles of roads in the district) of which 176 miles were village roads and the rest were main roads. In the same year it spent Rs. 1,64,875 on the maintenance of roads³. In 1930-31 it maintained 1,526½

¹ *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency* by C. D. Maclean, Vol. I, 1885—See the foot-note on pages 365-367 and 379-380.

² G.O. No. 2486, Local Administration, dated 16th November 1945, pages 5-9.

³ G.O. No. 1122, Finance (Local Funds), dated 13th September 1886.

miles of roads of which 344-7/8 miles were village roads, 1,045½ miles were District Board roads and 135½ miles were trunk roads. In the same year it spent nearly 5 lakhs of rupees over the maintenance of roads, out of which the Government grant amounted to nearly 1½ lakhs of rupees¹. This showed no doubt a distinct improvement. More money was spent over proper maintenance such as metalling, repairs, etc., but not much mileage was secured and many of the market places and villages still remained to be linked up to the main roads.

Meanwhile the Government became more and more road-conscious. In 1927 the Council of State stressed the necessity to develop the road system of India and a committee appointed by the Government of India soon afterwards pointed out that everywhere, in every State, there was an imperative need for road development for facilitating the marketing of agriculture produce, for bringing the villages into more intimate contact with the towns and for complementing the railway development. In 1933 the State Government decided on the preparation of a comprehensive programme of road development and, for that purpose, appointed a Special Officer. Mr. A. Vipin, who was so appointed, in his report submitted in 1935, pointed out a number of drawbacks inherent in the existing system. The district boards had not sufficient funds. Their resources had become inelastic especially after the abolition of the tolls; the compensation given by the Government in lieu of tolls, being in many cases, inadequate. They had therefore failed to devote adequate attention to the proper maintenance of roads. Motor traffic had, at the same time, increased by leaps and bounds and called for better maintenance of marketing roads and roads serving as feeders to the railway system. There was thus a definite lack of balance in the existing road system which could be corrected only by classifying all important roads into trunk and marketing roads and given adequate grants from State funds for their maintenance². In 1937 the Government accordingly created a separate class of roads called important marketing roads and thereafter began to grant subsidies for their maintenance subject to a maximum fixed for each district and subject also to the condition that the district boards should spend at least an amount equal to the subsidy from their own funds either on the important marketing roads or on second-class roads.

But even these measures proved unavailing. No uniform practice of spending a fixed percentage of the road cess was adopted by any district board. While some of the district boards spent a good percentage of their land-cess on roads, others spent very little. Thus, while the Tanjore District Board spent 85 per cent of the

¹ G.O. No. 3086, Local and Municipal, dated 5th August 1932.

² *Scheme of Road Development for the Madras Presidency* by A. Vipin, Special Engineer, Road Development, 1935.

land-cess on roads, the Tirunelveli District Board spent 41 per cent and the South Arcot District Board spent only 36 per cent of the land-cess on roads. Then came the Second World War and the continual heavy wear and tear of the roads caused by the military vehicles led to their speedy deterioration. Accordingly, in 1941 the Government took power under the Madras Local Boards Act of 1920 and the Madras Municipalities Act of 1920 to direct a district board or a municipal council to make allotments for roads to such extent as the Government might deem necessary, and, once an allotment was made, to prevent its diversion to any other purpose. They also directed that minimum allotments should be made for the maintenance of roads by every district board and municipality¹.

All this time other measures too were taken by the Government to have a greater control over the engineering staff employed by the local bodies. It has already been seen that from about 1880 the district boards began to employ their own engineering establishments. The municipalities, likewise, from about the same time, began to employ their own engineering establishments. By the Local Boards Act of 1884 and the Municipalities Act of 1884 the appointment of District Board and Municipal Engineers was made subject to the general control of the Government; but this general control amounted practically to no control at all. It was not till 1923 that the District Board Engineers' Service was provincialised² and not till 1938 that the Assistant Engineers' Service of the local bodies was constituted into a separate service³. In the meantime the Superintending Engineers of the Public Works Department were required to inspect the trunk roads and all works costing above Rs. 50,000 situated within the jurisdiction of the district boards. In 1936 the Government appointed a Special Engineer (Road Development) as inspecting and superintending officer in respect of all operations of the engineering departments of all district boards. In 1940 they made the Chief Engineer (Buildings and Roads) the controlling authority for the District Board Engineers' Service and the Local Fund Assistant Engineers' Service and created three posts of Superintending Engineers (Communications) for the better inspection and superintendence of district roads. In 1942 they went further and created a new post of the Chief Engineer (Communications)⁴ and soon afterwards created six road divisions and a Roads Circle⁵.

¹ G.O. No. 2486, Local Administration, dated 16th November 1945, pages 9-13.

² G.O. No. 242, Local and Municipal, dated 25th January 1923.

³ G.O. No. 1445, Local Administration, dated 22nd April 1938.

G.O. No. 2092, Local Administration, dated 6th June 1938.

⁴ G.O. No. 1353, Local and Municipal, dated 31st March 1936.

⁵ G.O. No. 800, Public Works, dated 16th March 1942.

⁶ G.O. No. 2486, Local Administration, dated 16th November 1945, pages 16-17.

But the times were fast changing, revealing new defects and demanding new remedies. The district boards and municipalities failed to make the minimum allotments for the maintenance of roads, while the wheels of war rolled on reducing everywhere the roads to ruin. All over India experts and laymen alike now began to clamour for more metalling, more surface topping, more cement concreting and more mileage of roads. This led to the convening of a conference of Chief Engineers at Nagpur (1943), to the appointment of a Special Officer in Madras to review afresh the whole subject of road-development¹, and to the drawing up of a Five Year Post-War Development Plan for the construction of new National highways, Provincial highways, major district roads and village roads and for the widening and repairing of the existing roads wherever necessary. The aim of this plan was to provide eventually access by road to all villages having a population of 500 or more and to so plan the highways that all villages would be within two miles of a district road or a highway in densely populated areas and within five miles in thinly populated areas. The Five-Year Plan drawn up for the South Arcot district roads comprised twenty items of importance². The Post-War Development Plan was merged in the Five Year Plan formed by the Planning Commission of the Government of India in consultation with the Madras Government in 1951—a plan for which Rs. 5 crores were allotted to Madras under 'roads'³. In the meantime for the execution of the Post-War Development Plan a separate department called the Highways Department had been formed in 1946⁴. This department took under its management all National highways, all Provincial highways and, in the first instance, about 10,000 miles of important district roads, leaving the remaining roads, as before, under the district boards and the municipalities⁵.

This is how the Highways Department has now come to manage all the important roads of the district and to exercise a general supervision over the district board and municipal roads. The department has one Chief Engineer, several Superintending Engineers, a number of Divisional Engineers, each in charge of a district or a portion of a district, and a larger number of Assistant Engineers each in charge of a subdivision. The expenditure on the Divisional Engineer and his office is shared by the Government and the district board, while the expenditure on the Assistant Engineers and the subordinate staff engaged on district board works is borne solely by the district board concerned. In the South Arcot district

¹ For the Special Officer's Report—See G.O. No. 2486, Local Administration, dated 16th November 1945.

² See G.O. No. 2263, Local Administration, dated 27th November 1950, page 2.

³ *Administration Report of the Highways Department, 1952—1953* page 25.

⁴ G. O. No. 114, Local Administration, dated 18th January 1946.
G. O. No. 598, Local Administration, dated 26th March 1946.

⁵ *Madras, 1950, pages 107—112.*

there are two Divisional Engineers (Highways) and nine Assistant Engineers and their work is supervised by the Superintending Engineer who has his headquarters at Madras.

Coming to the railways, as has already been stated, the district is adequately served by railways. All its lines are however metre gauge lines. The main line from Madras to Dhanushkodi runs via Tindivanam, Villupuram, Cuddalore; (Gudalur) and Chidambaram. The chord line from Villupuram to Tiruchirappalli runs via Ulundurpet and Vriddhachalam. A branch line connects Villupuram and Katpadi and another branch line connects Villupuram with Pondicherry (Puducherry). Vriddhachalam is connected by branch lines with Cuddalore and Salem. All the taluk headquarters, except Gingee (Senji) and Kallakkurichchi are connected by railway. But Kallakkurichchi has an out agency for passengers, luggage, parcels and goods served by Chinnasalem railway station ¹.

The main line from Madras to Dhanushkodi was completed in several stages. The line from Madras to Tindivanam was opened in September 1876, from Tindivanam to Cuddalore (Gudalur) Old Town in January 1877, from Cuddalore (Gudalur) Old Town to Porto Novo (Parangipettai) in July 1877, from Porto Novo (Parangipettai) to Chidambaram in October 1878, and from Chidambaram to the Coleroon (Kollidam) on the Tanjore border, in July 1879. The line to Dhanushkodi Jetty was completed in 1908 and to Dhanushkodi Point in 1914. The chord line from Villupuram to Tiruchirappalli was also opened in stages; the section from Villupuram to Vriddhachalam was opened in December 1927, and that from Vriddhachalam to Lalgudi in the Tiruchirappalli district in February 1928. The branch line from Villupuram to Katpadi was likewise constructed in two stages; that from Villupuram to Tiruvannamalai having been opened in November 1890, and that from Tiruvannamalai to Katpadi in March 1891. The branch line from Villupuram to Pondicherry was opened in December 1879; that from Vriddhachalam to Cuddalore (Gudalur) was opened in 1928 and that from Vriddhachalam to Salem was completed in 1931². All the railways in the district are now owned by the State; but the District Board has guaranteed the Southern Railway against loss in the working of the Cuddalore (Gudalur)-Vriddhachalam branch line and, for this purpose it has been levying a railway cess of 3 pies in the rupee. In 1950 this cess amounted to over 15 lakhs of rupees ³.

As to the Posts and Telegraphs, there is one head post and telegraph office at Cuddalore (Gudalur) and there are 29 sub-post and telegraph offices, 19 non-combined sub-post offices and 413 branch post offices in the district. The Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk

¹ 1951 Census Handbook, South Arcot District, 1953, page 8.

² History of Indian Railways, 1940, page 198.

³ G.O. No. 2455. Local Administration, dated 21st December 1950--See District Board Report for 1949-50, page 40.

has 5 sub-post and telegraph offices, 3 non-combined sub-post offices and 69 branch post offices; the Vriddhachalam taluk has 3 sub-post and telegraph offices, 3 non-combined sub-post offices and 37 branch post offices; the Chidambaram taluk has 5 sub-post and telegraph offices, 3 non-combined sub-post offices and 58 branch post offices; the Tirukkoyilur taluk has three sub-post and telegraph offices, one non-combined sub-post office and 50 branch post offices; the Kallakurichchi taluk has two sub-post and telegraph offices, two non-combined sub-post offices and 58 branch offices; the Villupuram taluk has two sub-post and telegraph offices, three non-combined sub-post offices and 58 branch post offices; the Ginjee (Senji) taluk has one sub-post and telegraph office, one non-combined sub-post office and 44 branch post offices; and the Tindivanam taluk has one sub-post and telegraph office, three non-combined sub-post offices and 39 branch post offices¹.

In regard to telephone facilities there are exchanges in Chidambaram, Cuddalore (Gudalur), Panruti, Tindivanam, Villupuram and Vriddhachalam. In Chidambaram there are 110 lines and 108 subscribers; in Cuddalore 180 lines and 224 subscribers; in Panruti 50 lines and 48 subscribers; in Tindivanam 110 lines and 70 subscribers; in Villupuram 100 lines and 82 subscribers and in Vriddhachalam 50 lines and 24 subscribers. From the Chidambaram telephone exchange, besides local connections and a connection to Annamalainagar, trunk connections are available to Bhuvanagiri and Porto Novo (Parangipettai). From the Cuddalore (Gudalur) exchange, besides local connections, trunk connections are available to Nellikuppam, Ulundurpet and Vriddhachalam. From the Panruti and Tindivanam exchanges only local connections are available. From the Villupuram exchange, besides local connections, trunk connections are available to Arakandanallur P.O., Kallakurichchi and Valavanur. From the Vriddhachalam exchange there is only a trunk connection to Ulundurpet².

¹ 1961 Census Handbook, South Arcot District, 1953, page 8.

² Information supplied by the Postmaster-General, Madras.

Chapter XII.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

The climate of the district is on the whole healthy; the temperature being equable save in the hottest months and the rainfall more than adequate¹. Moreover except in March and September, a sea breeze usually blows over the district towards the evening and, during the south-west monsoon, a cool wind sweeps across the south-western corner of the district through the Attur pass between the Kalrayans and the Kollimalais. Cuddalore (Gudalur) itself was considered exceptionally healthy in the last century; between 1823 and 1864 a European pensioner's depot was maintained there for the pensioners of the East India Company's army and it was stated in 1855 that "officers on sick leave often benent by a residence at Cuddalore (Gudalur)"².

This does not however mean that the district is free from diseases. Cholera, that fatal disease which when uncontrolled spreads like wild fire, has become more or less endemic and taken a heavy toll in the district. The worst years of cholera in the second half of the last century were 1851-1852, 1855-1863, 1865-1866, 1875-1877, 1883-1885, 1889, 1891 and 1896-1898 and, of these, the most fatal were 1875-1877 which carried away 43,500 persons, 1883-1885 which accounted for 20,000 deaths; 1891 which carried away 15,000 people and 1896-1898 which accounted for 25,000 deaths³. The worst years in our own century up to 1954 were 1901, 1908-1909, 1912, 1918, 1924, 1931, 1935, 1942-1943, 1948 and 1950; and of these the most fatal were 1908-1909, 1931, 1935, 1942-43 and 1948. In 1908-1909 nearly 12,000 persons died of cholera; in 1931 nearly 6,000; in 1935 over 6,500; 1942-1943 nearly 16,000; and in 1948 over 4,000⁴.

The frequent occurrence of cholera, in this as in some other districts, is to be traced to the spread of infection by pilgrims resorting to festivals at sacred places (although this is now being controlled by the provision of suitable sanitary arrangements), to the congregation of labourers in large numbers during harvest time in places without protected water-supply, to the indiscriminate fouling of rivers, streams, channels and tanks, to the inveterate habit among the poorer classes of drinking such contaminated

¹ See Chapter I.

² *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 198.

³ *Idem*, page 193

⁴ *Idem*, Vol. II, 1932, page xli.

Administration Reports of the Public Health Department from 1932 to 1954.

1951 Census Handbook, South Arcot District, 1953, page 10.

water and eating contaminated food and to the want of protected water-supply and lack of public latrines. The disease, as is well known, is caused by germs which are given out in very large numbers in the motion and vomit of cholera patients. These germs contaminate food through flies and drinking water through the washing of infected clothes, etc., and any person who takes such contaminated food or water immediately catches the disease. The symptoms of the disease are easily detected; they consist of profuse diarrhoea, vomiting, extreme prostration, suppression of urine, intense thirst, cramps especially of the leg muscles and utter exhaustion. These symptoms are speedily followed by death ¹

Before the separate Health Department came into existence in 1922, no systematic efforts were made to check the ravages of cholera. Since then, however, several steps have been taken to control its outbreaks. Among the preventive measures the most important are protected water-supply, proper disposal of night soil, and sanitary control over the preparation and sale of food. But these measures have been found difficult of execution owing to the lack of finance and want of public co-operation. Among the control measures, prompt notification, isolation and treatment of patients, disinfection of infected material, chlorination of water-supplies and immunization of the people by anti-cholera inoculation have been considered to be the most important. These measures, however, have been enforced by the Public Health authorities to a great extent with good results. Whenever an outbreak of cholera takes place, the Public Health authorities attend promptly to the chlorination of water-supply, to the disinfection of excreta, vomit and infected material, to the control of fly breeding centres by improving general sanitation, to the destruction of flies by D.D.T. spraying, to the isolation and treatment of infected cases as far as possible and to the mass inoculation of the people against cholera ²

Smallpox has not been very severe in the district. Occasionally, however, it has come with virulence and taken a considerable toll. Thus in 1890 it took a toll of 8,000 persons, in 1907 of 5,000 persons, in 1917 and 1918 of over 4,000 persons and in 1934 of nearly 3,000 persons. But normally it carries away only a few hundreds of people every year. The disease spreads by contact, direct or

¹ *Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee*, 1946. Vol. I, pages 112-114

Public Health Pamphlet No. 2-Control of Epidemics, 1949, pages 6-7.

² *Idera*

³ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906. pages 194-195.

Item—Vol. II. 1932. page xlj.

Administration Reports of the Public Health Department for the years 1933 to 1954.

1951 *Census Handbook, South Arcot District*, 1932, page 10.

indirect through clothes, utensils, etc., and also by droplet infections through air over short distances or through dust particles. Its symptoms are severe fever with pain all over the body particularly severe in the back, usually lasting for three days, followed by rashes which occur more on the face and hands, which develop in the course of nine to twelve days into papules, vesicles and pustules, which dry up into scales and drop off in about three weeks. It is sometimes accompanied by various complications. Medical science has not yet discovered a cure for the disease, but on the preventive side it has discovered a most effective remedy, namely, vaccination. Vaccination, however, does not confer permanent immunity. A person has to get himself revaccinated particularly during the outbreak of epidemic. If all children are vaccinated as required by law and if all adults get themselves periodically revaccinated, the disease can be completely eradicated as in most of the European countries. But this has not been found practicable here for want of public co-operation, although the public has been familiar with vaccination for over a century and a half, it having been introduced in this State as early as 1802. Besides vaccination the other measures necessary for controlling the spread of the disease are prompt notification, isolation, disinfection and protection and surveillance of contacts. Prompt notification has seldom been done by the people but the rest of the measures have been more or less effectually taken by the Public Health authorities in the district.¹

The real scourge of the district has been leprosy. The statistics collected at the time of the 1951 Census has shown that the incidence of leprosy in South Arcot is the heaviest in the State. Though it is very difficult to have a correct estimate, the number of leprosy patients according to the available figures is roughly more than 75,000 which is about 3 per cent of the total population of the district, a percentage unapproached in any district in this State. The disease is prevalent throughout the district and is largely found in the taluks of Tirukkoyilur, Kallakurichchi, Villupuram, Cuddalore (Gudalur), Vriddhachalam and Tindivanam.²

There are two main types of leprosy here as elsewhere, namely, the neural which is non-infective and the lepromatous which is infective. About 75 per cent of the cases fall under the first type. Leprosy is not hereditary, nor is it venereal in origin. Its infective power among the adults is low, but among the children it is high. It responds to regular treatment. For active leprosy control the methods advocated and adopted are generally institutional treatment at clinics and sanatoria, survey to locate cases and give advice, propaganda, segregation of infective cases such as home

¹ *Public Health Pamphlet No. 2-Control of Epidemics, 1949, pages 1-5.*

² *1951 Census Handbook, South Arcot District, 1953, pages 92-93.*

segregation, night segregation in sanatoria, etc., special sanatoria for children, after care of patients, research, the training of medical personnel and legislation¹.

From time immemorial the communicable nature of leprosy has been recognised by our people, although they do not seem to have realised the difference between infective and non-infective cases. Lepers were, in olden days, allotted a corner of an out-house and allowed to live in comparative isolation or treated with chaulmoogra (*Gynocardia odorata*) oil internally as well as externally—a treatment which is still continued with benefit alongside with the modern treatment by D.D.S. tablets². For a long time, however, the Government did very little to control the disease. Until about 1900 there was only a Leprosy Asylum in Madras, another at Kozhikode and a clinic at Madurai. But in the first quarter of the present century, both the Government and the private agencies began to take a lively interest in the subject. The Mission to Lepers, a private philanthropic institution, began to build Leper Homes all over India. The Roman Catholic Missions followed suit and began to open Leper Asylums. In 1923 the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association was formed in London. In 1924, a branch of it was established in India and, to this Indian branch in 1925, Lord Reading, the Viceroy, handed over 20 lakhs of rupees which he had collected for leprosy relief. At this time it was believed that infective cases could be controlled by treatment alone and that isolation in leprosy institutions was unnecessary. This accounted for the establishment of about 400 leprosy clinics in this State alone. Within a short time, however, the limitations of treatment were recognized and the importance of prevention by isolation was realised. It was then that Lady Willingdon, the wife of Lord Willingdon, the Governor of Madras, collected subscriptions and helped to build a hospital at Tirumani in the Chingleput district which has come to be called the Lady Willingdon Leprosy Sanatorium and which is today the premier sanatorium not only in this State but also perhaps in India³. In 1925 its control and management was handed over to the United Free Church of Scotland Mission under an agreement renewable every five years. In 1938 during the time of the First Congress Ministry, the Madras branch of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association was organized, its headquarters were fixed at the Lady Willingdon Leprosy Sanatorium and it was entrusted with specialised investigations under Dr. Cochrane, the Leprosy Specialist, and its Secretary, the routine work in leprosy treatment being allotted to the Medical Department. In 1943 the publicity work was entrusted to Sri T. N. Jagadisan of the British

¹ G.O. No. 569, Public Health, dated 14th February 1905—See the note on leprosy

Public Health Pamphlet, No. 1, Facts about Leprosy, pages 3-7.

² G.O. No. 2365, Public Health, dated 30th June 1949—See the Report of the Ad-Hoc Committee on Leprosy.

³ *Idem*.

Empire Leprosy Relief Association¹. In 1946 the Government constituted an ad-Hoc Committee on Leprosy to consider the Post-War Reconstruction Scheme and the Bhole Committee's recommendations on leprosy and upon its advice introduced a series of reforms. The Lady Willingdon Sanatorium was taken over by the Government; Dr. Cochrane was appointed as Honorary Consultant Leprologist and Honorary Director of Leprosy Research; a research unit was established at Tirumani, a Provincial Survey Unit and a District Survey Unit were formed, a post-graduate training for medical officers in leprosy at the Lady Willingdon Sanatorium was provided, all institutions run by the Madras Provincial Branch of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association were taken over by the Government, the former being left only to concentrate on publicity and propaganda work, and the question of re-enactment of the Madras Public Health (Amendment) Act of 1944 which placed certain restrictions on persons suffering from leprosy was abandoned². In 1950 the Madras Provincial Branch of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association was dissolved and in its place a branch of the Hindu Kusht Nivaran Sangh was constituted³.

As a result of all this enthusiasm leprosy departments have been organized and strengthened in the General Hospital, Madras, the Stanley Hospital, Madras, the Erskine Hospital, Madurai, and the Headquarters Hospital, Vellore. Besides, at all headquarters hospitals and in all hospitals and dispensaries in the districts, leprosy out-patient clinics have been opened. Child leprosy is being studied in the Silver Jubilee Children's Clinic, Saidapet, in the Children's Leprosy Sanatorium at Yethapur in the Salem district and in the Lady Willingdon Leprosy Sanatorium. Side by side, voluntary work is also carried on by the Mission to Lepers, the Catholic Missions, the Salvation Army, the Hindu Kusht Nivaran Sangh, the Kasturba Leprosy Home, the Thakkar Bapa Kusht Nivaran Sangh (both in South Arcot), the Arcot Mission, Wandiwash, etc. There are also about 20 special Leprosy clinics in this State run either by Government or voluntary agencies⁴.

In South Arcot, leprosy clinics are attached to the Headquarters Hospital, Cuddalore (Gudalur) and the Government Hospitals at Tirudivanam, Villupuram, Chidambaram and Kallakkurichi. There is also a Leprosy Unit and study centre at Tirukkoyilur and there are two Government Leprosy Clinics, one at Semmedu and the other at Veeraperumanallur in the Kadambuliur firkā. Besides there are four aided private institutions, one at

¹ G.O. No. 2365, Public Health, dated 30th June 1949—See the Report of the Ad-Hoc Committee on Leprosy.

² G.O. No. 569, Public Health, dated 14th February 1950—See the Note on leprosy.

³ G.O. No. 2281, Public Health, dated 24th June 1950.

⁴ Report on the working of the Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries for the Triennium ending 1953, page 9.

Vadathorasalur near Tiyyagadurgam in the Kallakkurichi taluk called the Debendranath Mullick Leprosy Home, run by the Danish Mission, a second at Malavanthangal in the Gingee (Senji) taluk, called the Kasturba Gandhi Kusht Nivaran Nilayam, Malavanthangal run by the Hindu Kusht Nivaran Sangh, a third at Tirukkoyilur, run by the Thakkar Bapa Kusht Nivaran Sangh and a fourth at Cuddalore (Gudalur) run by the Hindu Kusht Nivaran Sangh, South Arcot Branch ¹.

Guineaworm is prevalent in seven taluks, namely, Cuddalore (Gudalur), Kallakurichchi, Tirukkoyilur, Villupuram, Gingee (Senji), Tindivanam and Vriddhachalam. The infection is in endemic form in about 200 villages. Chemical treatment by super-chlorination of water-supplies and bacteriological treatment by the introduction of cyclopicidal fishes have been undertaken in highly infected villages. Filariasis is also fairly prevalent in the district. Under the National Filarial Control Programme, an Anti-Filariasis Survey Unit in charge of a Health Office is working in the district with headquarters at Cuddalore (Gudalur), Malaria is prevalent in Kallakurichchi taluk. A unit in charge of an Entomological Assistant is stationed at Kallakurichchi for DDT spraying and treatment work.

The other diseases the incidence of which may be said to be heavy in South Arcot as compared with some of the districts in this State are inflammatory diseases of the eye, otitis media and mastoiditis and other diseases of the central nervous system and sense organs, influenza, broncho-pneumonia, bronchitis, digestive diseases like gastro-enteritis, chronic enteritis, colitis, etc., scabies and other skin infections and rheumatism. The incidence of some other diseases like tuberculosis, syphilis, gonococcal infections and dysentery is also fairly heavy in the district. Thus, in 1954, for instance, the number of indoor and outdoor patients treated in the Public, Local Fund and Private aided hospitals and dispensaries as well as subsidised rural dispensaries in the district for the diseases mentioned above were as follows. The guineaworm accounted for 2,195 patients, the highest figure in the State; filariasis 136,618; inflammatory diseases of the eye 133,292; otitis media and mastoiditis 54,078; other diseases of the central nervous system and sense organs 20,066; influenza 49,267; broncho pneumonia 7,074; bronchitis 31,078; digestive diseases like gastro enteritis, chronic enteritis, colitis, etc., 108,008; scabies and other skin infections 128,316; rheumatism 27,456; tuberculosis 6,847; syphilis 11,632; gonococcal infection 12,183; malaria 25,970 and dysentery 39,609².

¹ G.C. No 1358, Public Health, dated 17th April 1951, page 60.

G.O. No. 2774, Public Health, dated 18th August 1951.

Report on the working of the Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries for 1954, page 16.

² *Idem*, pages 30-38.

Most of these diseases were found in the district even about a century ago. Thus in 1853 and 1854 the most common diseases were said to be leprosy, syphilis, bowel complaints and skin diseases¹. Cholera in those days was treated with what were known as 'Patterson's pills' without opium and diluted sulphuric acid combined with tincture of quassia² or 'Patterson's pills', compound chalk mixture with tincture catechu and Colombo arrack³. Smallpox was controlled, where possible, by vaccination while the other diseases were dealt with by in-patient or out-patient treatment in the civil hospitals and dispensaries.

As regards vital statistics, the average birth and death rates of the district were 29·6 and 21·9 per mille during the decade 1941-1950, as compared with the average birth and death rates of 31·7 and 21·2 for the State. Thus the birth rate was less than that of the State and the death rate was almost the same as that of the State. The death rate in the latter half of the decade was less than that of the former half, the average rate in 1946-1950 being only about three-fourths of that in 1941 to 1945. An abnormally high death rate of 31·1 was recorded in 1944, due to increased deaths under 'fevers', dysentery, diarrhoea and respiratory diseases. As has been seen, severe cholera epidemics also prevailed in 1942-43 and in 1948. The average death rate from fevers in 1946-1950 was 3·3 against 4·6 in 1941-45. The average maternal mortality rate was 9·5 in the decade, and this was high when compared with the rate of 8·1 for the State⁴.

Turning now to the history of the public health administration of the district, the first steps in this direction in this as in other districts, were taken in 1871. In that year the Madras Local Funds Act (Act IV of 1871) and the Madras Towns Improvements Act (Act III of 1871) were passed making sanitation the responsibility of the local bodies. These Acts contained provisions for the extension of vaccination in rural areas and municipal towns, for the construction and repair of hospitals and dispensaries, for the sanitary inspection of towns and villages, for the cleaning of roads, streets, tanks, etc., and for the registration of vital statistics. The next instalment of public health legislation was embodied in the Madras Local Boards Act of 1884 (Act V of 1884) and the Madras District Municipalities Act of 1884 (Act IV of 1884) which replaced the former Acts. Under the first Act unions were formed and the local bodies were required to undertake measures for scavenging and cleaning streets and other public places, for improving sites, for providing water-supply, for making sanitary arrangements during fairs and festivals and for constructing markets, slaughter-houses,

¹ *Report on Civil Dispensaries for 1853*, page 16.

Idem for 1854, pages 15-16.

² *Idem* for 1861, page 38.

³ *Idem* for 1866, page 65.

⁴ 1951 *Census Handbook, South Arcot District*, 1953, pages 5-6.

latrines, dust bins and drains. Similar provisions were formed in the second Act for the improvement of public health in municipal towns. The third instalment of public health legislation was incorporated in the Madras Local Boards Act of 1920 (Act XIV of 1920) and the Madras District Municipalities Act of 1920 (Act V of 1920). These Acts imposed additional obligations on local bodies and marked a further advance in public health legislation. But even these Acts were soon found inadequate and ill-designed to secure proper Government control over public health matters. The first Congress Ministry therefore passed the Madras Public Health Act of 1939 (Act III of 1939) embodying all provisions essential for the advancement of public health in the State. This comprehensive Act which is now in force provides for many things. It provides for the constitution of a Public Health Board in the State. It gives statutory recognition to the Director of Public Health and sufficient powers for the effective discharge of his duties. It empowers him to compel the major local bodies to employ Health Officers and to fix their scales of pay as well as the scales of pay and the conditions of service of the public health establishments. It stipulates that the local bodies should earmark a definite percentage of their income for public health expenditure. It imposes an obligation on local bodies (at the discretion of the Government) to provide a sufficient supply of drinking water by a compulsory levy of water tax, if necessary. It makes effective provision for the maintenance of proper drainage and the construction of an adequate number of public latrines, for the prevention and abatement of nuisances, for the prevention and eradication of infectious diseases, for the prevention, treatment and control of venereal diseases, for the adoption of maternity and child welfare measures, for the enforcement of mosquito control, for the reservation of areas for residential purposes, for the registration of lodging houses, for the exercise of control over the making and sale of food and, finally, for the undertaking of special measures during fairs and festivals¹. The Act is an admirable piece of legislation, but its enforcement demands full public co-operation.

Side by side with all this legislation steps were taken to organize an efficient Public Health Department in the State. Prior to 1922-1923, the district health problems in South Arcot, as in other districts, were left to the supervision of the District Medical Officer who was then called the District Medical and Sanitary Officer. It is true that, so far as the central machinery of public health was concerned, there was a Sanitary Commissioner in Madras from 1869 and that he was assisted by two or three Deputy Sanitary Commissioners. But until 1922 he had to depend mostly on the District Medical and Sanitary Officer for supervising the district health administration. The District Medical and Sanitary Officer had, in practice, very little to do with public health beyond

¹ For the Acts—See the *Fort St. George Gazette*.

offering advice on sanitary matters to the local bodies. Several of the district boards and municipalities, including those of South Arcot, had their own staff of rural sanitary officers whose main duty then consisted of vaccination and nothing else. In order to check the work of the vaccinators the Government maintained in the State about a hundred deputy inspectors of vaccination and in order to check cholera they maintained eight cholera parties. In order to check plague the Collectors of the districts engaged a staff of plague inspectors at the expense partly of provincial and partly of local funds¹. This system which was obviously unsatisfactory and which did nothing towards co-ordinating the health activities came in for criticism in 1912 from the Government of India. That Government then suggested the expansion of public health activities both at the headquarters of the State and in the districts, including the appointment of Health Officers of the First and Second class in the municipalities and an adequate number of sanitary inspectors in the districts. This led to the appointment of a few Municipal Health Officers². Meanwhile in 1914, the Government of India again stressed the need for appointing District Health Officers for co-ordinating and controlling all the public health activities of the district³. So long as the World War was on, nothing could be done, but the times were fast changing. In 1918 the Conference of Sanitary Officers held at Delhi commented very strongly on the absence of any organization for rural sanitation in India and recommended that each district should have a complete self-contained public health staff and the Government of India urged this recommendation for adoption⁴. Shortly afterwards under the Reforms Act of 1919, Sanitation and Public Health became a transferred subject under the control of the Provincial Minister in charge of Local Self-Government and the new Government lost no time in organizing a separate Health Department and in introducing an efficient District Health Scheme. The title of the Sanitary Commissioner was changed to that of the Director of Public Health, of the Sanitary Department to that of the Public Health Department and of the Deputy Sanitary Commissioner to that of the Assistant Director of Public Health⁵. Three Assistant Directors, one in charge of vital statistics and propaganda, another in charge of vaccination and smallpox and the third in charge of fairs and festivals, were appointed⁶. Health Officers were constituted into a regular provincial service, individual officers being lent to local bodies when required. The qualifications of the First and

¹ *Public Health Code*, 1928, Part I, pages 9-11.

Idem (Revised Edition), Vol. I, pages 1-6.

² *Public Health Code* (Revised Edition), Vol. I, page 15.

See also G.O. No. 457; Local, dated 14th March 1918, pages 1-10.

³ G.O. No. 1364, Local, dated 3rd August 1914, pages 1-16.

⁴ G.O. No. 954, Local, dated 22nd July 1918, pages 1-4.

⁵ G.O. Nos. 367-368, Public Health, dated 8th March 1922.

⁶ *Public Health Code*, 1928, Part I, page 18.

Second-class Health Officers were fixed ¹. District Health Committees were set up ²; First-class Health Officers were ordered to be employed under all district boards and in municipalities having a population of 50,000 or more ³ and Second-class Health Officers were ordered to be appointed to the other fairly large municipalities. The services of the deputy inspectors of vaccination and of sanitary inspectors of the cholera parties were amalgamated and all were designated as sanitary or health inspectors ⁴.

The District Health Scheme was introduced in South Arcot in 1923 ⁵. Since then it has undergone hardly any important change. Under it, at present, there is a District Health Officer and an Assistant District Health Officer with their headquarters at Cuddalore (Cudalur); three First-class Municipal Health Officers at Cuddalore (Gudalur), Chidambaram and Villupuram; and a Filaria Officer at Cuddalore (Gudalur) and a Health Officer in charge of the Leprosy treatment and Study Centre at Tirukkoyilur; and all these Health Officers have under them a large number of health inspectors and vaccinators. The Municipal Health Officer at Cuddalore is also the local Port Health Officer. The duties of the Health Officers are various. The District Health Officer, as the executive head of the district health staff, has to tour not less than 60 days in each quarter and has to inspect all municipalities without health officers at least once a year. He has to examine, verify and see to the correctness of village statistics (maintained by the village officers of the Revenue Department), to make recommendations for improving sanitation and drinking water supply of the villages, to make sanitary arrangements for the conduct of fairs and festivals, to inspect areas affected by epidemics, to concentrate, if necessary, his whole health staff to check them, to supervise the work of the district health inspectors, especially their vaccination work, and to perform such other duties as the Director of Public Health or the President of the District Board might call upon him to perform. He has to submit his reports to the President of the District Board who has to forward them to the Director of Public Health; and whenever he has reason to consider that the mortality in any area is abnormal or that any local area is threatened with an epidemic, he has to bring the fact to the notice of the President of the district board or the Chairman of the municipal council with his recommendations. He, as the additional Factory Inspector, has to inspect all factories, not less than 50 per cent every half year. Nor is this all. He has to pay special attention

¹ G.O. No. 533, Public Health, dated 18th May 1921.

² G.O. No. 1354, Public Health, dated 19th October 1921.

G.O. No. 165, Public Health, dated 1st February 1922.

³ G.O. No. 533, Public Health, dated 18th May 1921.

⁴ G.O. No. 817, Public Health, dated 10th June 1922.

⁵ *Triennial Report on Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries* for 1920-1922, page 99.

to conservancy, cholera, smallpox, plague and the control of all epidemics; to supervise maternity and child health centres; to conduct health propaganda in rural areas by talk, demonstration, lantern lectures, cinemas, etc., and to attend the meetings of the District Board at which any important sanitary matter is discussed and offer his advice on all matters connected with public health.¹

The Municipal Health Officer as the executive head of the public health services of the municipality has to be responsible to the Chairman of the Municipal Council for its efficient working. He has to supervise sanitation and conservancy by frequent inspections, to check the work of the municipal health staff, to prevent the accumulations of rubbish and filth in private premises, to scrutinize the scheme for town improvement, to submit proposals for relief of congestion, to approve plans for the construction of new buildings, and to inspect markets, slaughter houses, eating-houses and sources of drinking water-supply. He has to check the work of the vaccinators, to ensure the accurate registration of births and deaths, to inspect all places affected by epidemics and diseases, to take preventive measures and to submit a report on them with his recommendations to the Municipal Commissioner and the Director of Public Health. He has moreover to supervise maternity and child welfare centres, to undertake health propaganda, to offer advice on public health matters at the meetings of the municipal council and to co-operate fully with the medical officer of the place². He has also to attend to the issue of licences to the dangerous and offensive trades and the enforcement of the Food Adulteration Act and to inspect factories as Additional Factory Inspector.

The Public Health Act of 1939 and the District Health Scheme of 1922 are not the only measures that have been undertaken to improve public health in the districts. The Madras Town-Planning Act of 1920 (Act VII of 1920) has been passed to improve the environment in municipal areas. Under this Act the municipal councils have been enjoined to prepare proper plans for the development of urban areas. Since 1913 several steps have also been taken to improve rural as well as urban water-supply. In that year a number of typical designs for the improvement of rural water-supply were prepared and issued. In 1915 the Government with the object of providing at least one well in every village of 500 inhabitants began to make lump-sum grants to the local bodies. In 1920 they modified this plan and began to contribute funds towards the cost of rural water-supply schemes whenever the local bodies put up such schemes, provided the schemes were approved by the Sanitary Engineering authorities and the areas for which water-supply was intended were constituted into unions and rates levied to contribute a portion of the cost. In 1925 they began

¹ G.O. No. 1393, Public Health, dated 11th August 1926.

² G.O. No. 1960, Public Health, dated 21st September 1925.

to make half-grants to the District Boards towards rural water-supply schemes. In 1936 they distributed 108½ lakhs of rupees granted by the Government of India for the improvement of rural water-supply. In 1937 the First Congress Ministry created a separate fund for the improvement of rural water-supply, drew up a comprehensive scheme of protected water-supply and began to finance it directly from State funds, making the Collectors of the districts responsible for the work. This scheme which was retarded by the Second World War has been taken up by the National Government for implementation. The National Government have also constituted in 1948 a separate fund with an initial amount of one crore of rupees for the development of rural water-supply. As to urban water-supply and drainage, the Government prepared in 1944 a priority list of water-supply and drainage schemes for municipalities and panchayats with a population of 10,000 and above. In 1947 the National Government, in order to expedite progress in these directions, constituted a Water-Supply and Drainage Committee and, upon its recommendation, agreed that the water-supply and drainage schemes drawn by it in the order of priority should be permitted to be taken up by the local bodies irrespective of their financial resources. They have also agreed to grant the additional funds required and to extend the period of the repayment of the loans from 20 to 40 years. They have stipulated 20 years as the maximum period within which all the urban areas in the State should be provided with water-supply and drainage facilities¹. The provision of water-supply has also been taken up under the Community Development, National Extension Service and Local Development Schemes, priority being given to villages prone to cholera or endemic with guineaworm.

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This is not all. Every attempt has been made in this century to afford the much needed maternity relief to rural as well as urban areas. The earliest attempt in this direction, however, was made by the Government in 1875 when they asked the Local Boards to appoint trained midwives in their hospitals and dispensaries. This order was repeated in 1879, 1880 and 1893 but with little result. In 1915, the Government increased the provision for the training of midwives in the Madras hospitals from 64 to 100 and recognized the need for opening training schools for midwives in all mufassal lying-in-hospitals. There were then no organizations for pre-natal and post-natal care, nor any child welfare centres. The credit for starting maternity and child welfare centres for the first time in this State belongs to the Madras Corporation. In 1917 it started two such centres in the city and since then the work has been taken up and expanded by voluntary

¹ *Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras* by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1949, pages 418-422.

Public Health in Madras (Pamphlet), 1952, pages 7-15.

associations alike in the city and in the districts. Under the Madras District Municipalities Act of 1920 and the Madras Local Boards Act of 1920, provision for adequate facilities for maternity and child welfare work has been made the responsibility of the local bodies and the local bodies have been specially enjoined (1923) to attend to this work in accordance with a comprehensive plan drawn up by the Director of Public Health. This plan envisages the establishment of ante-natal and post-natal clinics and child welfare centres, the employment of lady health visitors, paid or voluntary, the provision of maternity labour wards and children's hospitals and the extension of maternity and child welfare propaganda. In order to give a practical shape to this plan the Government have also created (1931) a special section in the Public Health Department in charge of an Assistant Directress of Public Health and entrusted the supervision over the work of the maternity and child welfare centres in the districts to the District Health Officers and the Municipal Health Officers (1933) ¹.

Some of these public health measures have undoubtedly borne good fruit in the South Arcot district. The Public Health Act of 1939 has secured the necessary Government control over public health matters administered by the local bodies. Its provisions, though not always, at least on occasions of outbreak of epidemics, have considerably strengthened the hands of the Public Health authorities and enabled them to undertake adequate measures for the control and prevention of diseases. The District Health Scheme has provided the district with a District Health Officer and several Municipal Health Officers who supervise all public health matters and exercise adequate control over the subordinate health establishments. The Town-Planning Act, however, has not yet produced any substantial results. Until 1950, no municipality in South Arcot is stated to have made any progress in executing the sanctioned works for town-planning ². Nor have the schemes for protected water-supply made much headway. Protected water-supply has been provided only in the towns of Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Chidambaram ³. About 800 drinking water wells have been sunk by the Government under the Five-Year Plan ⁴. But many people are still accustomed to take water for drinking purposes indiscriminately from unprotected sources of water-supply, as has already been stated. Drainage is even more unsatisfactory. Proper underground drainage has not been provided in any town & Conservancy is confined mostly to the municipalities and a few of

¹ *Public Health Code* (Revised Edition), pages 132-147.

Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 424-427.

² G.O. No. 1013, Health, dated 27th March 1952.

See Administration Report of Town Planning for 1949-50.

³ 1951 *Census Handbook*, South Arcot District, 1953, page 6.

⁴ 1951 *Census Handbook*, South Arcot District, 1953, page 7.

G.O. No. 3039, Health, dated 25th September 1952.

⁵ 1951 *Census Handbook*, South Arcot District, 1953, page 6.

the smaller towns. Some maternity and child welfare centres have indeed been opened; there were twenty-one such centres in 1953 under the local bodies and two under private agencies¹. There are also a number of midwives attached to the hospitals and dispensaries. But with all this, the arrangements for maternity and child welfare cannot be said to be adequate. On the whole, much remains to be done to improve public health and to control, if not eradicate, diseases.

Coming to the curative side of public health, very little was done in that direction by the Government in this or in other districts till about 1840. There was indeed a Surgeon-General in Madras from 1786, but his duties were confined to the British forces. There was also a Medical Board in Madras from the same year but its duties were confined to the supervision of the work of the Surgeons employed in the East India Company's Settlements to look after the welfare of the Company's servants. There were likewise Zilla Surgeons in the districts but their duties too were confined to the care of the European Officers at the headquarters stations and to the preservation of the health of the prisoners confined in the jails². The only kind of medical aid which the Government rendered to the public in those days was by requiring the Zilla Surgeons to control the work of vaccinators in the districts and by permitting the Collectors to afford medical relief to the people through the Indian medical practitioners whenever any serious outbreaks of cholera took place³. In all other matters the public were entirely left to themselves and they obtained whatever medical aid they could from private indigenous institutions or practitioners of Indian medicine.

From 1840, however, a change came to be introduced. In that year, on the recommendation of the Medical Board, the Government began to open for the first time civil hospitals, or dispensaries as they were called, in large towns for the treatment of the public, especially of the poor. One such dispensary was opened in Cuddalore in 1840 and another in Cuddalore (Gudalur) Old Town in 1860. A proper building was constructed for the former in 1852 and in 1862 when Mr. Reade was the Collector, a sum of Rs. 24,000 was raised by public subscription and invested as an endowment towards the upkeep of those two institutions⁴. There is evidence to show that both these dispensaries became popular and attracted not only the poor but also the well-to-do patients⁵.

¹ *Administration Report of the Public Health Department for 1953*, page 97.

² *Madras Manual of Administration* by C. D. Maclean, Vol. I, 1885, pages 507-511.

³ *Judicial Consultations*, dated 29th September 1820 and 13th October 1820. *Judicial Despatch to England*, dated 11th March 1820.

⁴ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 196.

⁵ *Report on Civil Dispensaries from 1853 to 1872*.

It may be stated here that the present hospital at Manjakuppam, Cuddalore (Gudalur), has grown out of the dispensary opened in 1840. After the passing of the Local Funds Act and the Towns Improvement Act of 1871 the local bodies began to open new dispensaries at several places so that by 1900 the district had 24 dispensaries¹.

In the meantime the medical organization of the whole State underwent some important changes. In 1857 the Medical Board was replaced by a Director-General or Inspector-General of the Medical Department². In 1880 his post was converted into that of the Surgeon-General with the Government of Madras. The Surgeon-General whose designation has now been changed to the Director of Medical Services was then entrusted with the control and superintendence of the civil hospitals and dispensaries and the medical establishments attached to the judicial, revenue, police and other civil departments as well as the medical establishments of the Indian army. In 1883 the Zilla Surgeons who had by now come to be called Civil Surgeons were supplied with Assistant Surgeons in all the districts, including South Arcot, and required to tour and inspect all the civil hospitals and dispensaries in the district and to supervise also sanitary work, especially vaccination. Thenceforth they came to be called the District Medical and Sanitary Officers³. It has already been seen how in sanitary or public health matters they came to be replaced in 1922 by the District Health Officers. Since then their designation has been changed to that of District Medical Officers.

Side by side with these changes several changes in policy were also effected. In 1870 the Government medical institutions were, by the Local Boards Act and the Towns Improvements Act, placed under the local boards and the municipalities, and subsequently all local board institutions came under the district boards when the district boards took the place of the local boards. In the early stages the Government gave only very small grants to the local bodies for the maintenance of their medical institutions. But from 1915 the Government began to adopt a more liberal attitude by granting one half of the initial and recurring cost of these institutions opened after that date. In 1917 they went a step further. They took over the entire management of the district and taluk headquarters hospitals with a view to making them model centres for medical aid⁴. This policy has since been vigorously

¹ *Report on Civil Dispensaries for 1900*, page 15.

² *Madras Manual of Administration* by C. D. Maclean, Vol. I, 1885, page 407.

³ G.O. No. 945, Public, dated 21st June 1880.

G.O. No. 391, Public, dated 22nd February 1883.

⁴ G.O. No. 397, Local, dated 9th March 1915.

G.O. No. 1149, Local, dated 16th August 1915.

Madras Presidency, 1881 to 1931, by G. T. Boag, 1933, page 117.

pursued in all the districts with the result that several of the important hospitals and dispensaries in the State are now run directly by the Government. In regard to the other non-Government hospitals and dispensaries, they have continued to contribute grants in some cases and have also in other cases lent their own medical officers. They have, moreover, from 1911 and more particularly from 1929, extended the system of appointing honorary medical officers in all district headquarters hospitals and Government hospitals'. In 1929 they introduced a scheme for the training of dais or indigenous midwives in all district headquarters hospitals except those in Madras. In 1943, however, it was given up as it was not popular among the dais.

Nor is this all. They have introduced a scheme of subsidized rural dispensaries for providing medical relief in areas in which it is not possible to establish regular dispensaries. Under this scheme which was started in 1924, men qualified either in the Western or the Indian system of medicine, who settle permanently in specified villages and agree to treat the poor free of charge, are given subsidies partly by the Government and partly by the local bodies. The liability of the Government is restricted to the payment of subsidy to the medical practitioner and the midwife, while the cost of the medicines and contingent charges are met by the local bodies. The medical practitioner is, however, at liberty to accept fees from well-to-do patients. Besides these subsidized dispensaries, the district boards have set up rural dispensaries of their own for rendering medical aid to the rural population¹.

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Another measure that has been undertaken for expanding the scope of medical aid to rural areas is that of training as many men as possible in the indigenous systems of medicine so that they may settle down as medical practitioners in the villages or take charge of the rural dispensaries belonging to the district boards. A school of Indian Medicine was opened for this purpose in Madras in 1925 and since then, in order to provide higher training, a college of Indian Medicine has also been opened (1947-48). A scheme has also been recently evolved (1949) for improving the knowledge of the practitioners of the indigenous systems residing in rural areas. Under this scheme, called the Village Vaidya Scheme, selected practitioners receive training for six months in first aid, minor surgery, hygiene, preventive medicine, etc., and are afterwards examined in these subjects as well as in subjects

¹ *Madras Presidency, 1881 to 1931*, by G. T. Boag, 1933, page 117.

² G.O. No. 1005, Public, dated 1st June 1937, page 1394.

Monograph on Rural Problems by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, page 423.

dealing with Indian Medicine; and those who pass the examination are declared Village Vaidyas and made eligible for appointments by Village Panchayats on an honorarium. Four centres have been opened in the State for training these Vaidyas ¹.

All these schemes have naturally contributed to increase the medical facilities in South Arcot. The district has now a number of Government and Local Fund hospitals and dispensaries besides some aided and private medical institutions. The following statement shows the number of indoor and outdoor patients treated in the Public, Local Fund, Private-aided, and Subsidized Rural Dispensaries of the district during the trienniums 1929-31, 1938-40 and 1948-50 ².



² *Public Health in Madras* (Pamphlet), 1952, pages 24-25.

³ *Triennial Reports on the working of the Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries* for 1920-31, 1938-40 and 1948-50.

Year.	Of what class.	Number of Institutions.	Number of beds.		Indoor (IP) or Outdoor (OP) patients.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Number dead.
			Men.	Women.						
1929-31	A (General Dispensaries)	25	108	88	I.P.	4,067	1,980	420	6,467	229
	B (Female Dispensaries)	1	..	..	O.P.	232,915	103,410	118,078	455,403	..
	C (Subsidized Dispensaries)	11	..	..	I.P.	..	4,682	3,566	8,249	..
			..	..	O.P.	..	..	..	..	..
1938-40	A (General Dispensaries)	24	114	100	I.P.	37,592	16,772	17,067	71,431	..
	B (Female Dispensaries)	1	..	..	O.P.	4,971	3,647	856	9,474	418
	C (Subsidized Dispensaries)	*	..	..	I.P.	278,923	132,351	145,132	556,806	..
			..	..	O.P.	..	6,750	3,874	10,624	..
1948-50	A (General Dispensaries)	35	..	..	I.P.	76,167	30,072	29,977	136,216	..
	B (Female Dispensaries)	1	311	313	O.P.	10,469	8,638	4,527	23,634	892
	C (Subsidized Dispensaries)	*	-	4	I.P.	361,660	179,145	192,773	733,578	..
			-	-	O.P.	..	25	..	25	..
			-	-	I.P.	..	18,181	8,595	26,776	..
			-	-	O.P.	24,465	11,392	12,540	48,397	..

(* Figures not furnished in the Triennial Reports on the working of the Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries.)

In 1954, with which the chapter closes there were five Government hospitals at Cuddalore, Chidambaram, Villupuram, Tindivanam, Kallakkurichchi and one leprosy hospital at Tirukkoyilur, three Government dispensaries at Aziznagar, Kandanangalam, Neyveli (under the control of the Industries and Commerce Department of the Government of India, for the Pilot Project area), one Government hospital and maternity centre at Settiyatope, one primary centre at Siruvanthadu and two leprosy clinics and segregation centres at Veeraperumanallur and Malavanthangal respectively. There were 23 District Board and Municipal dispensaries in various towns. There were, besides, two Danish Mission hospitals at Tirukkoyilur and Vriddhachalam, a unani hospital at Chidambaram, two Railway hospitals at Vriddhachalam and Villupuram, a factory dispensary at Neyveli, three general dispensaries at Cuddalore (Gudalur) New Town, Cuddalore (Gudalur) Old Town and at Villupuram, one women and children dispensary at Tiruppapuliur in addition to the leprosy institutions already mentioned while dealing with leprosy, and the rural dispensaries, set up in several places. All these institutions treated no less than 29,266 in-patients and 12,14,674 out-patients¹. There were, also, besides several rural dispensaries of indigenous medicine, State as well as private-aided in the district, and these treat every year a large number of patients².



¹ *Report on the working of the Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries for 1954, pages 14-16.*

² *See, for instance, G.O. No. 1729, Health, dated 17th May 1951—Report page 19.*

CHAPTER XIII.

EDUCATION.

In the early period of British rule, education was solely in the hands of the people, alike in South Arcot and in other districts. It was not till 1813 that the British Parliament sanctioned a lakh of rupees for encouraging education in India; and it was not till 1822 that Sir Thomas Munro started a State-wide educational enquiry in Madras with a view to introducing reforms. This enquiry revealed that there were then in South Arcot no less than 875 schools teaching no less than 10,523 scholars. No district in the State, save Tanjore, had a larger number of scholars, and even Tanjore lagged behind South Arcot in the percentage of scholars to the total population. For, while this percentage was 2·0 in Tanjore, it was 2·3 in South Arcot. Of the 10,523 scholars the Brahmins numbered 997, and the Muslims 252; the rest were Non-Brahmins and, among them, it is interesting to note, there were 104 female scholars. The one thing peculiar about this district was that it had no 'tols' or colleges where theology, law, astronomy, etc., were taught. Another thing peculiar was that it had no schools endowed by the former Indian rulers. All schools here were supported entirely by the scholars who paid fees ranging from 1 fanam to 1 pagoda each month. These schools were no other than the pial schools which have existed through centuries in India. The scholars in them, it would appear, were taught reading, writing and arithmetic, were made to read popular versions of religious books as well as light literature, such as the Ramayana, the Mahabharatha and the Panchatantra, and instructed to decipher up-country letters and to draw up legal documents like deeds which played no small part in village transactions. They seem to have attended the schools from 6 a.m. to 10 a.m., from 12 p.m. to 2 p.m. and from 7 p.m. to 8 p.m.¹

These schools were in no way affected by the measures undertaken as a result of Munro's enquiry. For, those measures consisted of the establishment of only a few Collectorate and Tahsildary Schools, a Normal School at Madras for training the teachers required for the Collectorate Schools, a Board of Public Instruction in Madras for supervising all these schools and a grant to the School Book Society that had been then formed in Madras for translating good books into Indian languages. According to the plan proposed, in every Collectorate there were to be two Collectorate Schools, one for the Hindus and the other for the

¹ Board's Consultations Vol. No. 954, Consultation, dated 7th July 1823.

Studies in Madras Administration by B. S. Baliga, Vol. II, 1949, pages 56-57.

Muslims under one or more teachers trained in various subjects in the Normal School at Madras. In every Tahsildary there was to be a Tahsildary School under a competent schoolmaster. . Candidates for the teachers' posts in the Tahsildary School were to be nominated by the respectable men of the locality, a provision which was specially designed to create local interest in education. The Tahsildary teachers were not to receive any training in Madras as the Collectorate teachers. The former were to be paid Rs. 9 and the latter Rs. 15 per mensem. Both were to be at liberty to give private tuition to any of their pupils and to receive fees in return, in addition to their salary. In the Collectorate Schools, English was to be taught, but it was to be taught only as one of the languages along with the language of the district. In the Tahsildary Schools the entire teaching was to be conducted in the language of the district. It does not appear that the subjects taught in these schools were in any way different from the subjects taught in the indigenous schools. The underlying object of the scheme was to establish a few well managed, efficient schools so as to hold them out as models for imitation to the numerous indigenous schools which were reported to be in an unsatisfactory condition¹. In accordance with this scheme, one Collectorate School and four Tahsildary Schools were opened in the district; the former was presumably located at Cuddalore (Gudalur), while the latter were located at Tiruvadi, Chidambaram, Tirukkoyilur and Mannargudi². But all these schools, in this as well as in other districts, soon proved complete failures. The teachers of the Collectorate Schools were described as "the refuse of the expectants on the Collector's list," while the teachers of the Tahsildary Schools were said to be "inferior, on the whole, to the common village masters"³.

सत्यमेव जयते

But a new era was now dawning. The Court of Directors of the East India Company advocated in 1830 the theory known as the filtration theory of education according to which the best results could be obtained by educating the higher classes in the first instance and leaving it to them to create a desire for education in the masses. They directed that 'the higher orders' should be given instruction in English language and European literature and science and thereby trained to become fit persons for taking a larger share in the civil administration of the country. Then came the Anglo-Vernacular controversy, as to whether English or Indian languages should be given prominence in the scheme of education. It reached its climax in the famous minute of Lord Macaulay of 1835 and the equally famous Resolution of Lord William Bentinck,

¹ *Studies in Madras Administration* by B. S. Baliga, Vol. II, 1949, pages 64-66.

² *Selections from the Records of the Madras Government* No. II—Papers relating to Public Instruction, 1885, page LXV-LXVI.

³ *Studies in Madras Administration* by B. S. Baliga, Vol. II, 1949, page 67.

dated 7th March 1835 which endorsed it observing that " the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science " and that all funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best spent on English education alone. In consequence of this policy, the Collectorate and Tahsildary Schools in South Arcot as well as in the other districts were abolished (1836), the Board of Instruction was superseded by a ' Committee of Native Education ', and the Committee was directed to organize a Normal School for training teachers for the new English schools which were to be eventually opened in the different parts of the State. This Committee was shortly afterwards replaced by the University Board constituted by Lord Elphinstone for the government of an institution to be styled as the Madras University. The University was to consist of a High School for the cultivation of English literature, Indian languages and elements of philosophy and science and a College for the cultivation of higher branches of literature, philosophy and science. To this College were to be tagged on by scholarships a few Provincial Schools, to be established in the districts. The high school was opened in April 1841, the College (the present Presidency College) was opened in January 1853, and the Provincial Schools were opened from 1853 onwards.

In 1854, a series of propositions of first rate importance were propounded by the Court of Directors. The filtration theory was to be displaced by the theory of mass education. Elementary education was not to be sacrificed at the altar of higher education. Instruction in Indian languages was not to be superseded by instruction in English. Both were to be encouraged side by side and the indigenous institutions which formed the basis of elementary education were to be revived, reformed and assimilated into one great comprehensive scheme of education. All this ushered in a new chapter in the history of education. The University was remodelled, a department of education was organized (1855), the post of the Director of Public Instruction was created and under him were appointed 4 Inspectors of Schools, 20 Assistant (later called Deputy) Inspectors and 20 Sub-Assistant Inspectors or Taluk Visitors. Provision was also made for a Normal School, a few Provincial Schools, some Zilla Schools, several Taluk Schools, a depot for school books and educational presses and scholarships. Provision was likewise made for Normal Schools and Anglo-Vernacular Schools in the districts and, what is more, for grants-in-aid to all private schools which came under the Government departmental inspection. The first set of rules governing grants-in-aid were issued in 1855 and this was followed by other sets which gradually tended to absorb the indigenous schools into the public system. ¹

¹ *Studies in Madras Administration* by B. S. Baliga, Vol. II, 1949, pages 68-73.

Standing Information regarding the official Administration of the Madras Presidency by C. D. Maclean, 1877, pages 364-383.

The first of the Provincial Schools to be established was that of Cuddalore (Gudalur); it was opened in 1853¹. In the very next year, two elementary 'Vernacular Schools' were opened, one at Cuddalore (Gudalur) and the other at Panruti². The Provincial School was to consist of nine classes, the highest of which was to be sufficiently advanced to qualify for the B.A. Degree Examination of the Madras University³. Instruction in it was to be imparted principally in English and its curriculum was to comprise a grammatical study of English, and Tamil, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, geography, economics and history⁴. The vernacular schools were to be elementary schools where the instruction was to be given solely in Tamil⁵.

Both these plans, however, were soon materially modified. In 1856 the Provincial School was converted into a Zilla School and the two Vernacular Schools were converted into Taluk Schools⁶. In the Zilla School the subjects taught were the same as those prescribed for the Provincial School. They were also taught in English. But there were only six classes and the standard of the sixth class was to coincide with the standard set up for the Matriculation Examination of the University⁷. In the Taluk School both English and Tamil were taught as well as arithmetic, geography, and elements of history, geometry and algebra. It had five classes, and its subjects were all taught in Tamil. In the same year, two more Taluk Schools were established in Vriddachalam and Porto Novo (Parangipettai)⁸.

Subsequent years saw more Taluk Schools, rate schools and aided schools. In 1857 two Taluk Schools were opened at Tindivanam and Villupuram⁹; in 1858 two more at Kurinjipadi and Tiruvannamalai (which was then in the South Arcot district,¹⁰) and in 1863 one more at Tirukkoyilur¹¹. In 1862 the Pachiappa's Branch School at Chidambaram which had been opened in 1850 by the Pachiappa trustees¹², was placed under the inspection of the Education Department¹³. In the very next year the Gospel Society Boys' and Girls' Schools at Cuddalore (Gudalur which had

¹ *Report on Education for 1854-1855*, page 5.

² *Idem* for 1855, pages 5, 18.

³ *Idem* for 1859-1860, page 22.

⁴ *Idem* for 1857-1858, pages 73-78.

⁵ *Idem* for 1855, page 19—See also Appendix B. No. 2.

⁶ *Idem* for 1855-1856, page 15.

⁷ *Idem* for 1859-60, page 22.

⁸ *Idem* for 1855-1856, pages 15, 27 and 46.

Idem for 1856-57, pages 34-36.

⁹ *Idem* for 1857-1858—See Appendix A.

¹⁰ *Idem* for 1858-1859, Appendix A, Table III.

¹¹ *Idem* for 1863-1864, page 42, Appendix A, Table III.

¹² *Madras Manual of Administration* by C. D. Maclean, Vol. I 1885—See foot-notes on page 570.

¹³ *Report on Education for 1862-1863*, page 44.

their origin in 1803, came under the same inspection¹. In 1866 six rate schools were established in the district under Act VI of 1863 which enabled the inhabitants to raise a cess or rate for the maintenance of such schools². Meanwhile several other missionary and private schools also came to be aided, so that, in 1870-1871, on the eve of the introduction of the Local Fund Act and the Towns Improvement Act of 1871, the district had one Zilla or Higher School with 220 pupils, nine Taluk or Middle Schools with 539 pupils, six private schools with 134 pupils, six missionary schools with 295 pupils and 99 other aided private elementary schools with 2,852 pupils. Of the private schools the most important were the Pachaiappa's Branch School at Chidambaram and the St. Joseph's Educational Institute at Cuddalore (Gudalur)³.

In order to avoid confusion, we may, at this stage, trace the history of higher education down to the present and then turn to the history of secondary and elementary education. The Zilla school became popular under Mr. John Armour, its Headmaster and in 1868 a new building was put up for it at a cost of about Rs. 10,000. For this building the people of Cuddalore (Gudalur) not only gave the site but contributed about Rs. 5,000. In 1879 the school was made a Second Grade College and called the Town College. In 1881 the primary departments in it were abolished and in 1884 its middle school department came under the management of the 'Town School Committee'. In 1886 another college (St. Joseph's College) having come into existence at Cuddalore (Gudalur), it was considered unnecessary to have two colleges at one and the same place, and consequently the college departments of the Town College were abolished from 1887 and the high school classes were handed over to the School Committee. In 1888 the College classes were again opened but these were once more closed in 1902. The High School continued till 1920 under the management of the School Committee, when it was handed over to the Municipality. It is now known as the Municipal High School⁴.

Another institution which first became a College and then a High School, was the St. Joseph's Educational Institution at Manjakuppam (Cuddalore). The site of this institution was purchased by Mgr. Bonnard, Vicar Apostolic at Pondicherry (Puducherry) in 1852 and in 1868 a high school was established on it,—largely through the exertions of the Rev. S. Renevier, then in charge of the Roman Catholic congregation at Cuddalore—by the Right Reverend P. Laouenan, D.D., the Archbishop of Pondicherry. In 1884 the school was made a Second Grade College and affiliated

¹ *Report on Education for 1863-1864*, page 78.

² *Idem for 1870-1871*, page 20.

³ *Idem for 1870-1871*, pages 5, 309.

⁴ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 198.

Idem, Vol. II, 1932, page XLIII.

to the Madras University. On the abolition of the college classes of the Cuddalore (Gudalur) Town College (1902), this college remained the only college in the district; but in 1909, it was reduced to the status of a High School and it continues to be as such to this day.¹

But, though these two colleges have now disappeared, there has appeared in their place, a University itself in the district, and this is the Annamalai University opened in 1929 and called after its founder, Raja S. R. M. Annamalai Chettiyar of Chettinad. The ancestors of the Raja had made Chidambaram their second home and established several charities in connection with the Chidambaram temple. In 1914 the Raja's brother interested himself in education, took over a languishing High School there and tried his best to raise it to the status of a college. He, however, failed, but the Raja took up the scheme and pushed it through successfully. In 1920 the Raja converted the High School into a second grade college and, in 1922, he converted the second grade college into a first grade college. Within a few years he put up separate buildings for the college on a site selected 2 miles to the east of Chidambaram (now called Annamalainagar), and named the college as Meenakshi College, after his mother's name. He had by then opened also two other colleges, one a Tamil College and the other a Sanskrit College, and named them also Meenakshi Colleges. All these colleges having become popular, he soon conceived the idea of establishing a residential University. He offered to the Government, in 1928, all the buildings and equipments of all the three colleges worth about 15 lakhs of rupees and promised to give another 20 lakhs, if the colleges were raised to the status of a Unitary Teaching and Residential University. Considering the unique nature of his generous offer as well as the fact that the best educational opinion in the country had, since the publication of the Sadler Commission Report on the Calcutta University, steadily favoured the growth of the residential and teaching type of university, the Government accepted his offer and promised 27 lakhs of rupees towards the endowment fund, 1.5 lakhs as annual grant and 7.5 lakhs as their share on the expenditure on buildings. The Annamalai University Bill was passed into an Act in 1928 and the University started functioning from 1st July 1929, the Tamil and Sanskrit Colleges having been moved to Annamalainagar in the same month. Unlike the jurisdiction of the Madras and Andhra Universities, the jurisdiction of the Annamalai University is confined to an area of ten miles round its Convocation Hall "to ensure constant and closer association of students and teachers and thus

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 197-198.

Idem, Vol. II, 1932, page LXIII.

to secure an opportunity for a real corporate life to develop¹. The University has now the Departments of Arts and Science which coach the students for B.A., B.Sc., B.A. (Hons.), and B.Sc. (Hons.); the Departments of Engineering and Technology which coach the students for B.E., B.E. (Chem.) and M.Sc., the Department of Oriental Studies which coaches students for B.O.L., Pulavar, and Siromani; and the Department of music which coaches students for B. Mus. and Sangeetha Bushana².

The only other institution of higher learning in the district is Sri Sivagnana Balaya Swamigal Tamil College, Mailam. It is a private aided institution and it coaches the students for Vidwan³.

Turning now to the later history of secondary and elementary education, a great fillip was given to these in South Arcot as in other districts only after the formation of the local boards and the Municipalities. Under the Local Fund Act No. IV of 1871 all public schools were transferred to the local boards and made a charge upon local funds and under the Towns Improvement Act No. III of 1871, the municipalities were entrusted with the diffusion of education, with the construction and repair of school houses, with the establishment and maintenance of schools either wholly or by grants-in-aid, as well as, with the inspection of schools and the training of teachers. The Local Boards Act V of 1884 and the District Municipalities Act IV of 1884, which superseded these Acts and created new local bodies, emphasised still more the duties of these bodies in the matter of education. The Local Boards Act made it the duty of the district boards and taluk boards to diffuse education and, with this end in view, to construct and repair school houses, either wholly or by means of grants-in-aid and also to provide for the inspection of schools and the training of teachers. The District Municipalities Act enjoined the Municipalities to make provision, where possible, for the instruction in schools of all children of school-going age and, for this purpose, to maintain the schools or to give grants-in-aid or to contribute towards the cost of Government schools. They were also required to provide for the inspection of schools, for the training of teachers and for the maintenance of public libraries, reading rooms, gymnasiums, etc.. All this time, the Government grants

¹ G.O. No. 545, Law (Education), dated 29 March 1930.

G.O. No. 365, Law (Legislative), dated 24th August 1928.

G.O. No. 395-397, Law (Legislative), dated 19th September 1928.

G.O. No. 453, Law (Legislative), dated 9th October 1928.

G.O. Nos. 454-455, Law (Legislative), dated 10th October 1928.

G.O. No. 478-480, Law (Legislative), dated 22nd October 1928.

G.O. Nos. 518-519, Law (Legislative), dated 7th November 1928.

G.O. No. 605, Law (Legislative), dated 21st December 1928.

G.O. No. 1681, Education, dated 8th August 1929.

Gazetteer of the South Arcot District, Vol. II, 1932, pages XLII-XLIII.

² *Report on Public Instruction for 1951-1952*, page 82.

³ *Idem*, page 87.

were also given to a large number of private educational institutions.

The effects of these measures soon began to be felt. The opening years of the twentieth century, for instance, revealed a marked advance in education in South Arcot. In 1900-1901 there were in the district 1,518 educational institutions imparting instruction to 41,215 scholars. There were then 2 Arts Colleges, 3 Upper secondary schools, 38 Lower secondary schools and 1,411 primary schools for boys, and 1 Upper secondary school, 7 Lower secondary schools and 20 Primary schools for girls, 4 Training schools for masters, 1 Training school for mistresses and 1 Technical, industrial and arts school. There were also 330 indigenous schools imparting instruction to 5,763 pupils. The percentage of total scholars to the total population of school-age came to 12.5¹.

During the last fifty years the district has witnessed some far-reaching changes in the field of secondary education. In 1911, in lieu of the Matriculation Examination conducted by the University, the Secondary School-Leaving Certificate Examination conducted by a Government Board was introduced. Thereafter the Government began to grant more and more subsidies both to the schools maintained by the local bodies and to the schools managed by private agencies. In 1923, they established an advisory board, called the District Secondary Education Board in every district (save the Nilgiris and the Agency tracts) and in 1928 they reorganized these Boards. In 1925, they gave perfect liberty to the managers of the schools to choose English or the language of the district as the medium of instruction in Forms IV, V and VI of a secondary school².

But all these measures, beyond increasing the number of schools in the State, contributed little to improve the quality of instruction or to turn out good citizens. It was left to the National Government in 1948 to chalk out a sound plan of secondary education. They got the various subjects of the school curriculum drafted by specially constituted sub-committees and subsequently finalised them after obtaining the opinion of the teaching profession, the public and the Board of Secondary Education.

The salient feature of the scheme of reorganization thus made in Forms I to III is the building up of the curriculum in correlation with several educative school activities with a main or basic craft as the chief among the activities. Handloom weaving, woodwork, gardening and agriculture are taken up as the basic crafts for boys, and home craft as the basic craft for girls. Most of the general school activities are comprehended under citizenship training which has been introduced as a new subject in all these

¹ Report on Public Instruction for 1900-01--see Statements.

² Madras Presidency, 1881-1931, by G. T. Boag, 1933, pages 108-109.

forms to be conducted formally up to Form IV and informally in the higher forms. Purpose and unity have been introduced in the subjects of history, geography and civics, integrating them into one subject under the head 'social studies'. The other subjects of the curriculum, namely, languages, mathematics, general science, physical education and religious or moral instruction continue to have their due and important place in the curriculum, but their teaching is now required to be practical and based upon the life and activities of the pupils, especially of the crafts which they practice in the school and which is expected to afford the necessary technical bias to the instruction. English is taught as second language from Form I. The academic course and the diversified courses comprising the Secretarial, the Pre-technological, the Aesthetic and Domestic Science courses are the main features of the scheme in Forms IV to VI.

The underlying object of the scheme of diversified courses in the secondary schools is to provide a variety of courses, instead of the merely academic one, to suit the varied requirements of students of different aptitudes. Care has been taken to see that such students are not shut out from pursuing higher studies if they so choose. Instruction in all subjects is now normally given not in English as before, but in the regional languages, thereby lightening the burden of the pupils and giving a fillip to the study of the hitherto more or less neglected languages. Indeed the language scheme has been adopted with a view to enabling the students to study the regional language, the mother-tongue or a classical language and Hindi, besides English. The first language is the mother-tongue or the regional language, consisting of two parts, of which the study of Part I is compulsory, while under Part II the students are permitted to study either the first language or a classical or any other Indian language. The second language is English and this is compulsory and the third language is Hindi which is optional, those who do not choose Hindi being allowed to learn an additional craft or approved activity. With a view to enabling teachers to get acquainted with the general principles of the reorganized scheme of studies and making them more efficient in the discharge of their duties, more especially in such subjects like crafts, citizenship, etc., courses have been organized in citizenship training, home science, and home craft and training in museum technique¹.

As a result of all this the secondary schools in South Arcot as well as in the other districts have begun to improve in quality. But South Arcot has not made much progress in secondary education; in fact, in this field, it lags behind almost every district in this State. Thus in 1951-52 it had only 1 school under Government management, 13 schools under district boards, 2 under municipalities and 13 under missionary and other private agencies imparting education on the whole to 17,475 boys and 302 girls. Among

¹ See the Reports on Public Instruction from 1930.

girls' schools, it had 2 Government schools, 2 district board schools, and 1 aided (private) school, teaching on the whole 1,812 girls. 17,475 boys, out of its total male population of 1,409,924, attended public secondary schools in 1952, thereby giving it a percentage of 1·24 boys to the male population; and 2,744 girls, out of its total female population of 1,405,712, attended public schools in the same year, thereby giving it a percentage of 0·2 girls to the female population. The percentage in the case of boys was exceeded in all other districts, save in the Salem district; and the percentage in the case of girls was the lowest in the State.¹

As to Elementary Education in general, until 1920, it was left in the hands of the local boards, municipal councils, missions and other private agencies. In that year was passed the Madras Elementary Education Act, 1920 (Act VIII of 1920), which introduced a number of changes. It created, in each district, a District Educational Council consisting of some members nominated by the Government and others elected by the local bodies, to prepare schemes for the extension of elementary education, to enlist the co-operation of all agencies, public as well as private, for that purpose, to regulate the recognition of all elementary schools, to disburse all grants-in-aid from provincial funds to these schools and to advise the department of education generally in all matters connected with elementary education, including the provision of trained teachers. It provided for the levy, with the previous consent of the Government, of an educational tax, subject to the prescribed minimum, by the local bodies and, wherever the local bodies had levied such a tax, the contribution of an equal sum from the provincial funds in addition to the provincial subsidies usually made on behalf of elementary education. And, what is more, it provided for the introduction of compulsion in suitable areas with the previous sanction of the Government. About the same time, the District Municipalities Act and the Local Boards Act were revised, and elementary education was completely removed from the purview of the district boards and entrusted to the taluk boards and the municipalities. In 1923, two conferences convened by the Government stressed the need for the gradual expansion of elementary education by establishing a school in every village with a population of over 500 inhabitants, by developing and improving existing indigenous schools and by requiring the local bodies to open new schools. In 1924 a special survey of elementary education was undertaken in all taluks of the State and, as a result of this, liberal subsidies were given by the Government for the opening of a large number of schools in places hitherto unprovided with schools.²

¹ *Report on Public Instruction, 1951-52*, pages 194-198.

² *Madras Presidency, 1881-1931*, by G. T. Boag, 1933, pages 110-111.

Within a few years, however, this policy of expansion showed everywhere some serious defects. The indiscriminate growth of elementary schools led to much stagnation and wastage. In most schools the boys were rarely retained up to the fifth standard to produce any real literacy among them; in most schools they stagnated for years in the first and second standards until their parents withdrew them from the schools altogether. In order to remedy this state of affairs the Madras Elementary Education Act was amended and a modified form of compulsion was adopted calculated not so much to ensure that every child entered a school as to prevent the child who had entered a school from being removed from it within the period of school-age. And, in order to make this compulsion effective, the chairmen of the municipal councils and the presidents of the newly reconstituted district boards in the place of the taluk boards (which were abolished) were empowered to impose penalties on all parents who withdrew their children from schools, while they were of school-age, in all areas where compulsory education had been introduced. Subsequently this power was transferred to the District Educational Officers (1946). Various measures were also taken for eliminating ineffective and inefficient elementary schools and for establishing, in their places, well-equipped and complete schools with five standards so that the pupils enrolled in them might go through the full primary course and become permanently literate. In the meantime the District Educational Councils were replaced by Taluk Advisory Councils in 1939 and the Taluk Advisory Councils were in turn abolished in 1941 and their duties entrusted to the Education Department. These measures have everywhere proved very successful; the percentage of pupils reading in Standard V rose from 9.5 in the case of boys' schools and 9.9 in the case of girls' schools in 1937-38 to 42.9 and 27.9 respectively in 1950-51. This is much above the 25 per cent aimed at by the department.¹

While stagnation and wastage were considerably controlled, steps were taken to give a rural bias to elementary education which had all along remained mostly bookish and, therefore, divorced from practical life. The necessity of giving such a bias was stressed by Sir Meverel Statham, who afterwards became the Director of Public Instruction, as early as 1927. Some experiments were made thereafter and finally a scheme was worked out and a proper syllabus was framed for that purpose in 1939-40. According to this scheme, which is now in force, emphasis is laid on the teaching of the mother-tongue and on the teaching of handicrafts in the lower elementary standards, and at least one pre-vocational subject in the higher elementary standards. Practical subjects of daily utility such as hygiene, including home craft for

¹ See the *Annual Reports on Public Instruction* from 1933-34 to 1950-51. *Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras* by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 390-395.

Madras in 1946, Part I, page 6.

girls and gardening and recreational subjects like music are made compulsory for all pupils in the lower elementary stage. Instruction is also imparted in elementary mathematics, history and geography, nature study and physical training. Among the handicrafts and pre-vocational subjects are included, spinning and weaving, mat-making, bee-keeping, pottery, embroidery, lace-making, preserving and pickling, etc. Among the optional subjects are included English, first-aid and a second language. Special steps have been taken to train teachers in the new syllabus by organizing refresher courses.¹

South Arcot has shared all these benefits along with the other districts; but still, it has not made much progress in elementary education as compared with the other districts. In 1951-52 it had, for instance, 1,674 elementary schools with 1,10,828 boys and 45,750 girls studying in them. Of these schools 172 were managed by the Government, 753 by the district board, 36 by the panchayat boards, 42 by the municipalities and 671 by aided private agencies.² But its percentage of boys in classes I to V to its male population in the age group 6-12 worked out only to 50.4, a percentage which gave it only the ninth rank among the districts. Its percentage of girls to its female population similarly worked out only to 23.3 which gave it the eleventh rank among the districts.³ Described in another way, it may be stated that out of 162 villages with a population of more than 2,000 persons, 157 villages in South Arcot had one or more public schools, that out of 636 villages with a population of 1,000 to 2,000 persons, 520 villages in it had one or more schools, that out of 909 villages with a population of 500 to 1,000 persons, 572 villages in it had one or more schools; that out of 404 villages with a population of 200 to 500 persons, 147 villages in it had one or more schools; and that out of 121 villages with a population of less than 200 persons, 11 villages in it had one or more schools.⁴ Compulsion for boys and girls has by now been introduced in the Municipality of Tindivanam and in 39 centres in rural areas.⁵ It may also be stated here that the distinction between boys' schools and girls' schools has now been removed and that all elementary schools have been converted into mixed schools open to boys and girls alike.⁶

A new orientation has recently been given to elementary education by the introduction of what is called the basic education. The idea underlying this system of education is that the children should

¹ *Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras* by S. Y. Krishnaswamy, 1947, pages 396-398.

Report on Public Instruction for 1939-40, pages 24-25.

² *Report on Public Instruction for 1951-52*, page 134.

³ *Idem*, pages 187-188.

⁴ *Idem*, page 183.

⁵ *Idem*, pages 75-76.

⁶ *Madras in 1949*, Part I, page 49.

learn by doing instead of merely learning about them from books, so as to develop in them initiative, enterprise and resourcefulness. Productive work is made the basis of learning. The children are taught basic crafts like spinning and weaving and are made to take pleasure in producing things of utilitarian value. Personal and environmental cleanliness are given an important place in the curriculum. They are given a great deal of freedom in these schools, the teacher acting more like a friend than as a disciplinarian. The aim of the Government is to convert, in course of time, every elementary school into a basic school and to provide at least one basic school for every village with a population of 500 or more. The chief difficulty has been that of training a sufficient number of teachers in this new method. In South Arcot in 1951-52, there were 81 basic schools with 5,485 boys and 2,490 girls studying in them. Of these 6 were Government schools, 37 were district board schools, 6 were municipal schools and 32 were aided private schools¹.

Another new development is adult or social education. Until about 30 years ago nothing was being done for educating the adults who had not had the benefit of school education. Some attempts were, from that time, made to open night schools for adults by non-official agencies like the Y.M.C.A. with the object of producing literacy among adults. These night schools received some assistance from the Government, but they failed to achieve any substantial results. It was not till the National Government came to power that something tangible was done and a definite scheme of adult education was sanctioned by the Government. In accordance with this scheme, several measures have been undertaken in the State. A special adult education officer has been appointed, as also some special propaganda deputy inspectors for conducting lectures and showing educational films with the help of mobile vans fitted with projectors, generators, loud-speakers and gramophone records. Many teachers have been trained for adult literacy work. Student volunteers have been persuaded to spend some weeks (40 days) in villages in order to disseminate general knowledge among the villagers and to instruct them through dramas, exhibitions, etc. A few rural colleges have also been opened for imparting higher education to such of the adults as had already received some education.² A three-year course has been drawn up

¹ G.O. No. 1474, Education, dated 8th July 1947.

G.O. No. 2536, Education, dated 26th April 1947.

Progress of Education in Madras State (Pamphlet), 1954, pages 6-9.

Report on Public Instruction for 1948-49, pages 1, 22-23.

Idem for 1951-52, page 192.

² *Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras* by S. Y. Krishnaswamy, 1947, pages 403-404.

Progress of Education in Madras State (Pamphlet), 1954, pages 9-15.

Report on Public Instruction for 1950-51.

G.O. No. 846, Education, dated 9th January 1948.

G.O. No. 1401, Education, dated 1st May 1950.

for the benefit of those adults who achieve literacy with the object of making them able to read and understand the contents of a daily newspaper and a number of schools for adults have been opened. So far as the South Arcot district is concerned, in 1951-52, there were 232 adult schools (Government, district board, municipal, aided and unaided) with a strength of 6,652 men and 349 women¹.

The district has also a number of elementary schools mainly intended for scheduled castes or Harijans and backward classes. The various educational concessions granted to the Harijans have already been described in the Chapter on Welfare Schemes. It may however be noted here that in 1951-52, there were 169 Government, 21 district board, 4 municipal and 87 aided schools under private management for scheduled castes imparting instructions to 17,014 boys and 10,164 girls, and two Government schools for scheduled tribes imparting instruction to 207 boys and 123 girls.² The district has also some training schools, industrial schools, and commercial schools. In 1951-52 there were 2 ordinary training schools for men, 2 basic training schools for men, 3 basic training schools for women, 3 industrial schools, and 8 commercial schools.³

In spite of all this, the overall picture of education and literacy in South Arcot is, however, by no means good when compared with the other districts. The following statement shows the progress of education for 1910 to 1950⁴ :—

Year.	Population by census.			Scholars (public and private).		
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1910—11 ..	1,172,807	1,189,759	2,362,566	64,901	7,395	72,296
1930—31 ..	1,152,414	1,167,671	2,320,085	119,926	23,005	142,931
1950—51 ..	1,390,463	1,386,304	2,776,767	129,919	52,086	182,005

Year.	Percentage of scholars to population.			Number of institutions.
	Males.	Females.	Total.	
1910—11	5.5	.6	3.2	2,053
1930—31	10.4	.2	6.2	3,008
1950—51	9.3	3.7	6.6	1,852

The district had, in 1951-52, 2,045 educational institutions imparting instruction to 144,896 males and 53,825 females out of a total population of 1,409,929 males and 1,405,712 females. Its percentage of scholars to population thus worked out at 10.3 in the case of males and 3.9 in the case of females and 7.1 in the case of

¹ Report on Public Instruction for 1951-52, page 212.

² *Idem*, pages 213-214.

³ *Idem*, pages 204-210.

⁴ *Idem*, for 1910-11, 1930-31 and 1950-51.

both males and females and these percentages gave it only the seventh rank among the districts in the matter of male education, the twelfth rank in the matter of female education and the eleventh rank in the matter of male and female education.¹ As to literacy it is 27.1 per cent among males and 5.9 per cent among females, which percentage is also exceeded in several districts².

The education of the district is under the control of the District Educational Officer who has his headquarters at Cuddalore (Gudalur). He looks after all schools except girls' schools which are under the charge of the Inspectress of Girls' Schools who has her headquarters at Thanjavur. There is also a Superintendent of the Government Secondary and Basic Training School for women at Cuddalore (Gudalur). The district comes under the jurisdiction of the Divisional Inspector of Schools who has his headquarters at Madurai. All these officers are under the control of the Director of Public Instruction.



¹ *Report on Public Instruction for 1951-52*, pages 166-167.

² *Census of India, 1951, Madras and Coorg, 1953, Part I*, pages 209-210.

CHAPTER XIV.

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

Great institutions sometimes have small beginnings. And the Local Self Government institutions of South Arcot as well as of other districts, which now play an important part in local affairs and serve as good training grounds for political leaders, grew originally out of small local bodies which were mainly official in character and which raised only small local funds for the improvement of roads, education and sanitation. So long as these bodies remained mainly official they evoked very little local enthusiasm, but as they gradually began to assume a non-official complexion and came to consist of elected members, they began increasingly to enjoy the confidence of the people.

Local administration in the district began with the passing of the Towns Improvement Act X of 1865 and the Local Funds Act IV of 1871. The first Act created the municipalities, the second the local fund boards, which subsequent legislation has changed into the present district boards and the panchayats. Legislation altering and enlarging the nature and scope of the municipalities and the local boards has gone hand in hand almost ever since 1871, but for the sake of clarity we may first deal with the growth of the local boards and then with the development of the municipalities.

The Local Funds Act of 1871, which created for the first time local bodies in rural areas, had its origin in the desire of the Government to provide a sound elementary education to the masses. Ever since the policy of expanding the scheme of elementary education had been accepted in the middle of the last century, the Government had found it difficult to provide adequate funds for that purpose from State revenues. In 1863 an Education Cess Act (Act VI of 1863) had been passed for enabling the inhabitants of a locality to tax themselves for the upkeep of schools, but this Act had been introduced only in a few districts (South Arcot was one among them) and even there it had failed completely to achieve its objects. By 1870 it was realised that it was impossible for the Government to bear the entire burden of elementary education, that some effective machinery had to be devised to make it, as far as possible, a direct charge on the people. It was also realised that it was equally impossible for the Government to bear the burden of the construction and repair of roads all over the State without obtaining some local assistance and co-operation. In 1854 at the suggestion of Mr. Maltby, the Collector of South Arcot, one anna per cawny of land revenue had been set aside as a separate

fund for the construction and repair of roads. In 1866 a District Road Cess Act (Act III of 1866) had been passed for authorising the levy of a cess of half an anna in the rupee on the rent-value of occupied land for the construction and maintenance of local roads. It was considered that this Act could, with advantage, be clubbed with the new Act proposed for constituting the local boards. The same new Act, it was also considered, could be made to provide for sanitation and medical aid, the two long felt but long neglected wants of the people¹.

The Local Boards Act of 1871 which provided for all these objects divided the whole State into a number of circles and constituted in each of these circles a local fund board consisting of 3 or more non-official members nominated by the Government and an equal number (but not more) of official members appointed by the Government. The term of office of the members was to be three years. The non-official members were to be chosen from among owners or occupiers of land or persons carrying on business or residing in a circle. The Collector of the district was made ex-officio president of each board situated within his jurisdiction. The Act repealed the District Board Cess Act of 1866 and the Education Cess Act of 1863, and the existing funds and the charges appertaining to local roads and to schools were transferred to the newly constituted local funds. The Act also provided for the imposition of a cess similar to the district road cess but with a maximum of one anna in the rupee, for the establishment of tolls upon roads and for the levy of a house-tax. Two-thirds of the cess and the whole of the tolls were made applicable exclusively to roads and communications and the house-tax was made applicable for schools and it was to be imposed only in villages in which schools existed or were about to be established. The house-tax, however, having become very unpopular, was discontinued from 1873-1874. The local funds were made applicable for the maintenance of roads and communications; for the upkeep of schools either wholly or by grants-in-aid; for the construction and repair of hospitals, choultries, markets, tanks and wells; for the training and employment of vaccinators and sanitary inspectors; and for the cleansing of roads, streets, tanks, etc. The Act also provided for the transfer to the local fund board of public dispensaries, choultries, tanks, etc., endowed and unendowed, for vesting the endowments in the board and for enabling the Board of Revenue which was vested with the supervision of local boards, to transfer to the local fund board the powers of control over charitable endowments conferred by Regulation VII of 1817².

¹ *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, 1885, by C. D. Maclean, footnote on pages 638-640.

Standing information regarding the Official Administration of the Madras Presidency, 1877, by C. D. Maclean, pages 207-208.

² See the provisions of Madras Act IV of 1871 in the *Fort St. George Gazette*.

This Act was introduced in South Arcot in the very year in which it was passed (1871). The district was divided into two circles, the Cuddalore (Gudalur) circle and the Vriddhachalam circle, the former comprising the taluks of Cuddalore (Gudalur), Villupuram, Tindivanam, Tirukkoyilur and Tiruvannamalai (then in the South Arcot district) and the latter comprising the taluks of Chidambaram, Vriddhachalam and Kallakkurichchi.¹ And, in each of these circles, a Local Fund Board was constituted with the Collector of the district as the president and a nominated member as vice-president. The Local Fund Board of Cuddalore (Gudalur) consisted of 11 official and 12 non-official members², while the Local Fund Board of Vriddhachalam consisted of nine non-official and eight official members³. In both the circles, roads, education, sanitation and medical institutions were transferred to the local fund boards and made a charge upon local funds. The board's receipts consisted of a land cess at the rate of one *anna* in the rupee on the annual rent value of land on whatever tenure held, grants-in-aid from provincial or special funds, a one-third share of municipal tolls and a few miscellaneous receipts. No toll or house-tax was levied in either circle. There is evidence to show that very little interest was shown in local affairs by the non-official members of the local fund boards⁴.

But the wheel of Juggernaut had been set in motion; and local self-government gradually gathered momentum and made steady progress in the subsequent years. In 1884 it was felt necessary to widen its field and to increase its efficiency by increasing the powers and augmenting the strength of the non-official element of the local bodies. The Local Boards Act V of 1884 was accordingly passed for repealing Act IV of 1871 and constituting new local bodies. By this Act the control over the local boards exercised by the Board of Revenue under section 71 of Act IV of 1871 was assumed by the Government and the administration of local affairs was vested in a single district board constituted for each revenue district consisting of a president and not less than 24 members who might all be appointed by the Government or might be partly so appointed and partly elected by the members of the newly created taluk boards from among their own members or, in any part of the district where there was no taluk board, by the union boards (another set of newly created local bodies), and by the taxpayers of the rural parts of the district. The members were to hold office for three years. All Revenue Divisional Officers were made ex-officio members. The proportion of the official members was reduced from one-half to one-fourth of the total strength. Under the old Act the local fund board had no powers to levy taxes on its own authority but could only administer the funds

¹ G.O. No. 619, Public, dated 9th May 1871.

² G.O. No. 1187, Finance, dated 7th April 1877.

³ *Idem*.

⁴ *Idem*.

raised on its behalf by the Government. Under the new Act the local boards were empowered to levy with the approval of the Government any of the taxes authorized by the Act. Under the old Act the Collector, as has been seen, was to act as the president of the Local Fund Board. Under the new Act the president of the district board might be elected from among the members of the district board, if the Government so directed and this privilege of electing the President was given to the South Arcot District Board.

The taluk boards were formed for each taluk or group of taluks consisting of a president with not less than 12 members who might either all be appointed by the Government or partly so appointed and partly elected from among the members of the union boards or elected by the tax-payers of the taluk, one-third of the members being officials. The term of office of the members was fixed at three years. The taluk board's jurisdiction then coinciding with the Revenue Divisional Officer's jurisdiction, that Officer was made the ex-officio member and president of the Board. The taluk board's funds consisted of one-half of the proceeds of the tax levied by the district board in the taluk board's area and transferred to it by the district board and other fees collected within the area of the taluk board, such as licence fees for markets, etc. The district board might, with the approval of the Government, or should, at their direction, transfer any other sums from its funds to the taluk board.

The revenues of the district board and the taluk boards were derived from a tax not exceeding two annas in the rupee on the annual rent value of all occupied lands in certain districts and not exceeding one anna in the rupee in certain other districts including South Arcot, from a railway cess of three pies in the rupee on an annual rent value of lands, from tolls, and from fees for the use of cart-stands, markets, slaughter-houses, etc. The duties and responsibilities of the district board and the taluk boards were declared to be the maintenance of roads, bridges and other means of communication; the construction and maintenance of hospitals, dispensaries, etc.; the diffusion of education and for that purpose the construction and repair of school houses, the training of teachers, etc.; the enforcement of measures relating to sanitation and public health; the establishment and maintenance of relief works in times of famine and scarcity; and the adoption of other acts of local public utility.

The union boards were constituted for single villages or groups of villages called Unions, the members consisting of not less than 5 persons, the headmen of the villages constituting the union being ex-officio members. One of these headmen was to be appointed chairman. Members other than village headmen were to be either all appointed by the Government or partly so appointed and partly elected by the tax-payers. Their term of office was to be three years. The resources of the union boards were to consist of the

proceeds of a house-tax levied in the union varying from 4 annas to 5 rupees according to the classification of the house and any other sums placed at the disposal of the union by the taluk board. The duties and responsibilities of the union boards were declared to be the lighting of the public roads, the cleaning of public roads, drains, wells and other public places, the establishment and maintenance of dispensaries and schools, the making and repairing of roads and drains, the constructing and repairing of tanks and wells and generally doing such things as might be necessary for the preservation of public health¹.

The Act was introduced into the district in 1885². The strength of the district board was fixed at 32 members (subsequently raised to 36) of which 8 were to be officials and 24 non-officials. Out of the 24 non-officials, 16 were to be eventually elected by the taluk boards. In 1886 four taluk boards were formed, namely, those of Cuddalore (Gudalur), Tindivanam, Vriddhachalam and Tirukkoyilur; the first comprising the revenue taluk of Cuddalore (Gudalur), the second the revenue taluks of Tindivanam, Tiruvannamalai (then in South Arcot) and Villupuram, the third the revenue taluks of Vriddhachalam and Chidambaram and the fourth the revenue taluks of Tirukkoyilur and Kallakurichchi. Each of these taluk boards consisted of 12 members, all appointed by the Government³. In the same year 7 union boards were formed each covering two or more villages and consisting of 6 members⁴. In subsequent years more union boards were formed until by 1906 their number rose to 21⁵. The District Board levied a land-cess of one anna in the rupee on the rent value of lands and also collected tolls. Its other revenues consisted of school fees, income from endowments, choultry rents, market rents, provincial contributions for education, public works, choultries and general purposes and contributions from special funds like the pound fund. All these revenues were spent generally on public works like roads and buildings, on secondary and elementary schools, on hospitals and dispensaries, on vaccination and sanitation and on choultries and travellers' bungalows⁶. The revenues of the taluk boards were derived from half the land cess and tolls raised in the taluks, school fees, choultry rents, fees from travellers' bungalows, contributions from provincial funds for schools and choultries and contributions from private individuals in aid of sanitary works. They were expended on choultries, taluk

¹ *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency*, 1885, by C. D. Maclean, Vol. I, pages 638-651 and footnotes on pages 641-642.

Madras Presidency 1881-1931, by G. T. Boag, 1933, pages 11-13.

See the provisions of Madras Act V of 1884 in the *Fort St. George Gazette*.

² G.O. No. 1122, Financial (Local Fund), dated 13th September 1886.

³ G.O. No. 345, Financial (Local Fund), dated 23rd March 1886.

⁴ *Idem*.

⁵ *Gazetteer of South Arcot district* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 259.

⁶ G.O. No. 1122, Financial (Local Fund), dated 13th September 1886.

and village roads, schools, dispensaries, vaccination and sanitation. The revenues of the union boards were derived from a house-tax, miscellaneous fees for cart stands, etc., and contribution from taluk boards and these were spent on schools, sanitation and public works.¹ The total revenues of the district board, the taluk boards and the union boards amounted, for instance, in 1886-1887, to Rs. 3,78,404, Rs. 1,86,917 and Rs. 6,401 respectively, and their total expenditure, in the same year, amounted to Rs. 2,58,171, Rs. 1,28,843 and Rs. 4,218 respectively.² Subsequently a new taluk board, namely, the Chidambaram Taluk Board was formed. It may also be stated that the new local boards failed to evoke sufficient enthusiasm among the people, that very few of the non-official members took any real interest in local affairs or attended the meetings regularly.

The next important milestone in local administration came with the passing of the Local Boards Act V of 1920 and the Village Panchayats Act XV of 1920, the Local Boards Amendment Act VI of 1900 having made only some minor amendments to the Act of 1884. By this time, however, much water had flowed under the bridge; political agitation had come and the people had become more and more interested in local self-government. The Royal Commission on Decentralization had also suggested the enlargement of the powers of the local bodies. The Local Boards Act of 1920 which was consequently passed gave an independent status to each class of the local boards and increased not only their strength but also their proportion of elected members, their resources and their powers. The strength of the district board was raised to a maximum of 52 and a minimum of 24 members that of the taluk board to a maximum of 24 and a minimum of 12 members and that of the union board to a maximum of 15 and a minimum of 7 members. The proportion of elected members in all these boards was fixed at not less than three-fourths of the total strength, the remaining members being appointed by the Government in the case of the district boards, by the president of the district board in the case of the taluk boards and by the president of the taluk boards in the case of the union boards. The term of office of the members of the local boards was fixed at three years. The Collector ceased to be the president of the district board and the Revenue Divisional Officer ceased to be either the president or even a member of the taluk board. The president of the district board could be elected by the members of the district board or appointed by the Government, but the presidents of the taluk boards and the union boards could only be elected. The presidents of the taluk boards became *ex-officio* members of the district board. The taxation powers of all the three boards were enlarged to increase their resources and each board was allowed to raise the authorized taxes separately. In addition to the

¹ G.O. No. 1801, Local, dated 23rd September 1887.

² *Idem.*

obligatory land cess of one anna in the rupee of rent value of lands shared equally by the district board and the taluk boards, these boards were given the option of levying an additional land cess up to a maximum of 3 pies in the rupee. The railway cess was abolished, but three new taxes, the profession tax, the companies tax and the pilgrim tax were authorized to be levied by all the three boards. The method of levying the house tax by union boards which was defective under the old Act was modified to make the levy just and proportionate to the capital of rental value of the buildings. The local boards were moreover given a free hand in framing their budgets. Provision was made for the appointment of District Board Engineers and District Health Officers and for the enforcement of sanitary and public health measures. The local boards thus became more or less autonomous and the Collector and the Government were empowered to interfere only in cases of emergency and maladministration. In order to inspect and superintend all the operations under the Local Boards Act, an officer, called the Inspector of Local Boards, who was also the Inspector of Municipal Council was appointed¹.

About this time was passed the Madras Elementary Education Act VIII of 1920 which made it obligatory on the taluk boards and the municipalities to levy an education tax for the purpose of expanding elementary education, and on the Government to contribute a sum equal to that realised by the cess. When the taluk boards were abolished in 1934, the duty of levying the cess and running the schools devolved upon the district board.

Meanwhile on the introduction of the Local Boards Act into the South Arcot district in April 1921, the district board was reconstituted, its existing strength of 36 members being raised to 40 of whom 30 were to be elected². In the very next year, the taluk boards too were reconstituted. The number of taluk boards remained the same, namely, 5 [Chidambaram, Cuddalore (Gudalur), Tindivanam, Tirukkoyilur and Vriddhachalam]. The Chidambaram, Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Vriddhachalam Taluk Boards comprised the revenue taluks of Chidambaram, Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Vriddhachalam respectively; the Tindivanam Taluk Board comprised the revenue taluks of Tindivanam, Villupuram and Gingee (Senji), while the Tirukkoyilur Taluk Board comprised the revenue taluks of Tirukkoyilur and Kallakkurichehi. The strength of the taluk boards was fixed at 20 members in the case of Chidambaram, Vriddhachalam and Cuddalore (Gudalur), and 24 in the case of Tindivanam and Tirukkoyilur. Three-fourths of the members, instead of two-thirds now came to be elected. As to the union boards, which were also reconstituted in the same year, their number too remained the same, i.e., 21, but their strength rose to 242 members. Minority and backward communities were adequately represented alike on the district board, the taluk

¹ *Madras Presidency, 1881-1931*, by G. T. Boag, 1933, page 13.

² G.O. No. 1004, Local and Municipal, dated 15 April 1924.

boards and the union boards. The district board had a non-official president nominated by the Government, while all the five taluk boards had non-official elected president ¹. The revenues of all the local bodies increased very considerably under the new Act. Thus, for instance, in 1930-1931, the revenues of the district board amounted to Rs. 7,61,321, those of the five taluk boards to Rs. 2,79,887 and those of the Union Boards to Rs. 77,648; and their expenditure to Rs. 7,49,802, Rs. 1,95,680 and Rs. 85,675 respectively. The attendance of the non-official members now became more regular thereby showing the greater interest shown by the people in local administration ².

In the meantime the Government began to assist the local boards in various ways. They began to give grants for the maintenance of roads and schools; they began to take over the management of headquarters hospitals; they began to provide a District Board Engineer and a District Health Officer for each district board; they began to take over the veterinary institutions and they organized a separate audit department for auditing local fund accounts ³.

Soon after the Local Boards Act was introduced, the Village Panchayats Act was passed. Informal village panchayats constituted on a voluntary basis had already, by 1915, come into existence in several districts for looking after village forests, village conservancy and village water-supply. These were doing useful work but were handicapped by not having any legal sanction for levying taxes or enforcing their decisions. It was now considered that the time had come to remove the handicaps of the existing panchayats, to constitute new panchayats and to place all the panchayats on a statutory basis. The Village Panchayats Act XV of 1920, which was accordingly passed, authorized the constitution of panchayats in rural areas (where there were no union boards) for the administration of village affairs by the villagers themselves. The panchayat was to be entirely an elective body consisting of not less than 7 and not more than 15 members. Its election was to be held once in three years. There was to be no property restriction in the franchise; all residents of the village who were not less than 25 years of age were to be entitled to vote and to be elected as members of the panchayat. The absence of property qualification gave opportunities to the members of the depressed classes to elect their nominees and in most villages the voters elected members of their own community on the panchayats. The functions of the panchayats were defined to be the construction and maintenance of village roads, culverts and bridges; the lighting of streets and public places; the construction of drains and the disposal of drainage water and sullage; the cleaning of streets, the removal of rubbish, etc., the provision of public latrines; the maintenance of burning

¹ G.O. No. 1004, Local and Municipal, dated 15th April 1924.

² G.O. No. 3086, Local and Municipal, dated 5th August 1932.

³ *Madras Presidency, 1881-1931*, by G. T. Boag, 1933, page 16,

ghats and burial grounds, the construction and repair of wells ponds and tanks for the supply of water for drinking, washing and bathing purposes; the control of cattle sheds, threshing floors, chatrams, village pounds, etc., the extension of village sites, the enforcement of vaccination and the registration of births and deaths. The district or taluk board within whose jurisdiction a panchayat was constituted was, in addition, authorized to empower the panchayat to exercise other functions such as the construction and control of markets, the provision of sanitation during festival the control of fairs and fisheries, the planting and preservation avenue trees, the establishment and maintenance of elementary schools and the provision of medical relief. And the Government were authorized to transfer to a panchayat, village forests or village irrigation works or any other village works or institutions.

The Act placed no specific resources at the disposal of the panchayat but it enabled the panchayat, with the sanction of the Government, to levy a tax on the capital value of the buildings situated in the village; a profession tax; fees for cattle stands, threshing floors, village sites, cart-stands, markets and slaughter-houses; fees for the occupation of choultries, chatrams and rest-houses; fees for the cleansing of private latrines, fees for quarrying and excavation, and fees for the permits for grazing or the removal of fuel or other forest produce. The panchayat was also enabled to levy any other suitable taxes or fees approved by the Government. The Government reserved to themselves the right of suspension or cancellation of the proceedings of the panchayat, and of the dissolution of the panchayat itself in case it abused its powers. The Inspector of Local Boards and Municipal Councils was also appointed as the Registrar General of Panchayats and placed in direct charge of the panchayats in the State. It may be mentioned here that State aid to panchayats was started since 1925-1926 and that it took the shape of grants for panchayat libraries, grants for elementary schools and grants for the improvement of village communications and water-supply¹.

In South Arcot the Act was introduced in 1921-1922². Here, as elsewhere, the panchayats were organized mostly with the help of the presidents of taluk boards and other honorary workers. It was no easy task to overcome the apathy of the villagers in village affairs, they having for over a century come to look to the Government for everything. Nor was it an easy task to overcome the opposition of vested interests, both official and non-official³. However, the panchayats were gradually organized; in 1932 there were as many as 149 panchayats including the old unions

¹ *Madras Presidency, 1881-1931*, by G. T. Boag, 1933, pages 14-15.

² G.O. No. 107, Local and Municipal, dated 10th January 1924.

³ G.O. No. 2845, Local and Municipal, dated 22nd June 1924.

in the district¹. Some of them functioned efficiently; while others remained inactive either for want of proper guidance or for want of finance, and were abolished. Their revenues in 1931-32 amounted to Rs. 83,798. Most of them levied a house-tax some levied a profession tax, and all of them derived income from fisheries, cart stands, slaughter houses, avenues, fairs and festivals, scavenging and sale of rubbish. They spent their revenues mostly on roads, schools, sinking of wells, deepening of tanks and sanitation and lighting.

The position created by the Local Boards Act and the Village Panchayats Act of 1920 was modified in some respects and improved by the Local Boards (Amendment) Act XI of 1930. This Act repealed the Village Panchayats Act; brought the village panchayats within the scope of the local boards and, at the same time, converted the union boards into panchayats, or, as they are sometimes called, panchayat boards. It rearranged the taluk board areas making them normally coterminous with the revenue taluks. It declared that all members of every local board, whether a district board, a taluk board or a panchayat board, were to be elected but that seats were to be reserved in these boards for certain communities and women. It laid down that the members of the district board were to be chosen by direct election. It extended the franchise of local boards to every person who was assessed to any tax payable to the local board, or to any other local authority or to the local government or to the Government of India. It made all offices of the presidents of the local boards elective and provided for the provincialization of the services under the local boards. It modified the provisions relating to taxes and tolls, fixed the land cess at one and a half anna in the rupee of the rent value of the lands, and allotted one-third of the proceeds of the cess to the district boards, another one-third to the taluk boards, one-sixth to the panchayat boards and one-sixth to the Village Development Fund. It provided for votes of no-confidence in presidents and vice-presidents, for the suppression of panchayats by the local government and for the adjudication of disputes between local authorities by the Government themselves, or by an arbitrator, a board of arbitrators or joint committees appointed by the Government. It empowered the presidents, of the district boards and taluk boards to exercise control over the affairs of the panchayats. Finally, it provided for the appointment of a District Panchayat Officer and for the formation of a Village Development Fund².

The changes subsequently made in local administration can, with a single exception, be easily described. The levy of tolls and

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District*, Vol. II, 1932, page LX.

² G.O. No. 2014, Local and Municipal, dated 25th June 1930.

³ G.O. No. 2647, Local and Municipal, dated 7th May 1932.

⁴ *Madras Presidency, 1881-1931*, by G. T. Boag, 1933, pages 15-16.

See the provisions of Madras Act XI of 1930 in the *Port St. George Gazette*.

tax on motor vehicles by local boards was abolished consequent on the passing of the Madras Motor Vehicles Taxation Act III of 1931, the boards being compensated out of the proceeds of the tax levied by the Government under the Act ¹. All taluk boards were abolished in 1934, their assets, liabilities and main functions being taken over by the district boards. The Village Development Fund was also abolished and its resources were placed at the disposal of the district boards ². Rules were framed for the appointment of Electrical Engineers, Additional District Board Engineers and District Panchayat Officers ³. Relevant portions of the electoral rolls of the Legislative Assembly were ordered to be adopted as electoral rolls of the local bodies ⁴. Presidents and vice-presidents removed by the Government were debarred from standing for election for these offices again for a period of six months, except when there was a general election ⁵. Persons who were in arrears to local boards were disqualified from standing for election and members who were in arrears were made liable to be removed from office ⁶. Powers were taken by the Government to become ultimate authorities in all disputes between local boards, ⁷ to supersede district boards for a maximum period of three years as well as to resume control over endowments transferred to the district boards ⁸. Provision was made for the appointment of Executive Officers for the panchayats and the duties and powers of these officers were defined ⁹. The Collector was empowered to appoint a member of the local board to exercise the duties of a president or a vice-president in cases in which the latter failed to discharge his duties ¹⁰. Land cess was raised from one and a half anna to two annas per rupee of the annual rent value of all occupied land and the additional cess so raised was given entirely to the District Boards ¹¹. The local boards were authorized to levy a surcharge on stamp duty payable under the Indian Stamp Act of 1899 in respect of the instruments of sale, gift, mortgage with possession and transfers by way of exchange and lease in perpetuity of immovable property ¹². Roads of military and other importance

¹ *Madras Presidency, 1881-1931*, by G. T. Boag, 1933, page 17.

² *Madras Administration Report for 1933-1934*, page xxvi.

³ *Idem* for 1938-39, page 5.

⁴ *Idem* for 1937-38, page 6.

⁵ *Madras Administration* for 1939-40, page 4.

⁶ *Madras* in 1940, page 4.

⁷ *Madras* in 1941, page 2.

⁸ *Madras* in 1941, page 2.

⁹ *Madras* in 1943, page 4.

¹⁰ *Madras* in 1943, page 5.

¹¹ *Madras* in 1944, page 2.

¹² *Madras* in 1945, page 4.

¹³ *Madras* in 1945, page 5.
G.O. No. 144, Legal, dated 26th May 1950.
Madras in 1950, page 6.

were transferred from the district boards to the Highways Department. Reservation of seats for Muslims, Indian Christians and Europeans was abolished. Some of these changes, it is clear, were designed to control the infiltration of politics into the local bodies and to tide over any local opposition that might be created during the war period. Others were intended to improve the finances and increase the usefulness of the local bodies.

The only far-reaching change that has been recently introduced and that demands a fuller description is the passing of the Village Panchayats Act X of 1950. From about 1940 it became increasingly clear that the dual control exercised over the panchayats by the president of the district board and the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards was not only unsatisfactory but ineffective. The Adviser Government thought that the best way to rectify matters was to exclude the panchayats from the scope of the Madras Local Boards Act and to place them in charge of the District Collectors, and for this purpose they enacted Act XII of 1946. This Act was however not brought into operation and was allowed to lapse as the National Government, which succeeded the Adviser Government, wanted to introduce a more comprehensive legislation which would make the panchayats really autonomous. They wanted also to invest the panchayats with powers under the Village Courts Act of 1888 and the Indian Registration Act of 1908. They therefore introduced fresh legislation and passed the Village Panchayats Act of 1950.

Under this Act a panchayat is compulsorily to be formed in every village with a population of 500 and above and where the population is less than 500 one or more villages have to be clubbed to form a panchayat. Panchayats having a population of 5,000 and above and an annual income of Rs. 10,000 are to be classified as Class I panchayats and others as Class II panchayats. Every panchayat is to have not less than 5 and not more than 15 members, and all members are to be elected, but seats are to be reserved for scheduled castes for a period of ten years. The term of office of the members is to be three years, and franchise is to be exercised by all adults as in the case of the Legislative Assembly. No village officer or an officer under the Government or a local board can be elected as a member. The president of the panchayat is to be elected by the entire electorate but the vice-president is to be elected by the members of the panchayat. Executive Officers may be appointed by the Government, where necessary, by notification. The Executive Officer is to carry out the resolutions passed by the panchayat but, where the president thinks that any resolution is in excess of the powers of the panchayat, or is likely to endanger human life or health or public safety, the Executive

Madras in 1946, pages 5-6.

Madras Act No. XXI of 1951.

A.O. No. 105, Legal, dated 7th June 1949, page 71.

Officer is to refer the matter to the Government whose decision is to be final. The Government may dissolve or reconstitute a panchayat if it fails to discharge its duties, while the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards may suspend or cancel a resolution or remove a president, a vice-president or a member, in case of misconduct.

It is obligatory upon every panchayat to provide, within the limits of its funds, for the construction and repair of roads, bridges, culverts, drains, etc.; for the lighting of public places; for the cleaning of streets, the removal of rubbish, etc., for the construction of public latrines and the maintenance of burning ghats and burial grounds; for the sinking or repairing of wells or tanks for drinking, washing and bathing purposes; and for the carrying out of preventive and remedial measures connected with epidemics or malaria. A panchayat may also make provision for the planting of avenues; for the opening of public markets and slaughter-houses; for the control of fairs and festivals; for the extension of village sites and regulation of buildings; for the improvement of agriculture and agricultural stock; for the promotion of cottage industries; for the opening and maintenance of elementary schools, reading rooms and libraries; for the establishment of wireless receiving sets, play-grounds, sports clubs and centres of physical culture; for the running of dispensaries and maternity and child welfare centres; for the rendering of veterinary aid and for the undertaking of any other measures of public utility.

Every panchayat is required to levy a house-tax, a profession tax, a vehicle tax and a duty on certain transfers of property. It may also, with the permission of the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards, levy a land-cess at the rate of 3 pies in the rupee on the rent value of all occupied lands, a tax on agricultural land and fees on commercial crops bought and sold in the village. In addition to these sources of revenue the panchayats receive pilgrim tax, tolls and ferries and fishery rents, market fees, and contributions from the district board for elementary education.

The panchayats are vested with control over all unreserved forests in the villages, all village roads, all irrigation works not under the Public Works Department, and all water-courses, springs, tanks and communal property in the villages. They may also be vested with control over the charitable endowments and empowered to execute kudimaramath works by levying fees for that purpose. Nor is this all. All panchayats enjoy the powers of the panchayat courts under the Village Courts Act of 1888, their pecuniary jurisdiction being increased from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100, and such of them as do not possess Sub-Registrars' offices may be authorized to exercise also certain functions performed by the Sub-Registrars under the Indian Registration Act of 1908. The district boards are to have no longer any control over the panchayats: nor are the Collectors to have any except in cases of emergency. The working

of the panchayats is to be supervised by the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards and the officers under him¹.

This Act, which enlarged alike the powers, the resources and the responsibilities of the panchayats, was brought into operation in this State on 1st April 1951. Till 1950 therefore the panchayats continued to remain under the district board in South Arcot, as elsewhere, under the provisions of the Local Boards Act of 1920, as amended by the Local Boards Act of 1930. We have already seen the position created by the Local Boards Act of 1920 in South Arcot until the passing of the amending Act of 1930. It remains now to review the position in the district created by the legislation passed since 1930. The taluk boards in South Arcot were abolished in 1934 and their assets, liabilities and main functions were transferred to the district board. This was followed by a bifurcation of the district board into the Cuddalore (Gudalur) and the Villupuram District Boards, but this bifurcation was short-lived from January 1937 to July 1938². Then came the Second World War when no district board elections were held, the term of the district board being extended from year to year. In November 1946, on the accession of the National Government, the district board was dissolved and the Collector was appointed as the Special Officer pending fresh elections³. It was only in 1949⁴ that the district board elections were held and a fresh district board was constituted. It began to function from September 1949.

An idea of the District Board administration in general in South Arcot at the time at which we close our book (1952) can best be obtained by looking into some of the details of the working of the new District Board in 1951-52. It then consisted of 52 members of whom 40 occupied unreserved seats and 12 occupied reserved seats. The reserved seats were occupied by 2 Muslims, 2 Indian Christians, 1 European, 5 Harijans and 2 women. Its revenues amounted to Rs. 43,15,589. One main source was the land-cess and it was levied at the rate of 2 annas in the rupee of land revenue. The cess collected in the panchayat areas was shared by the District Board and the panchayat boards, the former receiving 1½ annas in the rupee and the latter ½ anna in the rupee. The District Board's income from the land-cess amounted to Rs. 6,49,863. Another main source was the education cess and it was levied at first at 3 annas in the rupee of land revenue for augmenting the elementary education fund. This brought in Rs. 13,04,443. The third main source was the surcharge on stamp duty which fetched Rs. 8,20,346. Besides these, the contribution of Government under Motor Vehicles Taxation Act brought to the District Board Rs. 1,92,000, market

¹ G.O. No. 223, Legal, dated 29th July 1950.

Madras in 1950 (Pamphlet), pages 91-96.

² G.O. No. 67, Local Self-Government, dated 22nd January 1937.

³ G.O. No. 2819, Local Administration, dated 22nd July 1938.

⁴ G.O. No. 1727, Local Administration, dated 22nd October 1948.

⁵ *Madras in 1949*, page 47.

fees Rs. 16,424, licence fees on motor vehicles Rs. 52,847, school fees Rs. 2,70,597, education grant Rs. 7,68,025, licence fees Rs. 71,818 and sale of tree produce Rs. 25,952.

The District Board spent its revenues mostly on roads, education, and medical aid. Its total expenditure in 1951-52 amounted to Rs. 16,79,922. It maintained 316 miles of major district roads, 507 miles of other district roads and 645 miles of villages roads at a cost of Rs. 6,03,036, and spent Rs. 11,570 on the construction of bridges, culverts, etc. It maintained 14 ferries and derived from them an income of Rs. 7,722. It maintained 765 miles of avenues and derived from them an income of Rs. 25,952. It maintained 14 rest houses, 13 choultries and 14 water-sheds at a cost of Rs. 3,979 and derived from them an income of Rs. 6,154. It maintained 797 elementary schools with 77,605 pupils, of which 105 had buildings of their own and 610 occupied rented buildings and 82 occupied rent-free buildings. Its receipts under elementary education came from the education cess, Government grants, endowments and contributions from general funds and amounted to Rs. 21,33,388 and its expenditure amounted to Rs. 18,00,954. It maintained 13 High Schools for boys and 1 High School and 1 Middle School for girls with 7,439 boys and 748 girls of whom 508 appeared for the S.S.L.C. examination. All these schools were housed in buildings of their own. Its receipts under secondary education came from fees, Government grants, etc., and amounted to Rs. 3,15,004 and its expenditure on secondary education amounted to Rs. 4,20,259. It maintained a public library. It maintained 2 hospitals, 16 regular dispensaries of modern medicine, and 9 rural dispensaries under the western system of medicine which treated 1944 in-patients and 4,18,275 out-patients, as well as 6 Siddha and 10 Ayurvedic and 1 Unani dispensaries which treated 2,39,095 out-patients. It maintained 10 maternity and child welfare centres. And finally, it maintained 3 daily and 16 weekly markets and derived from them an income of Rs. 22,140 ¹.

The District Board exercised control over the panchayats till 1951 when, under the new Act, a District Panchayat Officer and several Deputy Panchayat Officers were appointed and placed in charge of the panchayats. All these officers were placed under the control of the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards. In 1950-51 the district had 14 major panchayats and about 800 minor panchayats. The major panchayats had, on the whole, 191 members, of whom 26 occupied reserved seats. Their receipts amounted to Rs. 5,97,124 and their expenditure to Rs. 5,56,988. Their revenues were derived from land-cess, the library cess, the house-tax, profession tax, licence fees levied on dangerous and offensive trades and fees from markets, cart-stands and slaughter-houses. The revenues were generally spent on sanitation, lighting, roads, libraries, parks and water-supply ².

¹ G.O. No. 2526, Local Administration, dated 22nd December 1952.

² G.O. No. 2432, Local Administration, dated 21st December 1951.

We now come to municipal administration. Leaving out of consideration the Madras City, municipal action in the districts dates from the passing of India Act XXVI of 1850. This Act authorized the Government to introduce it in any town in which the inhabitants were desirous of making better provision for "constructing, repairing, cleaning, lighting or watching any public streets, roads, drains or tanks or for the prevention of nuisances or for improving the town in any manner." The Act might be introduced even for a few of these purposes if the inhabitants so wished. The councillors or the commissioners as they were then called, consisted of the Magistrate and such of the inhabitants as the Government might appoint and they were removable at pleasure. The raising of the necessary ways and means, the definition and prohibition of nuisances and the fixing of penalties as well as all matters connected with the establishment needed for carrying out the purposes of the Act were left to be provided for by the bye-laws to be framed by the councillors and approved by the Government. The Act, it will thus be seen, was merely an enabling Act and that being so, and the people being unwilling to tax themselves, it was never introduced in any district. Subsequently, however, a few purely voluntary associations for sanitary and other municipal purposes ungoverned by any legislative enactments were formed in some of the northern districts. Such voluntary associations were, however, not formed in South Arcot. South Arcot saw municipal institutions only after the passing of the next Act, called the Madras Towns Improvement Act X of 1865¹

This Act primarily originated in the intention of the Government to make the inhabitants bear, as much as possible, the charges of maintaining police in towns. It was, however, eventually resolved that the funds compulsorily raised under it should be made applicable not only to the expenses of the police but also to "construction, repairing and cleaning of drains, the making and repairing of roads, the keeping of roads, streets and tanks clean; and doing such things as may be necessary for the preservation of the public health." The amount to be raised for these purposes was to be fixed by the Government, who were also to indicate the means of taxation, and one-fourth of the sum so fixed was to be paid by the Government as a grant-in-aid. Besides the sums compulsorily fixed by the Government the councillors were, with the sanction of the Government, empowered to raise further sums for other municipal purposes such as lighting, prevention of fire, water-supply, etc. The independence of the councillors was restricted in more than one direction. They were bound to raise the amount fixed by the Government, and if they failed to do so, the District Magistrate was empowered to raise the sums himself. Three ex-officio councillors, namely, the District Magistrate, the local Magistrate and the range officer of the Public Works Department, sat on the council

¹ For the provisions of Act X of 1865, see the *Fort St. George Gazette*.

itself. The District Magistrate who acted as the president appointed the vice-presidents of all municipalities within the district. He was invested with the power of appointing such establishment as the councillors might sanction for the purposes of the Act and, in case of emergency, he could exercise all the powers of the councillors. The councillors were to consist of not less than 5 inhabitants of the town appointed by the Government and their term of office was limited to one year, subject to reappointment. The nature, amount and the method of collection of the various rates, taxes, tolls and fees were defined and several conservancy clauses were enacted in the place of the optional rules and the bye-laws which the councillors were empowered to make under the old law ¹

Under this Act one municipality was formed in South Arcot, namely, that of Cuddalore in 1866. It had the District Magistrate as the President and the range officer of the Public Works Department as one of the councillors; excluding these officers, there were 11 councillors of whom 8 were non-officials. The ex-officio councillors were the Assistant Collector, the Civil Surgeon and the Tahsildar. The municipality raised its revenues from the profession tax, the house-tax, the vehicle tax and the tolls and licence fees and spent a major portion of them on the maintenance of the police and the remainder on the repairs of roads and drains and on sanitation. To give an idea of its revenues and expenditure, in 1867-68, it had an income of Rs. 32, 560 and an expenditure of Rs. 31,187 ².

The Act of 1865 had hardly been brought into operation when the necessity of extending its scope and revising its provisions began to be felt. It was found that beyond collecting the taxes fixed compulsorily by the Government, the inhabitants had shown hardly any enthusiasm for providing for lighting, water-supply, etc. It was also found that the Voluntary Education Cess Act IV of 1863 had practically remained a dead letter. In order to set right these matters, a new Act known as the Towns Improvements Act III of 1871 was passed which included the above-mentioned objects among those to which the funds raised under the Act should ordinarily be applicable. At the same time the Government withdrew the grant-in-aid of 25 per cent of the compulsory expenditure which under the Act of 1865 they were bound to contribute. This was done partly for financial reasons and partly for consistency as there was no justification for giving such a grant to the municipalities when it was denied to the local boards which were being then formed under the Local Funds Act IV of 1871. By this change the municipalities gained in the direction of having no longer to contribute the police charges; they lost, however, in having had thrown on them

Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency by C. D. Maclean, Vol. I, footnotes on pages 255-226.

Standing Information regarding the Official Administration of the Madras Presidency, by C. D. Maclean, 1877, pages 207-209.

¹ G.O. No. 1033, Public, dated 10th October 1866.

² G.O. No. 1071, Public, dated 31st August 1868.

four new charges, namely, those for hospitals and dispensaries, those for schools, those for birth and death registration and those for vaccination. It was at the same time provided that the Government might appoint any person whomsoever as a councillor even though he might not be an inhabitant of the town, subject only to the limitation as to the number of officials on each council. This provision was made to enable the Government to appoint an European Officer as a working member of the municipality. The qualification for the members was made more elastic. Their term of office was increased from one year to three years. The number of ex-officio members was reduced from 3 to 2, the Collector of the district being substituted for the District Magistrate as president and the local Revenue Officer taking the place of the local magistrate and the Range Officer of the Public Works Department. The appointment of the vice-president was taken out of the president's hands and vested in the Government. Provision was made for the election of the councillors by the rate-payers under rules that might be framed by the Government and a similar provision was also made for the election of the vice-president. The Government's contribution of 25 per cent of the sanctioned expenditure having been withdrawn, and there being no police charges to provide for, there was no longer the same necessity for giving the Government the power to fix the amount of taxation and to levy it through the president if the councillors failed to do so. Consequently the old provisions made in this regard were not re-enacted. The general right, however, to fix the amount of taxation was still maintained by the Government by providing that the Government might pass such orders as they deemed fit on the annual budgets of the municipalities. Provision was likewise made for the appointment by the Government of inspecting officers to superintend the working of the Act. The result of the Act of 1871 was to place the councillors in a more responsible position and to diminish Government's interference in matters of detail, while the provisions rendering permissive election of councillors and of vice-presidents furnished the machinery for granting a larger measure of independence than before¹.

This Act became applicable not only to the Cuddalore (Gudalur) Municipality but also to a new municipality formed in the district in 1873, namely, the Chidambaram Municipality². The number of councillors of the Cuddalore (Gudalur) Municipal Council was fixed at 19 and that of the Chidambaram at 15. In the former, there were 9 officials and 10 non-officials, and in the latter 7 officials and 8 non-officials³. Their income was derived from a rate on houses, buildings and lands according to their annual value, from a profession tax, from endowments, from contributions from local fund board, from tolls on carriages and animals, from taxes on carriages,

¹ *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency* by C. D. Maclean, Vol. I, 1885, footnotes on page 226.

² G.O. No. 511, Finance, dated 22nd April 1873.

³ *Report of the Committee on Local Self-Government, 1882*, pages 128-129.

houses, etc., and from the fees on the registration of carts¹. To convey an idea of their receipts and expenditure in 1873-74, Cuddalore (Gudalur) collected Rs. 35,423 and spent Rs. 33,143²; and Chidambaram collected Rs. 4,367 and spent Rs. 3,679³. The municipal funds were no longer spent on police; they were spent on roads, conservancy, sanitation and lighting, on education, dispensaries, vaccination and registration of births and deaths.

About this time an interesting discussion took place on the introduction of the elective system in the municipalities. Lord Hobart, the Governor, stood for the system of election and stressed the need for giving immediate effect to the permissive provisions of the Act. He said that the Act instead of introducing local self-government had actually introduced only local administration by Government boards. He believed that nothing would be lost and everything would be gained by making the people themselves elect their councillors. He held that the power of "choosing their own rulers" should be given to the people irrespective of the question whether the rulers they elect would be as good as those chosen for them by the Government. "Such a power", he went on to observe, "is in itself an advantage of the greatest value apart from all consideration of the degree in which it contributes, or is prejudicial to good government. It is valuable chiefly because it gives an interest in public affairs to the many who would otherwise have none; because it gives elevation and self-respect to the character, cultivation and enlargement to the mind." But his colleagues thought otherwise. They said that the time had not yet arrived for the change; that the people were evincing but little interest in local affairs and still less in taxing themselves for the common good; and that it would, therefore, be "unwise to expose municipal institutions while yet in their infancy to the uncertainties and danger of popular control." It was eventually agreed to try the experiment as regards half the councillors in ten selected towns. There is, however, nothing to show that it was tried in any of the municipalities in South Arcot. Meanwhile the financial pressure having become great, largely owing to the famines of 1876-1878, the Government once more went back to the policy of 1865 of taxing the people for the maintenance of the town police. Act VII of 1878 was accordingly passed, making the municipalities liable to 75 per cent of the police charges. This state of things, however, lasted only for three years. In 1881 the Government of India gave it as their opinion that the municipalities might be relieved of the charges for police on the ground that it was a department "over which they had no control and in the efficient and economical expenditure of which they had but little direct interest and no immediate responsibility." At the same time they considered that an

¹ G.O. No. 1666, Finance, dated 3rd October 1874.

² *Idem*.

³ G.O. No. 2082, Finance, dated 11th December 1874.

equivalent burden on education, medical aid and public works of local interests might be transferred to the municipalities together with such control over the details of expenditure as might be deemed necessary. In 1882 a committee was appointed by the local Government to go into the whole question of local administration and on its recommendation, a new Act, entitled the Madras District Municipalities Act IV of 1884 was passed¹

This Act superseded the Towns Improvement Act of 1871 and for the first time introduced the term "Municipality" into the title, the former Acts being styled only as Towns Improvement Acts. It also adopted the new terms, so well known to-day "Council" and "Councillors" in lieu of the old terms "Commission" and "Commissioners" employed in the earlier Act. Under the provisions made in this Act the Government could withdraw the Act from municipalities which had become reduced in population and importance by famine, pestilence, floods or other calamities and thus subject them to lighter taxation and less onerous duties of unions under the local boards. The municipal council was to consist of not less than 12 persons. Their term of office was to be three years. The revenue officer in charge of the division of the district in which any municipality was situated, was to be an ex-officio councillor. All the other councillors might be appointed by the Government, or with the permission of the Government; any portion not exceeding three-fourths of them might be elected by the tax-payers but not more than one-fourth of the whole number of the councillors might be salaried officers of the Government, unless they had been elected as councillors by the tax-payers. Each council was to have a chairman who might be either appointed by the Government, or with the permission of the Government, elected by the councillors from among their own number. He was to be the executive officer of the council answering to the former vice-president and was to be responsible for carrying out all the purposes of the Act. The Government were to have the power to remove a chairman or municipal councillor at any time. The Collector was to have emergency powers over the municipality. The position of the Government servants lent to the municipalities was defined and the position of the municipal servants was improved. The only new tax authorised by this Act was the water-tax to be levied at the rate of 4 per cent on the annual rent value of houses and lands and applicable only to the purposes of water-supply by means of works of more or less permanent character.

The main sources of revenue of the municipalities at this time consisted of a tax on professions; a tax on lands and buildings not exceeding $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on their annual value; a water-tax as mentioned already, not exceeding 4 per cent on their annual value, a tax on vehicles, tolls on vehicles and animals entering the municipal limits and licences to carry on offensive or dangerous trades. Other

¹ *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency* by C. D. Maclean, 1885—See footnotes on pages 226-228.

sources consisted of fees or rents for the use of the municipal gardens, choultries, markets, slaughter-houses, cart-stands, etc., fines and forfeiture, payments for municipal services, and grants-in-aid from State funds. The revenues so raised were applicable to the construction and repair of streets, bridges, etc., the construction and maintenance of hospitals, dispensaries, choultries, markets, tanks, wells, drains, sewers, etc., the training and employment of medical practitioners, vaccinators and sanitary inspectors; the registration of births and deaths; the lighting and cleaning of streets, the diffusion of education and, with this view, the construction, repair, and maintenance of schools either wholly or by means of grants-in-aid and the inspection of schools and the training of teachers ¹

Under this Act the position of the two municipalities in South Arcot showed some improvement. Thus in 1900-1901, for instance, in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) Municipality there were 20 members of whom 10 were elected, and in the Chidambaram municipality there were 16 members of whom 9 were elected. Their income was derived from taxes on property, professions, vehicles and animals, fees from tolls, travellers' bungalows, avenue trees, markets and fisheries and licence fees and fines and proceeds from the sale of street refuse. Their revenues and expenditure were, in the case of Cuddalore (Gudalur), Rs. 53,098 and Rs. 53,068, and in the case of Chidambaram Rs. 28,493 and Rs. 27,079 *.

No important changes were made in municipal administration till 1920. In that year, as a result of the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Decentralization, the Madras District Municipalities Act V of 1920 was passed for repealing the Act of 1884, and for increasing the elected proportion of the members of the municipal councils as well as the resources and powers of the municipalities. In that year also an Inspector of Municipal Councils was appointed to supervise the working of the municipalities. The Act of 1920 provided that the Government might, by notification, declare any town or village as a municipality or abolish any municipality. The municipal council was to consist of 16 members in municipalities with a population not exceeding 20,000; 20 in those between 20,000 and 30,000; 24 in those between 30,000 and 40,000; 28 in those between 40,000 and 50,000; 32 in those between 50,000 and 100,000; and 36 in those exceeding 100,000. The elected portion of the councillors was not to be less than three-fourths of the total number; the rest were to be appointed by the Government having regard to the representation of Muslims and other minority communities. The term of the councillors was to be three years. They were to elect the chairman and vice-chairman; the former might, however, be also appointed by the Government. The council might appoint

¹ *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency* by C. D. Maclean, 1885 footnotes on page 229-230 and 234-243.

² G.O. No. 1333, Municipal, dated 12th September 1901

G.O. No. 1293, Municipal, dated 6th September 1901.

standing committees for carrying out the purposes of the Act. The Collector of the District might exercise control over the council in cases of default or emergency; and the Government might suspend the execution of any resolutions of the council, appoint officers of their own to superintend the municipalities or remove a chairman or dissolve or supersede a council in cases of misconduct. The council might, and if directed by the Government should, appoint a health officer and a municipal engineer. The Government might also lend their own officers to the council.

Every municipal council might levy a property tax, a tax on companies, a profession tax, a vehicle tax and tolls on vehicles and animals entering the municipality. The rates of taxes were not fixed, latitude being given in this matter to the council. It might also with the previous sanction of the Government levy a surcharge on income-tax in lieu of the tax on companies and of the profession tax as well as a pilgrim tax. The Government were to appoint auditors to audit the municipal funds. All streets, public water-courses, wells, tanks, etc., were to vest in the council and the Board of Revenue might transfer to it also the control of endowments. The council might, with sanction of the Government, construct and maintain water works. It should provide for the lighting of public streets, for drainage, latrines, scavenging, removal of rubbish, etc. It should maintain and repair the streets, regulate the construction of buildings, take precautions against outbreaks of fire and issue licences for various purposes, like the keeping of animals, the starting of industries and factories and the running of markets and slaughter-houses. It should maintain a register of vital statistics and arrange for the prevention of diseases and for compulsory vaccination¹. Nor is this all. Besides these duties imposed by the District Municipalities Act it was made to provide for the expansion of elementary education by the levy of an education tax under the Elementary Education Act VIII of 1920².

By the time these Acts were passed a new municipality had come into existence in the South Arcot district. This was the Municipality of Villupuram. It was constituted in 1919 with 12 councillors, 6 of whom were nominated by the Government and 6 elected by the people³. The District Municipalities Act and the Elementary Education Act of 1920 were introduced in this as well as in the two older municipalities of the district in 1921-1922. The position of the three municipalities now became as follows: In Cuddalore (Gudalur) there were 32 members of whom 24 were elected and 8 were nominated⁴; in Chidambaram there were 20 members of whom 16 were elected and 5 were nominated⁵; and in Villupuram

¹ G.O. No. 64, Legislative, dated 21st June 1920.

² For Act VIII of 1920—See the *Fort St. George Gazette*.

³ G.O. No. 1194, Municipal, dated 11th August 1919.

⁴ G.O. No. 1869, Local and Municipal, dated 10th October 1922.

⁵ G.O. No. 2387, Local and Municipal, dated 4th December 1922.

there were 16 members of whom 12 were elected and 4 were nominated. The municipalities levied the taxes permitted by the Acts and spent them as before, but, in a larger measure, on public works, sanitation, lighting, public health, medical aid, vital statistics and education. Both their revenues and expenditure now considerably increased. They amounted in Cuddalore (Gudalur) to Rs. 1,33,216 and Rs. 1,44,410; in Chidambaram to Rs. 83,601 and Rs. 83,346; and in Villupuram to Rs. 25,499 and Rs. 517.

The District Municipalities Act of 1920 was modified in some important respects by the Act X of 1930. This Act did away with nomination and laid down that every municipal councillor should be elected. It however provided for the reservation of seats for minority communities, Muslims, Indian Christians, Harijans, Europeans, Anglo-Indians and women. It also removed the disqualification of women to stand for election and extended the franchise to every person assessed to any tax to the Government of India, or the local government or any other local authority. It made the office of the chairman and vice-chairman elective and provided for the provincialization of any class of municipal officers. It likewise provided for the passing of votes of no-confidence in the chairman and vice-chairman and for the adjudication of disputes between local bodies ¹.

Subsequent municipal legislation ran on lines similar to those chalked out in the case of local boards, which we have already seen. The Motor Vehicles Taxation Act abolished the levy of tolls and tax on motor vehicles in municipalities, and compensated the municipalities out of the proceeds of the tax on motor vehicles collected by the Government (1931). The Government were empowered to appoint commissioners to municipalities (1933) ². The relevant portions of the electoral rolls of the Legislature Assembly were prescribed as the electoral rolls for the municipal elections also (1938) ³. The Government were authorized to secure ultimate control over electrical undertakings managed by municipal councils and to appoint Municipal Electrical Engineers (1938) ⁴. Municipal Chairmen and vice-chairmen removed from office by the Government were debarred from standing for election again for either of the offices for a period of six months except when ordinary elections took place (1939) ⁵. The municipal elections were postponed and the term of office of the existing councillors was extended (1940). Persons who were in arrears to the municipalities were debarred from standing for elections ⁶. The Collectors were empowered to nominate other municipal councillors to discharge the functions of the chairman and vice-chairman who failed to discharge their

¹ For Act X of 1930—See the *Fort St. George Gazette*.

² *Madras Administration Report for 1932-1933*, page 22.

³ *Idem* for 1937-1938, page 6.

⁴ *Idem* for 1939-1939, page 5.

⁵ *Idem* for 1939-1940, page 4.

⁶ *Madras* in 1940, pages 3 and 4.

duties (1944).¹ The Government were empowered to direct the municipal councils which were levying a low rate of property tax, to increase the tax (1944)². The municipal councils were authorized to levy a surcharge on stamp duty payable under the Indian Stamp Act in respect of the instruments of sale, gift and mortgage with possession (1945)³, and transfers by way of exchange and lease in perpetuity (1950)⁴. All important and military roads in the municipalities were transferred to the Highways Department (1946)⁵. And finally, the provisions contained in the Act of 1930 relating to the reservation of seats for Muslims, Indian Christians and Europeans were deleted, those relating to the Anglo-Indians, Harijans and women however being left intact (1950)⁶.

The elections to the municipalities which were postponed from time to time during the war period were held in 1947. A couple of years afterwards in 1949, a new municipality, that of Tindivanam was formed in the district. In 1950-51, the four municipalities of the district presented the following picture.

The Cuddalore (Gudalur) municipality had 32 councillors, of whom 8 occupied the seats reserved for the minority communities and women. It levied a property tax, a profession tax, a tax on vehicles and animals and a tax on carts and derived also an income from surcharge on stamp duty, entertainments tax, motor vehicles tax and Government grants under several heads. Its receipts amounted to Rs.3,91,622 and its expenditure to Rs.3,30,258. It maintained 56 miles of roads lit partly by electricity and partly by kerosene. It maintained 20 elementary schools with an average strength of 2,466 pupils as well as 1 high school, 10 reading rooms and 1 library and reading room combined. It ran 1 maternity home and 3 dispensaries of which one was exclusively intended for women and children; and these dispensaries treated 1,31,656 out-patients and 233 in-patients. It had a First-class Health Officer, 7 Sanitary Inspectors and 5 Health Assistants. It had 9 daily markets, 1 bus-stand, 29 cart-stands and 2 slaughter-houses. It had also seven town-planning schemes under consideration⁷.

The Chidambaram Municipality had 20 councillors of whom 3 occupied reserved seats. It too levied a property tax, a profession tax and a tax on vehicles and animals and derived an income from surcharge on stamp duty, entertainment tax, motor vehicles tax and Government grants under various heads. Its receipts were Rs. 2,60,310 and its expenditure was Rs. 1,66,272. It maintained

¹ Madras in 1944, page 2.

² Madras in 1944 page 3.

³ Madras in 1945, page 5.

⁴ Madras in 1950, page 6.

⁵ Madras in 1946, pages 5-6.

⁶ Madras in 1950, pages 9-10.

⁷ G.O. No. 537, Local Administration, dated 26th March 1949.

⁸ G.O. No. 2838, Local Administration, dated 7th December 1951.

17 miles of roads lit by electricity, 11 elementary schools (of which 1 was exclusively intended for Muslim boys and 1 for Muslim girls) with a strength of 1,430 pupils, and 1 library and 8 reading rooms. It had a Second-class Health Officer, 3 Sanitary Inspectors and 2 midwives. It had 1 child welfare centres, a piped water-supply, 3 daily markets, 2 cart-stands, 1 bus-stand and 1 slaughter-house. It had also a town-planning scheme under consideration¹.

The Villupuram Municipality had 22 councillors of whom 7 were occupying reserved seats. It levied a property tax, a profession-tax, a tax on vehicles and animals, and a cart-tax and derived an income from surcharge on stamp duty, entertainment tax, motor vehicles tax and Government grants under various heads. Its receipts were Rs. 2,63,031 and its expenditure was Rs. 2,23,673. It maintained 20 miles of roads lit by electricity, 10 elementary schools (of which 1 was for Muslim boys and 1 for Muslim girls) with a total strength of 1,450, 1 high school with a strength of 1,654 pupils and 1 library. It had a Second-class Health Officer, 2 Sanitary Inspectors and 1 maternity home with a full-time Medical Officer and 4 midwives. It had two daily markets, 1 cart-stand, 1 bus-stand and 2 slaughter-houses².

The Tindivanam Municipality had 20 councillors of whom 4 occupied reserved seats. It levied like the other municipalities, a property tax, a profession tax, a tax on vehicles and animals and a cart-tax, and derived also an income from surcharge on stamp duty, entertainment tax, motor vehicles tax and Government grants under various heads. Its receipts amounted to Rs. 1,36,535 and its expenditure to Rs. 1,39,325. It maintained 22 miles of roads mostly lit by electricity, 9 elementary schools (of which 2 were for Muslims) with 881 pupils, 3 adult schools, and 1 public library and reading room. It enforced compulsory elementary education. It had no Health Officer but it had 2 Sanitary Inspectors and 2 maternity centres with midwives. It had 2 daily markets, 1 cart-stand, and 2 slaughter-houses. It had also a town-planning scheme under consideration³.

¹ G.O. No. 2207, Local Administration, dated 21st November 1951.

² G.O. No. 2073, Local Administration, dated 3rd November 1951.

³ G.O. No. 2073, Local Administration, dated 10th November 1951.

CHAPTER XV

LAW AND ORDER.

As far back as 1691 South Arcot had a British Court, called a court of " Choultry Justices ", which had civil as well as criminal powers; but its jurisdiction extended only over the Settlement of Fort St. David and it continued only for a few years. It was not till 1801 that the district came into the hands of the Company; and it was not till 1806 that it received the blessings of a regular system of justice. This new system was no other than what is called the Cornwallis System first established in Bengal and subsequently extended to Madras in 1802.

Under this system; a series of Regulations were passed in this State for establishing a hierarchy of civil and criminal courts and for defining their powers. First among these Company's Courts at the top there was the Sadr and Foujdari Adalat having jurisdiction over all the districts; below it there were the four Provincial and Circuit Courts each having jurisdiction over a group of districts; and below these courts there were the Zillah Courts, each having jurisdiction over a Zillah, i.e., a district or a portion of a district. The higher courts had both civil and criminal jurisdiction. The Sadr Adalat was so called when it sat as a civil court, but when it sat as a criminal court it was called the Foujdari Adalat. Similarly, the Provincial Court was so called when it sat as a civil court, but when it sat as a criminal or sessions court it was called the Court of Circuit. The Zillah Court was both a civil and magisterial court and the Zillah Judge was both a civil judge and a magistrate. The magisterial powers till then exercised by the Collector were transferred to him. So also were transferred to him from the Collector the powers of control over the police. The police was, at the same time, reorganized in several districts by replacing the village watchmen by Darogas and Thanadars. This system was, however, not applicable to the Madras City where there was a Crown Court called the Supreme Court (1801), some Justices of the Peace, a Poligar and his police peons and later a Superintendent of Police and his Daffadars, Harkaras and peons¹.

The Cornwallis System underwent some important changes first in 1816 when, on the recommendations of Sir Thomas Munro and the Court of Directors, the magisterial powers and the control of the police were transferred from the Zillah Judge again to the Collector and Indian agency was more and more employed in judicial administration, and next, in 1843, when the Provincial and

¹ Report on the Madras Records by H. Dodwell, 1916, pages 60, 62—74.

Circuit Courts were abolished and their powers were vested in a new Zillah Judge called the Civil and Sessions Judge. But for these changes it continued to retain its old lineaments till 1862 when the Sadr and the Foujdari Adalat as well as the Supreme Court were abolished and their powers transferred to the High Court. About this time came also the several codes, which substantially changed the character of judicial administration, civil as well as criminal. We may, for convenience, first trace the history of the civil and criminal justice in the district separately till about 1862 and thereafter describe the changes subsequently introduced. We may also, for convenience, trace the history of the police separately after dealing with the civil and criminal justice.

From 1801 to 1806 the Collector of South Arcot looked after the civil as well as criminal justice and police assisted by his revenue subordinates. In 1806, however, the Cornwallis Code having been made applicable to the district, these duties were transferred from him to the Zillah Judge whose court was established at Vriddhachalam¹. The Zillah Judge came under the control of the Provincial and Circuit Court of the Centre Division which then had its head-quarters at Chittoor.

In administering civil justice the Zillah Judge was assisted by a Kazi and a Mufti as well as a Pandit. He followed the Muslim and Hindu law as expounded by these Law Officers in all suits regarding succession, inheritance, marriage and caste and all religious usages and institutions. Where however neither their opinions, nor the Regulations, nor the works on Hindu and Muslim law prescribed the law, he proceeded according to justice, equity and good conscience. This meant that at a time when there was no law of contract, no law of succession, no law of administration of deceased estates, etc., he had a very wide field within which to exercise his discretion². The procedure that he followed in his court as well as the procedure that his subordinate judicial officers followed in their courts was prescribed by the Regulations³. And he was given the benefit of a Government Pleader⁴, while the parties were given the benefit of employing licensed pleaders or vakils to argue their suits.

The Zillah Judge, to begin with, had a Register's (Registrar's) Court and some Native Commissioners' Courts under him. The Commissioners were chosen from among respectable Indians belonging to certain classes like landowners, jagirdars, tradesmen,

¹ Judicial Consultation, dated 13th May 1806, page 1001 of the volume. *Idem*, 15th October 1806, page 3278 of the volume.

² *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency* by C. D. Maclean, Vol. I, 1885, page 270—See footnote.

³ *Idem*, page 271—See footnote. Also Regulations III, XIII, XIV and XV of 1802.

⁴ Regulation II of 1802—Section 15, and Regulation X of 1802—Sections 22 and 24.

kazis, etc. They were appointed by commissions issued under the seal and signature of the Zillah Judge with the previous approval of the Sadr Adalat; and the number of Commissioners to be appointed for each Zillah was left to be determined by the Zillah Judge. They acted in three capacities. They acted as Referees in suits for money or other personal property not exceeding Rs. 80 in value, referred to them by the Zillah Judge. They also acted as Arbitrators in any suit referred to them by the parties, without the intervention of the court under a written arbitration bond. They acted likewise as Munsifs in suits against under-renters and ryots in jagirs¹. The Registrar had powers to try suits for money or other personal property not exceeding Rs. 200 in value, suits for revenue-paying land the annual produce of which did not exceed Rs. 200, and suits for revenue-free land the annual produce of which did not exceed Rs. 20. His decisions were final in suits not exceeding Rs. 25 in value subject to the discretionary power of revision of the Zillah Judge on the ground of obvious error or injustice². In suit above that value, a second appeal lay to the Provincial Court. The Zillah Judge had powers to try all other suits but his decisions were final only in suits for money or other personal property not exceeding Rs. 1,000, in suits for revenue-free land the annual produce of which did not exceed Rs. 20 and in suits for zamindari or other revenue-paying land the annual produce of which did not exceed Rs. 200. In 1809, however, all decrees of the Zillah Judge in original trials were made appealable to the Provincial Court.

The Provincial Court which consisted of three Judges and sat at Chittoor, tried appeals from the Zillah Courts under it as well as original suits referred to it by the Sadr Adalat. Its decisions were final when the amount did not exceed Rs. 5,000; but above that sum an appeal lay from it to the Sadr Adalat in suits for revenue-free lands the annual produce of which exceeds Rs. 100, in suits for revenue-paying lands or zamindari lands the annual produce of which exceeded Rs. 1,000 and in suits for money or other personal property above Rs. 5,000 in value³.

The Sadr Adalat as constituted in 1802 consisted of the Governor and Council⁴. In 1806 its constitution was altered, the Governor functioning as the Chief Judge and the other two Judges being selected from among the covenanted civil servants of the Company other than the members of the Council⁵. In 1807 some changes

¹ Regulation XVI of 1802.

² Regulation XXI of 1802, Sections 6, 9 and 10.

³ Regulation II of 1802, Section 21.
Regulation VII of 1809, Section 24.
Regulation V of 1803.

⁴ Regulation IV of 1802, Sections 6, 7 and 12.
Regulation V of 1802, Section 10.

⁵ Regulation V of 1802, Section 2.
Regulation VIII of 1802, Section 3.
Regulation IV of 1804, Section 3.

were again made. The Governor ceased to be the Chief Judge, and the latter came to be appointed by the Governor first from among the members of the covenanted civil service outside his council and then from among the members of his own council. The Commander-in-Chief also came to be appointed as one of the Judges, and three other puisne Judges came to be appointed from among the covenanted servants¹. The Sadr Adalat had powers to decide finally all suits up to Rs. 45,000 and above that sum an appeal lay to the Governor-General in Council².

In 1809, the jurisdiction of the Registrar of the Zillah Judge was extended to suits for money or other personal property not exceeding Rs. 500 in value, to suits for revenue-paying lands the annual produce of which did not exceed Rs. 500, to suits for revenue-free lands the annual produce of which did not exceed Rs. 150 and to suits for other property the value of which did not exceed Rs. 500. But his powers of hearing appeals were reduced, it being laid down that no appeals from 'Native Commissioners' were to be referred to him³. His powers of final decision were also abolished⁴, but in suits in which the Zillah Judge reversed his decree or disallowed a sum not exceeding Rs. 100, an appeal was made to lie to the Provincial Court⁵. In the same year, the Hindu and Muslim Law Officers of the Zillah Court came to be appointed as Sadr Amins or Head Referees⁶ with powers to try suits referred to them by the Zillah Judge for personal property of Rs. 100, for revenue-paying lands the annual produce of which was Rs. 100 and for revenue-free lands the annual produce of which did not exceed Rs. 10⁷. The Zillah Judge's decision now became final in all appeals from the decisions passed by the 'Native Commissioners'; but an appeal was made to lie from his decision in suits tried by him in the first instance to the Provincial Court⁸. The Provincial Court was also authorized to admit special appeals in all cases from his decision where a regular appeal might not lie to it from his decrees, if such decrees appeared erroneous or unjust, or if the case was considered important.⁹ Similar powers of admitting special appeals were also granted to the Sadr Adalat¹⁰. At the same time the Provincial Court was given original jurisdiction in suits above Rs. 5,000 and in suits for revenue-free land the annual produce of which exceeded Rs. 500¹¹.

¹ Regulation I of 1807, Section 2.

Regulation III of 1807, Section 3.

² Regulation V of 1802, Sections 31—36.

³ Regulation VII of 1809.

⁴ Regulation VII of 1809, Section 6.

⁵ Regulation VII of 1809, Section 8.

⁶ Regulation X of 1809, Section 2.

⁷ Regulation VII of 1809, Section 9 (1).

⁸ Regulation VII of 1809, Sections 23, 24.

⁹ Regulation VII of 1809, Sections 25, 26.

¹⁰ Regulation VII of 1809, Sections 28—29.

¹¹ Regulation XII of 1809, Sections 2.—3.

The state of civil justice in 1813 when the district was on the eve of some important changes was as follows. The Zillah Judge tried in that year 10 original suits and one appeal from the Registrar and 44 appeals from the 'Native Commissioners'; the Registrar tried 52 original suits; and the 'Native Commissioners' tried 1,402 original suits. A good number of these suits and appeals were adjusted by razinamah; thus the Zillah Judge adjusted one original suit and 13 appeals by razinamah, the Registrar 21 suits and the 'Native Commissioners' 697 suits. The value of the property decreed in all these suits amounted to 7,275 pagodas. As to the arrears of suits, on 1st January 1814 there were 109 appeals and 44 original suits pending in the Zillah Court; 72 original suits in the Registrar's Court; and 870 original suits in the courts of the 'Native Commissioner'. The property in litigation in all these courts was valued at 27,137 pagodas.¹

Then followed a period of changes, of the introduction of new courts and the enlargement of the powers of the existing courts. The credit for all this goes in a large measure to Colonel (later Sir) Thomas Munro, who saw with unerring foresight the imperative need for increasing Indian agency in administration and entrusting it with wider powers. He believed that in a populous country like India justice could be well dispensed only with the aid of Indians themselves. He said that it was absurd to suppose that the Indians were so corrupt as to be altogether unfit to be entrusted with the discharge of important duties. He said that it was equally absurd to suppose that their place could ever be supplied by a few foreigners imperfectly acquainted with their customs and languages. He urged, therefore, that as much as possible of the administration of justice should be entrusted to the Indians, and that the European Judge should only watch over their proceedings and see that they executed their duty properly. He pointed out that it was because the existing system ignored these fundamentals, that vast arrears of suits had accumulated in the Zillah Courts. He had to contend with an immense amount of opposition from his superiors. But the Court of Directors supported his views, appointed him as the head of a Judicial Commission to reorganize the existing system, and upon his recommendations ordered a number of important changes in civil as well as criminal justice and police.²

As a result of all this, in the field of civil justice, from 1816 to 1817 onwards District Munsifs and Village Munsifs came to be appointed in this as in other districts. In 1817 four District Munsif Courts were established at Gingee (Senji), Srimushnarr, Villupuram and Cuddalore (Gudalur). The Gingee (Senji) court first sat at Anantapuram, then at Gingee (Senji) and finally at Tiruk-

¹ *Selections of Papers from the Records at the East India House*, Vol. II, 1820, pages 284 and 287.

² For full details—See *Selections of Papers from the Records at the East India House*, Vol. II, 1820, page 105 et seq.

koyilur; the Srimushnam court was afterwards transferred to Chidambaram¹. The jurisdiction of the District Munsifs included one or more taluks. The Village Munsifs who were also the heads of villages had powers to try and finally determine all suits for money or other personal property not exceeding Rs. 10 in value. The Karnams assisted the Village Munsifs by conducting and recording the court proceedings and by acting as assessors, although the responsibility for the decision naturally lay solely on the Village Munsifs². The Village Munsifs could also assemble Village Panchayats for the adjudication of civil suits of any amount (except suits for damages for personal injuries) within their village jurisdiction; and the decisions of such panchayats were generally made final³. The Village Munsifs could moreover act as arbitrators to determine suits where the value of money or personal property did not exceed Rs. 100 whenever both the parties voluntarily agreed to such arbitration⁴. The District Munsif was empowered to try suits for land and personal property (except for revenue-free lands wherein their powers were restricted to lands the annual produce of which did not exceed Rs. 20) up to Rs. 200 and his decisions were made final in such suits up to Rs. 20 and in suits for revenue-free lands the annual produce of which did not exceed Rs. 2⁵. Above these sums an appeal lay from his decision to the Zillah Court whose decision was regarded as final⁶. The District Munsif could also try any suits for damages referred to him but not suits filed *in forma pauperis*. He could likewise assemble District Panchayats on lines similar to those of the Village Panchayats⁷. These District Panchayats could try suits without limitation as to value, except suits for damages for personal injuries, if the parties agreed in writing to abide by their decisions. Such decisions were not open to appeal but were liable to be set aside and annulled, if partiality or corruption was proved to the satisfaction of the Provincial Court. The parties in such cases had the option of having recourse to another District Panchayat or any other competent court. The District Munsif had moreover powers to act as an arbitrator in suits voluntarily referred to him for real or personal property of the same amount as his primary jurisdiction, his arbitration in such cases being final except on proof of corruption or partiality⁸.

The jurisdiction of the Sadr Amins (the Hindu and Muslim Law Officers of the Zillah Court and the Hindu Law Officers of the Provincial Court) was at the same time raised to Rs. 300, except in

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 246.

² Regulation VI of 1816, Sections 2, 3, 5, 10.

³ Regulation V of 1816, Sections 2-12.

⁴ Regulation IV of 1816, Section 27.

⁵ Regulation VI of 1816, Section 11.

⁶ Regulation IV of 1816, Section 43.

⁷ Regulation VII of 1816, Sections 2-11.

⁸ Regulation VI of 1816 Sections 57, 58.

suits for revenue-free lands where the limit was fixed as annual produce not exceeding Rs. 30 in value. An appeal was made to lie from their decision to the Zillah Judge and the Zillah Judge was also empowered to refer to them appeals from the District Munsif, for final disposal¹. The Sadr Adalat was now empowered to all up from the Provincial Courts and try in the first instance suits for Rs. 45,000 and upwards, the then appealable amount to the Governor-General in Council. The Provincial Court was now debarred from admitting regular appeals from the decisions passed by the Zillah Judge on appeals from his Registrar, but it was empowered to admit special appeals from his decisions in regular appeals from the original judgments of the Registrar, the Sadr Amins and the District Munsifs². Finally all original suits tried by the Provincial Court were made appealable to the Sadr Adalat³. Provision was also made for reviewing the judgments of the Zillah and Provincial Courts in cases where no regular appeals lay⁴.

In 1818 the Governor-General ceased to hear appeals from the Sadr Adalat and the Privy Council became the ultimate appellate authority⁵. In 1820 the Zillah Judge was empowered to try suits brought by Indians against British subjects residing in the districts and an appeal was made to lie in such suits to the Supreme Court or the Sadr Adalat⁶. In 1821 the jurisdiction of the Registrar, the Sadr Amin and the District Munsif was extended to Rs. 1,000, Rs. 750 and Rs. 500 respectively, except in the case of rent-free lands where the limits were fixed at Rs. 100, Rs. 75 and Rs. 50 of annual produce respectively⁷. In 1825 all decisions of the District Munsifs in suits for property in land were made open to an appeal to the Zillah Court⁸.

Meanwhile, in 1822 the Zillah Court of Vriddhachalam was abolished and South Arcot was placed under the jurisdiction of the Zillah Court of the Chingleput district. In 1831 an Indian Judge's Court was established at Cuddalore (Gudalur), but, after a few months, its place was taken by a court called the Chingleput District Auxiliary Court. It sat at Cuddalore (Gudalur) and was presided over by an Assistant Judge⁹. It had territorial jurisdiction over South Arcot and exclusive cognizance of suits not exceeding Rupees 5,000 in value. The Assistant Judge exercised appellate jurisdiction

¹ Regulation VIII of 1816, Section 16.

² Regulation XV of 1816, Sections 2, 3.

³ Regulation XV of 1816, Section 6.

⁴ *Idem.*^a

⁵ Regulation VIII of 1818.

⁶ 53rd George III C. 55; Regulation II of 1820.

⁷ Regulation II of 1821, Section 2-4.

⁸ Regulation V of 1825.

⁹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 248.

Judicial Consultation, dated 8th January 1822; 4th March 1831 and 19th April 1831.

over the District Munsifs stationed within his territorial limits. A special appeal or second appeal lay to the Zillah Judge from the decision of the Assistant Judge in appeal, if the decision was contrary to judicial precedent or usage having the force of law or involved an important question of law not covered by judicial authority. In suits not exceeding Rs.1,000 tried by him, an appeal lay to the Zillah Judge and, above that sum, to the Provincial Court. A Sadr Amin (other than the Law Officer appointed as such under Regulation VIII of 1816) was appointed by the Auxiliary Court and an appeal from his decision was made to lie to the Assistant Judge. A second appeal was also open to the Assistant Judge from the decisions of this Sadr Amin in appeals referred to him from the District Munsifs¹.

In the matter of second appeals, an appeal lay to the Zillah Judge from the decrees of the Assistant Judge in appeals from the Sadr Amin of the Auxiliary Court. Similarly an appeal lay to the Provincial Court from the decree of the Zillah Judge in appeals from the Assistant Judge. An appeal likewise lay to the Sadr Adalat from the decrees of the Provincial Court in appeals from the Assistant Judge².

In 1833, the jurisdiction of the Registrar, the Sadr Amin and the District Munsif was raised to Rs. 3,000, Rs. 2,500 and Rs. 1,000 respectively, except in suits for revenue-free land where the annual produce did not exceed Rs. 300, Rs. 250 and Rs. 100 respectively³. In 1836 the special appeals which the British subjects enjoyed from the decisions of the Zillah Court to the Supreme Court were abolished, and it was enacted that no person by reason of birth or descent should be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Company's Courts⁴ or be incapable of being appointed as a Principal Sadr Amin or a Sadr Amin or a District Munsif⁵. In 1843 (by Act III of 1843) special appeals were made to lie to the Sadr Adalat from all decisions passed on regular appeals in all subordinate civil courts when such decisions were inconsistent with law or usage or the practice of the courts or involved doubtful questions of law, usage or practice⁶.

At this time another important change was introduced in the administration of justice. In 1843 both the Provincial Court and the Zillah Court were abolished and a new Zillah Court was established at Cuddalore (Gudalur) presided over by a judge styled as the

¹ Regulation I of 1827, Sections 2-7.

² Regulation XI of 1827.

³ Regulation III of 1833, Sections 3-5.

Judicial Consultations, dated 3rd May 1833, page 1875.
Idem. dated 31st May 1833, pages 2018-2025

⁴ Act XI of 1836.

⁵ Act XXIV of 1836, Sections 1-5.

⁶ Act III of 1843, Section 1.

Civil and Sessions Judge¹. The original jurisdiction vested in the Provincial Court for amounts of less than Rs. 10,000 was now transferred to the Subordinate Judge that might be appointed (the Assistant Judge came to be so designated except in the case of officers appointed under section 52 of Act VII of 1843) and the Principal Sadr Amin² and both were given jurisdiction over Europeans and Americans also³. The new Zillah Judge as civil judge was empowered to hear appeals from the decrees of the Subordinate Judge, the Sadr Amins and the District Munsifs. He could also refer appeals from the decisions of the District Munsifs to the Subordinate Judge or call up to his own court appeals received from those courts⁴. Appeals from his court lay to the Sadr Adalat⁵. The new scheme, however, deprived him of the assistance of the Registrar's Court, the Court having been abolished. Summary appeals lay to his court from the decisions of the Subordinate Judge⁶, and from his court to the Sadr Adalat⁷. In South Arcot, however, no Subordinate Judge was appointed. In 1844 all suits within the competency of the Sadr Amins to decide came to be ordinarily instituted in their courts but they were made liable to be withdrawn by the Zillah Judge to be tried by him⁸. And in 1853, Act III of 1843 was repealed and another Act was passed specifying the grounds on which appeals were to lie to the Sadr Adalat⁹. After this, however, practically no change occurred until the introduction of the codes and the establishment of the High Court. At this stage therefore we may survey the state of civil justice in the district.

In 1855, for instance, there were in the district one Civil or Zillah Judge, one Principal Sadr Amin, one Sadr Amin with headquarters at Cuddalore and four District Munsifs with headquarters at Cuddalore (Gudalur), Chidambaram, Villupuram and Gingee (Senji). South Arcot was regarded as one of the more or less litigious districts, and in 1855 the total number of original suits filed in all the courts in that year in the district came to 5,289 involving an amount of Rs. 2,66,075. In the number of suits filed the district stood seventh in the whole State. The bulk of the litigation was in the lower courts; there were thus 1,677 suits pending and instituted in the Village Munsifs Courts, of which 487 were decreed on merits, 717 were disposed of by razinamah and 296 were dismissed. The gross value of the suits disposed of by these courts amounted to Rs. 10,153. There were also 5,501 suits pending.

¹ Act VII, 1843, Section 1.

Judicial Consultations, dated 21st November 1843.

² Act VII, 1843, Section 4.

³ Act VII, Section 5.

⁴ Act VII, 1843, Section 7.

⁵ Act VII, 1843, Section 9.

⁶ Act VII, 1843, Section 8.

⁷ Act VII, 1843, Section 9.

⁸ Act IX, 1844, Sections 1, 2, 4.

⁹ Act XVI, 1853; See also *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency* by C. D. Maclean Vol. I, 1885—footnotes on pages 271-272.

instituted and referred to in the District Munsifs Courts of which 1,561 were decreed on merits, 971 were disposed of by *razinamah* and 3,915 were dismissed. The gross value of the suits disposed of amounted to Rs. 2,17,571 and pending amounted to Rs. 1,08,098¹

Turning to criminal justice, by the Cornwallis System introduced in the district in 1807, the Zillah Judge became the Zillah Magistrate and was empowered to dispose of all petty criminal cases² in accordance with the Muslim law which was declared to be the criminal law of the State. He was assisted by a Kazi and a Mufti who as Law Officers expounded the Muslim law in his Court³. He disposed of all petty offences, such as abusive language, calumny, inconsiderable assaults or affrays, by imprisonment for a term not exceeding 15 days or by a fine not exceeding Rs. 50, except in the case of zamindars and other landed proprietors in which case he was authorized to impose a fine up to Rs. 200⁴. He disposed of also all petty thefts by the infliction of corporal punishment not exceeding 30 rattans or by imprisonment for a period not exceeding one month⁵. All other cases he had to commit for trial before the Central Court of Circuit⁶.

The Court of Circuit sent one of its judges on Circuit with a Kazi and a Mufti periodically to the South Arcot and other districts within its jurisdiction for the trial of sessions cases. This court could finally dispose of all cases committed for trial except those involving sentence of death or imprisonment for life wherein it dissented from the fatwa of the Muslim Law Officers. Sentences of death or imprisonment for life, it had to refer for final sentence to the Foujdari Adalat⁷. It had to be guided in its decisions entirely by the rules of Muslim law as expounded by the fatwas of the Kazi and the Mufti⁸. But it was authorized to commute certain harsh penalties prescribed by the Muslim law to imprisonment. It could commute Deyut, or the price of blood, in case of homicide to imprisonment for a term of years⁹ and it could commute Hud, or amputation, to imprisonment for 14 years in the case of a prisoner adjudged to lose two limbs and for 7 years in the case of a prisoner adjudged to lose one limb by the fatwas of the Law Officers¹⁰. In fact punishment by mutilation was entirely forbidden. It had also powers to visit the crime of perjury with

¹ Report of the Sadr Adalat on Civil Justice for 1855, pages 8, 8, 10, 12, 41.

² Regulation VI 1802.

³ Regulation VII, 1802, Section 15.

⁴ Regulation VI, 1802, Section 8.

⁵ Regulation VI, 1802, Sections 9-10.

⁶ Regulation VII, 1802.

⁷ *Idem*.

Regulation VI, 1802.

⁸ Regulation VII, 1802, Section 15.

⁹ *Idem*.

¹⁰ Regulation VII, 1802, Section 21.

the punishment of Tasheer or public exposure or corporal punishments or imprisonment¹. The Foujdari Adalat had powers to dispose of all cases referred to it for final sentence and to punish the crime of murder with death². In other cases it had to be guided by the fatwas of their Law Officers, the Kazi and the Mufti. Whenever, however, it considered the penalties awarded in those fatwas too severe or unwarranted by the evidence, it could represent the case to the Government with a view to mitigating or entirely remitting the punishment adjudged³. In cases in which a sentence of imprisonment for life or for a limited period of not less than seven years was adjudged, it could order the prisoner to be transported beyond the sea⁴. It could also, after obtaining the sanction of the Government, offer conditional pardon to accessories in the commission of crimes with a view to apprehending or convicting the principals⁵. In cases of robbery by open violence in which discretionary punishment was awarded in the fat was of the Muslim Law Officers, the Judge of Circuit and the Foujdari Adalat could inflict whatever punishment they thought proper. However, the Judge of Circuit could inflict only up to a maximum number of 39 stripes and imprisonment with hard labour in irons for seven years. Where a severer punishment was called for he had to refer the case to the Foujdari Adalat or where a strong suspicion was attached to the accused he had powers to demand security for his good conduct and appearance when required⁶. From 1811 the Zillah Judge and Magistrate began to exercise more powers; he was empowered to inflict punishment on persons convicted by him by imprisonment not exceeding one year, by corporal punishment not exceeding 30 rattans or by fine not exceeding Rs. 200

A much more important change came in 1816; in that year the Cornwallis System was replaced by the Munro System. Munro who had been appointed in 1814 at the head of the Judicial Commission to suggest measures for the reform of the judiciary held that the Zillah Judge, confined as he was to his headquarters, had hardly any opportunity to acquire an intimate knowledge of the people; that such knowledge could be had only by the Collector who, in the performance of his revenue duties, frequently toured the district; and that as this knowledge was essential for discharging the functions of the Magistrate and for controlling the police effectually, the magisterial powers and the control of police should be

¹ Regulation VII, 1802, Sections 36, 40.

Judicial Consultations, dated 9th April 1811, page 1573.

Judicial Consultations, dated 23rd April 1811, page 1590.

² Regulation VIII, 1802, Section 10.

³ *Idem*, Sections II.

⁴ *Idem*, Section 18.

⁵ *Idem*, Section 20.

⁶ Regulation XV, 1803, Sections 2 and 11. See also *Select Reports and cases of the Court of Foujdari Adalat 1826-1850*, pages III-VIII.

⁷ Regulation IV, 1811, Section 12.

transferred from the Zillah Judge to the Collector. This, he also remarked, was the Indian system in which the revenue, magisterial and police duties were combined in the revenue officer¹; and his recommendation having been strongly supported by the Court of Directors, the change was introduced in 1816². The office of the Zillah Magistrate of South Arcot was now transferred from the Zillah Judge to the Collector and at the same time a Criminal Court was established in South Arcot presided over by the Zillah Judge to which the Magistrate was required to commit all cases not adjudicable by him, instead of, as before, committing such cases direct for trial to the Court of Circuit³. The Magistrate was empowered to apprehend offenders and in certain cases to pass sentence⁴. He was authorized to punish persons guilty of petty thefts and other minor offences by stripes not exceeding 18 rattans, by imprisonment not exceeding 15 days or by fines not exceeding Rs. 50⁵; in other cases he had to send the offenders for trial to the Criminal Judge of the Zillah⁶. The Zillah Judge could punish offenders in some cases with stripes not exceeding 30 rattans; and in cases of thefts, in addition, with imprisonment not exceeding six months, and in other cases with a fine not exceeding Rs. 200⁷. Persons charged with more serious offences had to be committed by him for trial before the Court of Circuit⁸.

The years that followed witnessed the gradual enlargement of the powers of all Judicial Officers of the district. In 1818 the Zillah Magistrate was empowered to delegate the whole or any part of his authority to his assistant⁹. In 1820 he was given jurisdiction over British subjects residing in the interior for assaults and trespasses against Indians; their convictions however, in such cases were made removable by *certiorari* to the Supreme Court¹⁰. In 1822 the Criminal Judge was authorized to take cognizance of burglary and, if not attended with violence, to punish the

¹ Judicial Consultations, dated 24th December 1814, page 858.

Judicial Consultations, dated 1st March 1815, page 872.

Judicial Consultations, dated 2nd March 1815, page 1849.

Judicial Consultations, dated 18th May 1815, page 1868.

Judicial Consultations, dated 15th July 1815, page 2856.

Judicial Consultations, dated 19th August 1815, page 8070.

For a full discussion on the subject, *See Selections of papers from the Records at East India House*, Vol. II, 1820, Parts I and II.

See also Judicial Consultations, dated 27th June 1816, page 2461.

See also Judicial Consultations, dated 8th July 1816, page 2612.

² Regulation IX, 1816.

Regulation IX, 1816; *See also* Judicial Consultations, dated 18th November 1816, page 4760; dated 25th November 1816, page 4832.

³ Regulation X, 1816.

⁴ Regulation IX, 1816, Section 18.

⁵ *Idem*, Sections 32, 33, 35.

⁶ *Idem*, Section 34.

⁷ Regulation X, 1816, Sections 2, 7.

⁸ *Idem*, Section 9.

⁹ Regulation IX, 1816.

¹⁰ Regulation II, 1820.

offenders with 30 stripes and imprisonment with hard labour for two years, but, if accompanied with violence, to commit them to the Court of Circuit. The Circuit Court was authorized to punish such offenders by 39 stripes and imprisonment by banishment for fourteen years, if the burglary was not attended with attempt to murder or wounding, but, if otherwise, on conviction, to refer the trial to the Foujdari Adalat. The Criminal Judge was likewise authorized to punish thefts not exceeding Rs. 50 and not attended with attempt to murder or with wounding by imprisonment with hard labour for two years and 30 rattans; but otherwise to refer the trial to the Circuit Judge¹. The Criminal Judge was also empowered in certain cases to try and punish offenders for receiving or purchasing stolen goods² and convicts for escaping from jail³. In 1825 he was required to commit for trial before the Circuit Court all offenders involved in thefts exceeding Rs. 300⁴. Meanwhile, as has already been seen, the Zillah Court of South Arcot having been abolished (1822) and that district having been placed under the jurisdiction of the Zillah Judge of Chingleput, the Zillah Judge of Chingleput became the Criminal Judge of South Arcot; and in 1831 he came to be assisted by an Assistant Judge who also acted as a Joint Criminal Judge at the Auxiliary Court set up in Cuddalore (Gudalur).

Then came the trial by jury and some humanitarian reforms. In 1827 a regulation was passed for the gradual introduction of the trial by jury into the Criminal Judicature and it was declared to be unnecessary for either the Judge of Circuit or the Foujdari Adalat to require a fatwa from their Law Officers as to the guilt of the prisoner, that being established by the verdict of the jury⁵. It is interesting to note that only Hindus and Muslims were eligible to serve as jurors and that every juror received one rupee a day for his expenses. In 1828 the use of the rattan was abolished and the cat-of-nine tails was substituted⁶. In 1830 the 'korah' was also substituted by the cat-of-nine tails⁷. In 1832 the Magistrate, the Criminal and the Joint Criminal Judges of the district were em-

¹ Regulation VI, 1822, Section 2.

² *Idem*, Section 3.

³ *Idem*; Section 4.

⁴ *Idem*, Section 5.

⁵ Regulation I, 1825; Section 90.

⁶ Regulation X, 1827, Section 33.

Judicial Consultations, dated 23rd December 1827, pages 3970—3974.

Judicial Consultations, dated 3rd July 1827, page 2016.

Judicial Consultations, dated 11th September 1827, page 2693.

⁷ Regulation VIII, 1828.

Judicial Consultations, dated 15th April 1828, page 1091.

Judicial Consultations, dated 29th April 1828, page 1611.

Judicial Consultations, dated 23rd June 1828, page 2158.

⁸ Regulation II, 1830; Judicial Consultations, dated 28th May 1830; dated 23rd February 1820, page 769.

powered to adjudge solitary imprisonment in all cases cognizable by them'. In 1883 females were exempted from the punishment of flogging¹.

These were succeeded by changes of a general nature. In 1833, Criminal and Joint Criminal Judges were authorised to employ the Sadr Amins in the investigation and decision of criminal cases, except in cases committable for trial before the Court of Circuit. These Judges had powers to overrule the decisions of the Sadr Amins who were moreover declared not to have jurisdiction over Europeans or Americans². In 1810 the Foujdari Adalat was empowered to dispense altogether with the fatwa but not with the Muslim law³. Until 1841, treason, rebellion or other crimes against the State had been tried by the Judges of Circuit or by special courts appointed by the Government and consisting of 3 Judges⁴. In 1841 the Government were empowered to issue a commission to one or more judges with or without law officers for the trial of treason, rebellion, or any other crime against the State. The commission had to report its sentences, whether of acquittal or of punishment, to the Foujdari Adalat; and the latter in turn had to report its sentence to the Government, and await orders for three months before executing the same⁵. In 1843 sentences passed by the Justices of the Peace in the Mufasssal (the Magistrates) on British subjects residing in the district for assaults and trespasses against Indians were made appealable in the regular course in the same manner as ordinary sentences passed in ordinary exercise of a Magistrate's jurisdiction and, when so passed, were declared no more to be liable to revision by *certiorari* by the Supreme Court⁷.

As has already been stated, in 1843 the district saw the abolition of the Court of Circuit and the establishment of the new Zillah Court under the new Zillah Judge, called the Civil and Sessions Judge, invested with enlarged powers⁸. The Judge of the new Zillah Court was empowered to exercise all the powers of the Judges of the old Court of Circuit⁹ which now disappeared. He was directed to hold permanent sessions for the trial of all persons accused of crimes formerly cognizable by the Court of Circuit¹⁰. He could avail himself of the aid of respectable Indians or other persons either by constituting them as assessors or members of the court with a view to benefiting by their observations, particularly in the examination of witnesses, or by employing them more nearly as a jury, to

¹ Regulation XIII, 1832, Section 4.

² Regulation II, 1833: Judicial Consultations, dated 12th April, 1833, page 1495; dated 26th April, 1833, pages 1807-1808.

³ Regulation III of 1833.

⁴ Act I of 1840; Judicial Consultations, dated 12th November 1839, pages 8684-8687.

⁵ *Idem*, dated 18th August 1839, page 6300.

⁶ Regulation XX of 1802.

⁷ Act V of 1841, Sections 1-5.

⁸ Act IV of 1843.

⁹ Judicial Consultations, dated 1st August 1843, page 2740.

¹⁰ Judicial Consultations, dated 15th August 1843, pages 2844-2890.

¹¹ Act VII, 1843, Section 26.

¹² *Idem*, Section 27.

attend during the trial, to suggest points of enquiry and, after consultation, to deliver in their verdict. He was, however, authorised to pass decision according to his opinion whether agreeing with the assessors or jury or not; but, if his decision was in opposition to their opinions, it was to be referred to the Foujdari Adalat¹. He had also the power of overruling the criminal sentences passed by the Sadr Amins². The powers of the Magistrate were also extended, but an appeal was made to lie from his decision to the Sessions Judge³. The District Munsifs were also, in 1854, given criminal jurisdiction in petty offences and petty thefts⁴. No material changes having taken place till the passing of the Codes and the establishment of the High Court, we may pause now to give a glance at the state of criminal justice in the district.

In 1855, for instance, the same year for which we have given civil statistics, the district had 1 Sessions Judge, 1 Principal Sadr Amin, 1 Sadr Amin, 1 District Magistrate, 1 Joint Magistrate, 1 Additional Magistrate, 1 Head Assistant Magistrate and 1 Assistant Magistrate. The total number of crimes committed against persons and property, like murder, rape, highway robbery, gang robbery, house-breaking, arson, embezzlement, fraud and forgery, was 1,223 in which 4,820 persons were involved. Besides these there were a very large number of petty offences like assault, theft and cattle stealing. Among the major crimes, murder, gang robbery, house-breaking and thefts were the most prevalent⁵.

Shortly afterwards a series of important changes were made not only in the structure of the judiciary but also in the law to be administered and the procedure to be followed in the courts. In 1859 the Civil Procedure Code was enacted and this was followed by the Penal Code in 1860 and the Criminal Procedure Code in 1861. These Codes replaced the Regulations and Acts hitherto governing judicial administration. The Sadr and Foujdari Adalat and the Supreme Court were, at the same time, replaced by the High Court established by Letters Patent under charters issued in 1862 and 1865, and the High Court was invested with civil and criminal jurisdiction over all the courts in the State⁶. Since then the three Codes

¹ Act VII, 1843 Section 32.

² *Idem*, Section 36.

³ *Idem*, Sections 54-55.

⁴ Act XII, 1854; see also *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency* by C.D. Maclean-Vol. I, 1885-Footnotes on pages 273-273.

⁵ Report of the Foujdari Adalat on Criminal Statistics for 1855, pages 22-23.

⁶ *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency*, by C.D. Maclean, Vol. I, 1885-See footnote on page 274.

G.O. Nos. 37-40, Judicial, dated 10th June 1859.

G.O. Nos. 28-31A, Judicial, dated 5th August 1862.

G.O. Nos. 99-100, Judicial, dated 11th August 1862.

G.O. Nos. 180, Judicial, dated 15th August 1862.

G.O. Nos. 18-19, Judicial, dated 3rd December 1862.

G.O. Nos. 39-40, Judicial, dated 12th January 1863.

G.O. Nos. 82-84, Judicial, dated 12th March 1866.

G.O. Nos. 341-342, Judicial, dated 20th October 1866.

have been amended on several occasions and a large number of Acts have been passed defining the law governing specific subjects. It is neither possible nor necessary to enter here into this vast field of legal enactments. But it must be stated that, after the codification of the law, the Kazis, the Muftis and the Paudits disappeared from the Courts and that, about the same time, the constitution and jurisdiction of the courts themselves underwent some important changes. The present set-up of the Civil Courts came into existence in 1873 by the passing of the Madras Civil Courts Act of 1873¹ and the present set-up of the Criminal Courts came into existence in 1872 by the passing of the Criminal Procedure Code of 1872². Under the Civil Courts Act of 1873 the civil judiciary in the district came to consist of the District Court, the Subordinate Judge's Court and the District Munsifs' Courts; the Courts of the Assistant Judge and the Sadr Amins now ceased to exist. Under the Criminal Procedure Code of 1872, the criminal judiciary in the district came to consist of the Sessions Court and the Courts of the First, the Second and the Third-class Magistrates. The Village Munsifs' Courts and the Panchayat Courts, however, continued to function under Regulations IV and V of 1816 as amended by the Madras Act IV of 1883 and Act I of 1889.

The administration of civil justice is now under the exclusive superintendence of the High Court. The High Court originally consisted of a Chief Justice and a few Puisne Judges. The Chief Justice and one of the Puisne Judges were Barristers of the United Kingdom while the other Judges were experienced members of the Civil Service. All these were appointed by the Crown³. Subsequently the Judges were increased and their appointments came to be made on the principle that one-third of them should be Barristers from the United Kingdom, one-third should be members of the Indian Civil Service and the remaining one-third should be Advocates of some years standing in the High Court⁴. Under the new Constitution (1950) it now consists of a Chief Justice and twelve other Judges appointed by the President under his hand and seal. No person is eligible for appointment as a Judge of the High Court unless he is a citizen of India and has for at least 10 years held a judicial office in India or has for at least 10 years been an advocate of a High Court in India⁵.

The High Court has all along exercised ordinary original jurisdiction over all suits the cause of action in which has arisen within the limits of the City of Madras and appellate jurisdiction over all civil courts established throughout the State. It has also all along

¹ *The Civil Courts Manual (Madras Acts)*, 1949, Vol. I, pages 266-277.

² *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency* by C. D. Maclean, Vol. I, 1885, page 275—See footnote.

³ *Idem*, pages 209-210.

⁴ *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, 1930, Vol. I, page 294.

⁵ *The Constitution of India*, 1950, Madras Edition, page 73.

decided original cases by a single Judge from whose decision an appeal has lain to a division bench consisting of two Judges. It has, in the same manner, heard and determined appeals from district courts by a division bench of two Judges, and when the two Judges have differed in opinion, they have stated the question of law on which they differed and referred the matter to a third Judge. When important questions of law have arisen, it has had them decided by full benches consisting of three or more Judges. It has heard and decided all second appeals, i.e., decrees passed in appeal by the subordinate courts wherein the decision has been contrary to law or usage, or has failed to determine some material issue of law or usage or has made a substantial error in procedure. It has exercised powers of extraordinary original jurisdiction by which it can call up and determine any suit or appeal from any court subject to its superintendence. It has had powers to hold sittings for the relief of insolvent debtors and it has exercised testamentary and matrimonial jurisdiction¹. And recently, under the new constitution, it has come to exercise original jurisdiction in respect of any matter concerning revenue and its collection².

The jurisdiction of the several courts in the district has practically remained unchanged from 1873. Ever since that time whenever Additional Subordinate Judges and Additional District Munsifs have been appointed to one and the same Subordinate Judge's Court or District Munsif's Court, one of the Subordinate Judges and District Munsifs has been called the Principal Subordinate Judge and the Principal District Munsif respectively³. The District Judge and the Subordinate Judge have throughout exercised jurisdiction in all original suits and proceedings of a civil nature⁴. The District Munsifs exercised jurisdiction over such suits and proceedings till 1916 where the amount did not exceed Rs. 2,500; but in that year this limit was raised to Rs. 3,000⁵. Regular appeals have always lain from the decrees and orders of the District Court to the High Court; and from the decrees and orders of the Subordinate Judges' Courts and the District Munsifs' Courts to the District Court, except where the amount or value of the subject-matter of the suit has exceeded Rs. 5,000, in which case an appeal has lain to the High Court⁶. In certain cases the Subordinate Judges have exercised the powers of disposing of appeals from the District Munsifs within their jurisdiction and the District Judge has, in such cases, exercised the powers of removing such suits to his own court, and with the permission of the High Court, of referring any appeals from the decrees and orders of the District Munsifs

¹ *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency* by C.D. Maclean, Vol. I, 1885, pages 209-210.

² *The Constitution of India*, 1950, Madras Edition, page 75.

³ *Madras Civil Courts Act of 1873*, Sections 4 and 4-A.

⁴ *Idem*, Section 12,

⁵ *Idem*, Section 12 and *Madras Civil Courts (Amendment) Act, 1916*, Section 2

⁶ *Madras Civil Courts Act of 1873*, Section 13.

preferred to his court to any Subordinate Judge under him¹. And finally all the courts have all along administered the Hindu or Muslim law in all matters regarding succession, inheritance, marriage or caste or any religious usage or institution, according as the parties involved have been Hindus or Muslims. Where, however, these have not existed, they have followed any custom having the force of law unless such custom has been by legislative enactment altered; and where no specific rule has existed, they have acted according to justice, equity and good conscience².

The Village Munsifs and the Village Panchayats have all along continued to exercise petty civil powers. We have already seen that the Village Munsifs since 1816 exercised civil judicial powers in simple disputes. In 1883, under Madras Act IV of 1883, their powers were extended to suits for personal property up to Rs. 20, their decisions not being open to appeal. They were also empowered, in case the parties consented, to try and determine similar suits up to Rs. 100 as arbitrators. They were likewise empowered, when the parties agreed, to summon panchayats as before to decide suits for personal property of any value³. By the Village Courts Act of 1889 (Madras Act I of 1889) the Village Munsifs Courts as well as the new Panchayat Courts that could be constituted for one or more villages, were invested with powers to try civil suits up to Rs. 50 and, where the parties gave their consent in writing, up to Rs. 200⁴.

It may be stated here that there have also been revenue courts in the district from 1822. The Collectors, Sub-Collectors and Assistant and Deputy Collectors in charge of Divisions have been authorised to sit as revenue courts and exercise judicial powers under Madras Regulations IX of 1822, III of 1823 and III of 1832 on charges against revenue subordinates for corruption, exaction, embezzlement, etc.⁵; under Madras Regulation VI of 1831 repealed by the Madras Hereditary Village Officers Act III of 1895 on claims to hereditary village offices⁶; and under Madras Act VIII of 1865 repealed by the Madras Estates Land Act I of 1908 on disputes between the landlord and tenant in which no title is involved⁷. The revenue courts have also under the Acts of 1865 and 1908 exercised powers to enforce terms of tenancy, to compel

¹ *Madras Civil Courts Act of 1873, Section 13*

² *Idem*, Section 16,

³ *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency by C.D. Maclean*, Vol. I, 1885, pages 212-213.

⁴ *The Civil Courts Manual (Madras Acts)*, Fifth Edition, 1940, pages 1254-1258.

⁵ *Regulations of the Government of Fort St. George by Richard Clarke*, 1848, pages 434-441, and 517-518.

⁶ *Idem*, pages 507-509.

The Civil Courts Manual (Madras Acts), 1940, pages 1007-1026.

⁷ *The Madras Code*, 1888, pages 230-251.

The Madras Code, 1915, Vol. II, pages 1107-1182.

the exchange of pattas and muchilikas, to settle rates of assessment or rent, to order sales under dstraint, etc.

Since the establishment of the High Court and the passing of several Acts connected with civil justice, the judicial officers have been invested with certain special powers. Under the Madras Civil Courts Act of 1873 the Subordinate Judges and District Munsifs were invested with the powers of a Small Cause Court up to Rs. 500 and Rs. 50 respectively. In 1914 the powers of the District Munsifs were raised to Rs. 100 generally and to Rs. 200 in the case of a few District Munsifs recommended by the High Court. In 1926 the powers of the Subordinate Judges were raised to Rs. 1,000 and in 1942 the powers of the District Munsifs were raised to Rs. 300. It may also be mentioned here that the District Judge exercises special jurisdiction under enactments like the Guardians and Wards Act, the Indian Divorce Act, the Native Converts Marriage Dissolution Act and the Administrator-General's Act. The Subordinate Judges also exercise jurisdiction under special enactments like the Provincial Insolvency Act, the Guardians and Wards Act, the Indian Succession Act, the Madras Hindu Prevention of Bigamy and Divorce Act and the Land Acquisition Act. The District Munsifs likewise exercise certain jurisdiction under the Provincial Insolvency Act and the Indian Succession Act. Mention may also be made here of an Official Receiver appointed under the Provincial Insolvency Act for the administration of insolvents' estates. Originally the Official Receiver was a part-time officer appointed for a term of five years and remunerated on a commission basis. In 1939 he was made a full time officer of the Government and remunerated by salary. In the same year he was also appointed ex-officio Official Liquidator under the Indian Companies Act to carry on proceedings in the liquidation of companies ordered to be wound up by the High Court.

Under all these changes the position of the Civil Courts in the district in 1951 was as follows. There were in the district one District Judge's Court, one Subordinate Judge's Court presided over by two Subordinate Judges, one District Munsif's Court and one Court of Small Causes, all at Cuddalore (Gudalur) and six District Munsif's Courts, at Chidambaram, Kallakkurichi, Tindivanam, Tirukkoyilur, Villupuram and Vriddhachalam. The post of the Additional Subordinate Judge at Cuddalore (Gudalur), which was sanctioned originally in 1947, was being continued right through, the period of sanction having been extended each year. The District Munsif, Cuddalore (Gudalur) was also the Principal Judge of the Court of Small Causes from 1946 and tried all suits of the value of over Rs. 300 and up to Rs. 500. The Official Receiver, South Arcot, was invested with the powers of an Additional Judge of the Court of Small Causes from 1946 to try all cases up to Rs. 300. The post of the Additional Judge of the Court of Small Causes is being extended from time to time. There were also in

the district 39 Village Panchayat Courts and 511 Village Munsifs' Courts which tried cases. There were as many as 14,667 suits and appeals before these various courts; and the only districts in the State, where litigation was more, were Madurai, Tiruchirappalli, Coimbatore and Tanjore. The Village Munsifs' Courts disposed of 457 suits; the Village Panchayat Courts disposed of 1,378 suits; the District Munsifs' Courts disposed of 3,629 ordinary and 8,220 small cause suits; the Subordinate Judge's Court disposed of 125 ordinary suits and 234 small cause suits and 289 appeals; and the District Judge's Court disposed of 58 ordinary suits and 176 appeals¹.

A subject connected with civil justice is the registration of assurances. As early as 1802 a Regulation was passed (Regulation XVII of 1802) with the object of giving security to the titles and rights of persons purchasing or receiving in gift, or advancing money on mortgage or taking on lease or other limited assignment of real property. The Regulation also aimed at preventing individuals from being defrauded by entering into transactions in respect of any property that might have been previously dealt with, at obviating litigation regarding wills and any written authority to adopt and at providing against injury to rights or title by the loss or destruction of deeds relating to transactions of the above nature. The Regulation came into force only in 1805 and the registry was placed in charge of the Registrar of the Zillah Court. The documents registerable consisted of sales and gifts, mortgages and certificates of discharge of mortgages, leases and other limited assignments or temporary transfers of property wills and written authorities to adopt. The registration was however optional². In 1831 Officiating or Deputy Registrars as well as Zillah Assistants and Indian Judges were permitted to perform the duties of the Registrar when specially appointed for the purpose. In 1834 the Court of Directors suggested the enactment of a law for making registration of deeds relating to immovable property compulsory. But the suggestion bore fruit only in 1864 by the passing of India Act XVI of 1864. This Act was amended in 1877, 1879, 1886 and 1889 and was consolidated in 1908 by India Act XVI of 1908³. The chief object of registration is to obviate the difficulties arising from the purchase of title to immovable property the validity of which cannot be checked. The Act provides the machinery for registration, and lays down what documents should be compulsorily registered in order to obtain validity in a court of law and what documents may or may not be registered at the option of the parties. Ever since the passing of the Act of 1864 the work of registration has been placed in charge of a separate department

¹ G.O. No. 4673, Home, dated 31st December 1952.

² Regulation XVII of 1802; see also Act I of 1943.

³ *Madras Presidency 1881 to 1931* by G.T. Boag, 1933, page 59.

Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency by C. A. Maclean, Vol. I, 1885, page 214.

under an Inspector-General of Registration assisted by a number of Registrars and Sub-Registrars. South Arcot has been under a Registrar since the passing of the Act of 1864. As for the Sub-Registrars' offices there were 39 of them in 1951-52, located in towns and important villages. In the same year these offices effected 105,111 registrations, compulsory and optional, relating to immovable property worth Rs. 4,27,89,464 and collected thereby fees amounting to Rs. 3,43,537. They also registered 722 documents relating to movable property worth Rs. 7,37,518 and realised thereby fees amounting to Rs. 4,144. They likewise registered 616 wills and realised thereby Rs. 6,232 by way of fees. There are two District Registrars' Offices, one at Cuddalore (Gudalur) and the other at Chidambaram¹.

Another subject connected with civil justice is that of court fees. In order to discourage frivolous litigation and the filing of superfluous exhibits and the summoning of unnecessary witnesses, a Regulation was passed as early as 1808 (Regulation IV of 1808) prescribing the levy of stamp duty on every petition, answer, reply, rejoinder or supplemental pleadings in suits on appeals to the Zillah, Provincial or Sadr Court on all miscellaneous petitions and applications which were treated as pleadings, on sanads of appointment granted to Kazis and authorised pleaders and on all copies of judicial papers granted to parties on application. The scale of stamp duty ranged from annas 4 to Rs. 2². In suits and appeals the scale was revised in the same year³. Complaints to Magistrates or Police Darogahs were charged a stamp duty of annas 8. Provision was at the same time made for the institution of suits in *forma pauperis*. In the same year by another Regulation (Regulation V of 1808) a scale of court-fees was prescribed on all suits. The fees collected by the Registrars, the District Munsifs, Sadr Amins and the 'Native Commissioners' were appropriated by them towards their remuneration; but the fees collected by the Zillah Judges, the Provincial Courts and the Sadr Adalat were credited to the Government⁴. No fee was however collected in the case of suits filed before the Village Courts which came into existence in 1816⁵. In 1817, the stamp duty was made payable also on documents like pro-notes, bills of exchange, letters of credit, receipts, deeds of gift, sale, devise, lease, mortgage, etc.; and the court fees leviable on institution of suits and appeals were also received. The court fees varied from Re. 1 in suits and appeals not exceeding Rs. 16 in value, to Rs. 2,000 in suits and appeals exceeding Rs. 1,00,000 in

¹ G.O. No. 2351, Revenue, dated 1st October 1952.

² Regulation IV of 1808, Sections 2, 3.

³ Regulation V of 1808, Section 3.

⁴ Regulation V of 1808.

⁵ Regulation IV of 1816, Section 32.

Regulation V of 1816, Section 1st.

Regulation VII of 1816.

value¹. The Registrar, the District Munsifs, etc., continued to appropriate the fees collected by them. From 1834, however, the District Munsifs ceased to be remunerated with the fees, and in lieu thereof were paid monthly allowances for themselves². The next change in the court fees or judicial stamps was made in 1860 when a comprehensive Act containing several new provisions taken from the English statutes was passed and made applicable to the whole of India³. Some minor amendments were made to this Act in 1862; in 1867 stamp duties on judicial proceedings were increased⁴. In 1870 another comprehensive Act was passed reducing the stamp duties and making various changes in detail in the judicial part of the stamp law⁵. This Act was amended in 1922 mainly for raising the stamp duties and thereby meeting the increased cost of administration⁷. A minor amendment to this Act was made in 1945⁸.

Coming to criminal justice the High Court has all along exercised original and appellate jurisdiction the former in the case of the City of Madras and the latter in the case of the districts. It has tried all ordinary cases before a common jury and all capital cases and usually those in which the State is interested before a special jury⁹. Appeals have been usually heard by one Judge unless they relate to death sentences, in which case two Judges have sat and decided appeals. Appeals posted before one Judge have sometimes been referred by him to a Bench of two Judges and appeals posted before a Bench of two Judges have sometimes been referred by them to a Full Bench consisting of three or more Judges. The High Court has exercised the powers of revision over all the criminal courts in the State, such as those of revising their calendars and sentences, calling for their records and annulling, suspending or altering their sentences¹⁰.

The Sessions court in the district has all along been the highest court within the limits of its jurisdiction. It has not generally taken cognizance of any offences as a court of original jurisdiction; it has taken cognizance of cases only when committed by competent magistrates. It has held trials with the aid of assessors or

¹ Regulation XIII of 1816, Section 13

² Regulation II of 1834; Act V of 1835.

³ India Act XXXVI of 1860.

⁴ India Act X of 1862.

⁵ India Act XXVI of 1870.

⁶ India Act VII of 1870.

⁷ Madras Act V of 1922.

⁸ Madras Act XVII of 1945.

⁹ G.O. Nos. 11-12, Judicial, dated 2nd December 1865.

¹⁰ *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency* by C.D. Maclean, Vol. I. 1885, pages 198-299.

Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, Section 31 (1).

jury¹ It has possessed powers to pass the maximum punishment prescribed for each offence by the Penal Code; and except in the case of death sentence, its sentences have been effectual without further references, subject only to appeals to the High Court. All capital punishments passed by it, however, have had to be confirmed by the High Court². It has also possessed appellate jurisdiction and heard and determined all appeals from the decisions of the District Magistrates and First-class Magistrates. Whenever the work of Sessions Court has been heavy, an Additional Sessions Judge or an Assistant Sessions Judge has been appointed. The Additional Sessions Judge has exercised the same powers as the Sessions Judge; and the Assistant Sessions Judge has exercised all the powers of Sessions Judge except those of passing sentences of death or of transportation or of imprisonment for more than seven years³.

Below the Sessions Court there have been all along three grades of Criminal Courts in the district presided over by the Magistrates of the first, second and third class. The Collector has exercised first-class magisterial powers under the designation of the District Magistrate and, as the head of the district, he has had jurisdiction and control over the other magistrates. The Subdivisional Magistrates, whether Sub-Collectors or Deputy Collectors, have also exercised first-class magisterial powers. The Tahsildars have been vested with second-class magisterial powers, but they have rarely exercised these powers for the trial of cases. The Deputy Tahsildars as Sub-Magistrates have been vested with third-class magisterial powers to start with and after six months have been invariably vested with second-class powers⁴. and such of the Sub-Magistrates as do exclusively magisterial work have been designated as the Stationary Sub-Magistrates. As to the magisterial powers, the magistrates of the first-class have throughout possessed powers of passing sentences of imprisonment not exceeding two years, of imposing fines to the extent of Rs. 1,000 and of whipping⁵. Magistrates of the second-class have similarly possessed powers of passing sentences of imprisonment not exceeding six months and of imposing fines not exceeding Rs. 200⁶. Magistrates of the third-class have possessed powers of passing sentences of imprisonment not exceeding one month and of imposing fines not exceeding Rs. 50⁷. The First-class Magistrates when

¹ *Code of Criminal Procedure*, 1898, Section 268.

² *Idem*, Section 31 (2).

³ *Idem*, Section 31 (3).

Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency by C. D. Maclean, Vol. I, 1885, pages 198-199

⁴ Board's Standing Order, No. 139.

⁵ *Code of Criminal Procedure*, 1898, Section 32 (1).

⁶ *Idem*.

⁷ *Idem*.

empowered by the Government have also heard appeals from the decisions of the Second-class and Third-class Magistrates.

Besides these Magistrates there have been other Magistrates too in the district. There have been from a long time, from about 1861, benches of Honorary Magistrates and Honorary Special Magistrates, mostly in towns¹, who have exercised generally the third or second-class powers or sometimes even first-class powers². There have been also the village munsifs who have exercised magisterial powers in petty cases of minor assault, affrays, abusive language, etc., under Regulation XI of 1816 as amended by Act II of 1920; they have had powers to imprison offenders in the village choultry for a period not exceeding twelve hours³. They have moreover been the Panchayat Courts which have exercised powers of imposing fines in petty offences under the Village Courts Act I of 1889⁴.

Recently in 1950, an important change has been introduced in the district, namely, the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive⁵. The separation has a history of its own dating from almost the very inception of the Indian National Congress. We have dealt with it fully elsewhere, but here we must note that the agitation for the change was made mainly on the principle that the prosecuting agency should not also be the trying agency inasmuch as such a combination of powers violates the first principles of justice and equity. In spite of the various attempts made from 1886, however, the separation began to be actually effected in the State only from 1949, only after the advent of the National Government. Under the scheme of separation then introduced, the Collector and his subordinates ceased to have powers to try criminal cases, but their powers for preserving public peace and for maintaining law and order were retained in them. A separate class of Sub-Magistrates, Subdivisional Magistrates and District Magistrates possessing legal qualifications have been brought into existence purely for trying cases. This system, however, does not involve any change in the law relating to the administration of Criminal Justice⁶.

¹ *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency* by C. D. Maclean. Vol. I, 1885, page 200.

G.O. No. 172-173, Judicial, dated 20th May 1861.

G.O. No. 154, Judicial, dated 21st July 1874.

G.O. No. 156, Judicial, dated 16th February 1875.

² G.O. No. 1729, Judicial, dated 14th August 1914.

G.O. No. 1837, Law (General), dated 20th June 1922.

³ *Criminal Courts Manual (Madras Act)*, 1949, page 509.

⁴ *Idem* page 815.

⁵ G.O. No. 3573-3577, Home, dated 9th August 1950.

G.O. No. 3338, Public, dated 5th August 1950.

⁶ *Studies in Madras Administration* by B. S. Baliga, Vol. I, 1949, pages 184-240.

Madras in 1950, pages 40-43.

G.O. No. 78, Public, dated 10th January 1947.

G.O. No. 3105, Public, dated 9th September 1949.

Such is the history of criminal justice. Before leaving it however we may have a glance at the statistics relating to it in the district about the close of our period. In 1951, for instance, there were in the district 1 Sessions Judge, 2 Assistant Sessions Judges, 1 District Magistrate, 1 Additional District Magistrate, and 2 Sub-divisional Magistrates, besides a number of Sub-Magistrates. There were also in the district several Panchayat Courts of which 20 tried criminal cases, and many Village Munsif Magistrates of whom 108 tried criminal cases. There were likewise some Honorary Bench Magistrates and Special Magistrates. The Honorary Bench and Special Magistrates disposed of 15,133 cases; the Panchayat Courts 90; the Village Magistrates 57; and the regular courts 49,721. The number of appeals in the Sessions Judge's and District Magistrate's Courts was 405 and in the High Court 160. The total number of cases and appeals amounted to 50,113, which was the second highest figure in the State, the first being that of Madurai. The fines realised by the court (almost entirely by the Magistrates' Courts) amounted to Rs. 2,58,607 ¹.

Turning to the police, when the British acquired the district in 1801, the police duties were performed by the Palayagars, the Kavalgars and the Talaiyaris. The Palayagars and Kavalgars were assisted by their subordinates generally called Kattubadi peons. They were all supported partly by endowments of land, partly by shares of crops and customs and partly by certain taxes, such as taxes on shops, looms, hearths and even marriages. The Palayagars, however, had, besides, other sources of income. Having become powerful during the declining days of the Nawab's rule, they usurped all judicial powers, imposed fines, levied fees and, what is more, received bribes. It is said that no person could approach them without a present, and none could escape their interference. Nor is this all. They as well as the Kavalgars and Talaiyaris colluded and compounded with the criminals and, as a consequence, the whole country was overrun by bands of robbers with perfect impunity. It became dangerous for the people to travel by highways without being armed; and it became necessary for them to employ the Kallars of Tanjore and Tiruchirappalli to protect their lives and possessions.

This system, or want of system, was scrapped altogether in 1804. The police powers of the Palayagars were then transferred to the Collector and both the Palayagars and Kavalgars (save a few) were disbanded, their lands and emoluments were resumed, and a new police, prescribed by the Cornwallis Code, consisting of darogas and naib darogas was employed, under the Collector. The Talaiyaris and the Kattubadi peons were however continued. In 1806, on the advent of a Zillah Judge, a further change was made, in accordance with the Cornwallis Code: the police was transferred from the Collector to the Zillah Judge. The Zillah Judge

¹ G.O. No. 4591, Home, dated 23rd December 1952.

who now became responsible for the maintenance of public peace, had under him in that year 10 darogahs, 586 naib darogahs, 2,088 Talaiyaris and 276 Kattubadi peons. The total expense of the establishment came to 29,899 pagodas. This change, however, by no means, improved matters. Crimes continued to increase. Between 1807 and 1811, for instance, there were 65 murders, 111 gang robberies, 113 gang burglaries, 19 burglaries committed by less than three persons, 2,155 thefts, 4,769 assaults and batteries, 488 riots, 17 cases of rape, 44 cases of bribery and 214 cases of forgeries and frauds.

The police reforms, introduced in all the districts in 1816 as a result of the recommendations of a Special Police Committee, abolished the Kaval System altogether, resumed all their fees and maniums, reorganized the police under the heads of villages, the Tahsildars, the Zamindars, the Amins of police and the Kotwals, and retransferred the magistracy and the control of the police from the Zillah Judge to the Collector. The heads of villages were assisted in their duties by the Talaiyaris and other village watchers and the Tahsildars were assisted by the Peshkars, the Gumasthas and the peons. The Zamindars were appointed as heads of police within their Zamindaris and the Amins of Police were appointed in large towns. The Kotwals and peons were appointed under the Tahsildars chiefly for furnishing supplies for travellers, and the Collector-Magistrate who was placed in control over the entire police of the district was held responsible for the maintenance of public peace²

But even these changes were soon felt to be inadequate. The Collector-Magistrate, because of his more frequent tours and more intimate connection with the people, was undoubtedly found to be more capable of exercising a better control over the police than the Judge-Magistrate. But, saddled as he was by his growing revenue duties, he and his subordinates found little time to attend to police duties: the Talaiyaris who were ill-paid completely neglected their police duties. The result was, crimes showed no appreciable decrease, as we have already seen while dealing with criminal justice.

Affairs were not better in the other districts. In 1859 therefore the police of the whole State was reorganized and made into a separate department. It was considered that the Collector-Magistrates, through their Assistants and revenue subordinates, were not in a position to exercise adequate supervision over the police establishments: that the control exercised by the Sessions Judges over the Collector-Magistrates, ever since the abolition of the Courts of

¹ Judicial Sundries, Police Committee, 1814, Vol. 5-A, pages 549-573.

² Regulation XI of 1816.

Circuit, was illusory since the Sessions Judges were occupying the same status as that of the Collectors; and that the police establishments themselves demanded a thorough revision. For all these reasons an Inspector-General of Police was appointed as the Head of the Department and under him were appointed a few Deputy Inspectors-General in charge of groups of districts and District Superintendents of Police each in charge of a district. The District Superintendents of Police, except in matters affecting discipline, etc., were placed under the District Magistrates. In matters affecting discipline, service, etc., they were placed under the Inspector-General of Police. And finally, each District Superintendent of Police was provided with a separate police staff of Inspectors, Constables and Village Police¹.

This system was introduced into the South Arcot district in 1860. The district was now provided with 1 District Superintendent of Police, 22 Inspectors, 1,222 constables, 340 Village Inspectors, and 3,040 Village Talaiyaris. It was distributed into the eight taluks then existing and in each taluk were posted one or more Inspectors and a number of parties of constables attached to police stations and outposts. There were thus 19 Inspectors with 57½ police parties, 41 outposts and 861 constables under them. At the same time, separate police establishments were stationed in the towns of Cuddalore (Gudalur), Porto Novo (Parangipettai) and Chidambaram. Separate police establishments² were also appointed for jails, treasuries and courts and some parties were kept as Reserve Police.

The changes made in 1860 have remained the same in essentials to this day. The only important additional changes that have since been made are the formation of the Criminal Intelligence Department branch and the Railway Police. In about 1880 it was felt that, in order to prevent refined crimes such as forgery, false evidence, poisoning, cheating and conspiracy, it was essential to have a separate staff of police for criminal intelligence work and that, in order to prevent thefts on railways and at railway stations, it was equally essential to have a separate Railway Police³. Subsequently both the Criminal Intelligence Staff⁴ and the Railway Police⁵ were reorganized.

South Arcot is one of the heaviest districts in crime. Thus, it stood second in grave crimes committed alike in 1949, 1950 and 1951⁶. In 1951, 44 cases of murder, 12 cases of dacoity, 28 cases

¹ Judicial Consultations, dated 4th January 1859 — Papers connected with the reorganization of the Police, 1859.

² G.O. No. 672, Judicial, dated 30th May 1860.

³ Madras Police Report for 1881.

⁴ G.O. No. 1152, Judicial, dated 17th July 1906.

⁵ G.O. No. 1463, Judicial, dated 8th October 1897.

⁶ See the Reports on the Administration of Police for 1950, page 9 *Idem*, for 1952, page 9.

of robbery, 947 cases of house-breaking, 1,049 cases of cattle theft and 2,141 cases of ordinary thefts were committed in the district. In 1952, the position became somewhat better and the district occupied only a seventh place in the State. But it must be stated that five other districts out-distanced South Arcot in the matter of grave crimes only by a narrow margin¹.

Most of the crimes of the district are attributable to certain criminal classes who have been notorious from a long time. Of these the most notorious are the Veppur Paraiyars who are commonest in the western part of Vriddhachalam taluk and who derive their appellation from the village of Veppur. They were originally the Kavalgars of the old Palayagars; and, when their numbers increased and they were disbanded, they took to depredations and became robbers and thieves. They are sometimes referred to as 'thiruttu' or 'thieving' Paraiyars, and although agriculture is their ostensible means of livelihood, they actually live by committing crimes. They are said to be adepts in burglary. They usually choose a dark and rainy night, form themselves into parties and set off in various directions, confining their operations to within a radius of thirty miles from their homes. Their habits are so well known that the inhabitants of the surrounding villages invariably apply to them alone for the restoration of lost property, offering them a certain percentage of its value. This is termed 'Mulladi-Kuli' and this blackmail is resorted to in order to avoid law's delays, vexation in attendance on Magistrates' Courts, the difficulty of detection and, above all, the uncertainty of recovery.

These 'thieving' Paraiyars, it is said, have their receivers and patrons in many large centres of South Arcot, Tiruchirappalli and Salem districts among the Reddiars and Muslims. It is also said that these patrons frequently employ them for wreaking vengeance on their enemies. They assume disguises when on their predatory excursions, sometimes dressing like the Hindus or the Brahmins, and sometimes passing themselves off as traders of cattle. They thus gain admission into chattrams, houses and the like, and employ all their cunning to achieve their ends. They are the most notorious cattle stealers and burglars. They commit burglary either by widening the space between the walls and the eaves of the roof, or by making a hole near the bolt of the door sufficiently large to admit of a man's arm being introduced to remove the bolt or, more often, by cutting a hole under the door frame and passing in a youth of diminutive size. They use an instrument called 'arasukuchi' which is somewhat similar to a ploughshare and which is about 18 inches long. Usually six of them engage in burglaries. As soon as an entrance is effected, a free means of exit is made and while two of the men enter, the other four remain concealed

¹ See the Report on the Administration of the Police for 1952, page 9.

outside to receive the spoil. They observe omens, worship 'Manjappa Swami' and employ priests and Kavalgars of their own¹.

The other criminal classes of the district are the Jogis, the Valayankuppam Padayachis, the Sakkaraitamadai Koravars, the Donga Dasaris, the Kepumaris and the Togamalai Koravars. The Jogis are a caste of Telugu mendicants who either generally sell beads or keep pigs. Those who belong to South Arcot mostly keep pigs. They are however dangerous criminals, dacoits and robbers. The Valayankuppam Padayachis originally belonged to the village Valayankuppam in the Vriddhachalam taluk, but they are now found also in the Cuddalore and Chidambaram taluks. They are ostensibly agriculturists but really dacoits. House dacoity is their speciality. Having selected a rich man's house to be robbed they would, through informants and other means, obtain a thorough knowledge of it and, on the appointed day, surround, attack and plunder it, keeping at bay any villagers who might come to disturb them by incessant stone throwing and free use of clubs. Sometimes they commit even torch light dacoities. The Sakkaraitamadai Koravars live in the village of the same name situated in the Tindivanam taluk, but they have relations by blood or marriage in several villages of the Tirukkoyilur and Kallakurichchi taluks. They ostensibly engage themselves in basket making but they really commit dacoities, robberies and burglaries. They use even violence in the commission of crimes, if resisted or discovered. The Donga Dasaris, the 'thieving' mendicants are noted for committing thefts of jewels, purses, etc., at festivals and other large gatherings. They too commit burglaries and sometimes even dacoities. The Kepumaris who have their headquarters at Chingleput have also their camping grounds in South Arcot. They, like the Donga Dasaris, resort to crowded places and commit all sorts of thefts. They call themselves Alagiri Kepumaris since Alagar is the God they worship. The Togamalai Koravars belong to the Tiruchirappalli district, but they sometimes come to South Arcot to commit crimes².

All these criminal classes were declared as criminal tribes under the Criminal Tribes Act of 1911 (India Act III of 1911)³, and restrictions were imposed upon their movements. This Act was re-enacted in 1924, but was repealed in 1947 (by Madras Act X of 1947) by the National Government which considered that, in the

¹ Papers relating to the Criminality of the Tribes notified under the Criminal Tribes Act, pages 48-50.

Gazetteer of the South Arcot District, by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 253.

² Papers relating to the Criminality of the Tribes notified under the Criminal Tribes Act, pages 74-78, 86-88, 146-147.

Gazetteer of the South Arcot District, by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 250-252.

³ Papers relating to the Criminality of the Tribes notified under the Criminal Tribes Act, page 194.

new set up, it was altogether unjust to brand whole communities as criminals. The individuals of the criminal tribes who are habitual offenders are, however, now dealt with under the Madras Restriction of Habitual Offenders Act (Madras Act XXX of 1913) which places restrictions on all habitual offenders irrespective of the tribe or community to which they belong².

The most notorious criminals of the district, the Veppur Paraiyars, have been provided with a settlement to wean them from their criminal habits and to make them useful members of society. This settlement, called the Aziz Nagar Settlement after the name of the Collector Aziz Ud Din, was started in 1918 with a strength of nearly 200 families. It was located at Kammapuram, a village in the taluk of Vriddhachalam and it covered 1,377 acres of reserved forest. It was for a short time under the management of the Salvation Army, but in 1915 it was taken over by the Government and is still being run by them. The settlers have been encouraged here to take to cultivation, and an agricultural farm is run for them. They have also been encouraged to take to cottage industries like weaving, mat making, carpentry and blacksmithy work and leather industry. One higher elementary school has been started for them, and in that school free food, clothing and books are supplied. A Government dispensary has been opened for them and a co-operative stores has also been organized for them. On the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act in 1947 several of the settlers who did not come under the Habitual Offenders Act quitted the settlement, but the rest have remained as voluntary settlers. In 1953, there were 1,365 settlers³.

The district has witnessed a few riots and disturbances. Those which took place in connection with political agitation have already been described in the Chapter on Nationalism and Independence. Among others, the most serious in recent years were those which took place at Perumanatham and Andipalayam, both situated near Sankarapuram. The former flared up in November 1931 in connection with a dispute which arose between the jaghirdar of Ariya Goundan jaghir and his cousin over the collection of rent from the jaghir villages. When the jaghirdar and his party were collecting rents with the help of two police constables, they were attacked by the party led by his cousin and, as a result, one constable was killed and several persons were injured. The latter occurred in 1913 when a police party under a Sub-Inspector which had gone to Andipalayam to make enquiries in connection with a theft was

¹ G.O. No. 2427, Home, dated 20th June 1947.

² G.O. No. 231, Home, dated 26th January 1944.

G.O. No. 73, Home, dated 10th January 1945.

³ See the *Annual Administration Reports of the Madras Presidency* Reports on Criminal Tribes.

Gazetteer of the South Arcot District, Vol. II, 1932, page LVII.

Administration Report on Habitual Offenders Settlements for 1953 1954.

attacked by a mob of villagers. The Sub-Inspector and his party were seriously injured and the rioters dispersed only on the arrival of a rescue party. A collective fine of Rs. 1,500 was then imposed on the village¹

The police force in the district is under the charge of a District Superintendent of Police who has his headquarters at Cuddalore. The enforcement of Prohibition has been taken over by the Police Department from 1st November 1955. This has necessitated the appointment of additional staff. The District Superintendent of Police has now under his control 5 Deputy Superintendents of Police for Subdivisions, one Personal Assistant, 13 Inspectors, 71 Sub-Inspectors, 164 Head Constables and 1,276 Constables of Taluk Police and 1 Sergeant-Major, 6 Sergeants, 5 Jamadars, 26 Head Constables, 25 Naiks, 24 Lance Naiks and 276 Constables of Armed Reserve. Besides, there is a District Intelligence Bureau functioning at the headquarters, under the supervision of the District Superintendent of Police with an Inspector and 5 Head Constables. Its primary duty is to collect and disseminate information regarding property, incidence of crimes, and the *modus operandi* and sphere of operation of criminals. It is, in short, an 'Information Bureau' for the district regarding crimes and criminals. It also directs and co-ordinates the detection work in respect of organised crimes or any special type of crimes. It publishes weekly sheets and a monthly review relating to the district. These greatly facilitate both detection and prevention of crimes. It likewise publishes prohibition reviews and important notifications and circulars. The registration of foreigners and the issue of passports are also dealt with by this Bureau. The most important work of the Bureau is that of the Head Constables, who are trained in developing finger-prints and taking cast prints of the feet and toes for the scientific investigation of crimes. On the occurrence of crime in which the possibility of such investigation exists, the investigating agency wires for the experts from the Bureau and their services are utilised for developing and lifting the latest finger-prints and foot-prints. The district comes under the jurisdiction of the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Central Range, who has his headquarters at Tiruchirappalli. The Deputy Inspector-General of Police is under the control of the Inspector-General of Police, Madras.

Coming to the jails, before the introduction of the Cornwallis system, there were no regular jails in the district. Before 1807 the few offenders who had to be confined were kept in a very small rented house at Arcot then included in the district². In that year, a new jail was built at Vriddhachalam, the then headquarters of

¹ G.O. No. 2131, Public, dated 30th July 1943.

² *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1903, pages 256-257.

the Zillah Judge. The Zillah Judge who exercised supervision over the jail was assisted by a Jailor and a number of prison guards and medical aid was provided to the prisoners through the Zillah Surgeon. The Judges of Circuit were required to inspect the jail during their circuit and to submit a report to the Foujdari Adalat. Rules were at the same time drawn up and prescribed for the separate accommodation of different classes of prisoners, for the segregation of men and women, for the supply of proper food and clothing to them, for the ensuring of cleanliness and sanitation among them and for the regulation of their labour. But these rules were not always enforced¹. Prison discipline was then indeed lax and prison escapes were not uncommon².

The jail was subsequently shifted to Cuddalore (Gudalur) when Cuddalore (Gudalur) became the seat of Auxiliary Court. It was located on the lower part of a substantial building on the shore of the backwater, at Cuddalore (Gudalur) Old Town, a building which was originally the Company's Factory House³. The prisoners now came to be employed in weaving cloth, etc., and in constructing public works, like the causeway over the backwater at Marakkanam⁴. During the great famine of 1876-1878, this jail having become overcrowded, a temporary jail was erected on Mount Capper. To this jail was subsequently removed all the prisoners from the Old Jail. It was rebuilt 1895-1898 and has now become the Central Jail of the district. It was used for the confinement of various classes of prisoners to suit the needs of different times until recently when it was converted into a special jail for the reception of habitual prisoners who are declared, as fit subjects for detention in a special jail for such prisoners, by the convicting courts. It has at present, accommodation for 523 prisoners; and it employs them in several occupations such as weaving, carpentry, tailoring, binding, gardening, laundry, carpet making and tape making. Besides the Central Jail, there are sub-jails at the taluk headquarters.

As has already been stated, the Zillah Judge was in charge of the Zillah Jail. In 1855 all the jails in the State, including that of South Arcot, were placed in charge of an Inspector of Prisons. In 1858 the designation of the post was changed to that of the Inspector-General of Prisons. From 1864 medical men came to be

¹ Judicial Consultations, dated 11th February 1807, page 620 of the volume.

² *Studies in Madras Administration*, by B. S. Baliga, Vol. II, 1949, pages 169-173.

³ See, e. g., Judicial Consultations, dated 8th September 1807, page 4635 of the volume.

⁴ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1806, page 257.

⁵ Judicial Consultations, dated 29th March 1836, pages 3496 and 3499 of the volume.

Idem, dated 12th December 1857, page 6611 of the volume.

Idem, dated 8th September 1840, page 6133 of the volume.

appointed as Superintendents of Jails in place of the District Judges. There is now a Superintendent in charge of the Cuddalore (Gudalur) Central Jail and he has under him one Jailor, some subordinate officers and a number of Warders. The District Medical Officer is also the Medical Officer of the Jail and is assisted by his two wholetime Civil Assistant Surgeons and some subordinate staff in this work.

The district has no Borstal School. Nor is there a Government Certified School. It has, however, a private Certified School, namely, the Kasturba Basic School at Keelamoongiladi near Chidambaram which has been recognised as a Junior Certified School under the Madras Children Act, in 1951, for the admission of certified boys and girls under the age of 12 committed by courts in the district. The school has accommodation for 160 children and the present strength of certified inmates is 5 boys and 42 girls. The management gets Government grant from the Department of Certified Schools and Vigilance Service for the maintenance and education of the certified children. It may be mentioned here that the object of bringing privately managed schools and orphanages within the purview of the Madras Children Act is to see that there is intermingling of the certified children with ordinary children so that any stigma attaching to the former may be obliterated. This has become a *fait accompli* by a number of such private institutions coming forward to be recognised for the admission of children of either sex, certified under the Madras Children Act. There is a proposal to open a Remand Home for Juveniles at Cuddalore under the Second Five-Year Plan.

As regards the Madras Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, there is, at present, no Government or private Vigilance Home, Rescue Home or Shelter in the district. There is a proposal to open at Chidambaram a Vigilance Reception Centre, under the Second Five Year Plan.

The Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, Which is situated at Cuddalore, assists generally the prisoners discharged from jails in securing employment and in becoming useful members of society. It maintains also a Discharged Prisoners Home at Cuddalore for affording shelter to homeless discharged prisoners¹.

The Probation Officers who came for the first time to be appointed in this State under the Madras Probation of Offenders Act of 1937 (Act III of 1937) exercise several useful functions

¹ *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency* by C. D. Maclean, 1885, Vol. I, page 177.

See foot-note.

² See e.g., the *Annual Report of the Madras Presidency Discharged Prisoners Aid Society* for 1951, pages 5 and 16.

under various Acts. They are in charge of the work of probation and after-care under the Madras Probation of Offenders Act, the Madras Borstal Schools Act, the Madras Children Act and the Madras Suppression of Immortal Traffic Act. They supervise the ex-convicts released prematurely on licence under the Advisory Board Scheme, and also assist in maintenance cases coming under Chapter XXXVI of the Code of Criminal Procedure'. There are two District Probation Officers in the district. During the year 1951 these officers made 434 enquiries, submitted 1,205 reports and paid 1,050 visits. The number of persons under their supervision was 308¹



¹ *Administration Report of the Probation Department of 1951.*

Based also on information furnished by the Inspector-General of Prisons.

² *Idem.*

CHAPTER XVI.

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION.

Revenue administration under the British in South Arcot began earlier than in most other districts in this State. It began in the Fort St. David or Cuddalore (Gudalur) country in 1690 with the acquisition of that territory from the Marathas, in the Tiruvendipuram country consisting of 26 villages and in the Jagir of Chinnappanayakanpalayam consisting of two villages, from 1750 and 1762 respectively with the cession of those territories by the Nawab of Arcot¹. It was subsequently, for a time, between 1782 and 1785, and 1790 and 1799, extended to the whole of the district, when the territories comprising the district were assigned by the Nawab. But it began to have a continuity only from 1801 when this district, along with the other districts, were permanently ceded by the Nawab. We may deal first with the history of land revenue, which is the most important branch of revenue and then with the other revenues.

For a long time, and, indeed, until 1801, the old territories brought very little revenue and were either let out to the renters for a term of years or managed under amani, i.e., under a settlement made directly with the ryots. We have no complete information, but what little information we have shows that the British Officers merely followed the systems prevailing under the Nawab's regime with very little alteration. Thus, in the Tiruvendipuram country, there were three types of ryots, the 'nattars', the 'ulkudis' and the 'purakudis'. The nattars claimed special customary rights and perquisites, but these were ordered to be abolished in 1768 and thenceforth till 1775 they differed in no wise from the ulkudis. In 1775 their privileges were restored, but they were again abolished in 1786 and in their place a commission of 5 per cent on the net revenues of the farm were granted to them which they enjoyed till 1806. The ulkudis (dwellers within) were those ryots who had always resided on the farm, while the purakudis (dwellers without) were cultivators brought into it occasionally to till the land not taken up by the ulkudis. The land was usually either granted on a fixed rent to the ryots or cultivated on the sharing system. In both cases deductions amounting to 10½ per cent were made from the crop for the fees to the village officers, artisans, temples, etc., before the ryot was allowed to remove any portion of it. The land was classed either as 'paddy' (wet) land or 'small grain' (dry) land. The dry land was usually assigned on a fixed rent either annually or for a term of years in accordance with

¹ *Manual of the South Arcot District* by J. H. Garstin, 1878, pages 216—217.

immemorial custom; the wet land was either rented or cultivated on the sharing system. In the latter case the share of the crop which was taken by the Government or the renter, whom the Government sometimes employed, differed according as the land was watered by channels or by baling with picottas. If it was supplied by channels, the ryot's share, after making the customary deductions, was 40 per cent if he was an ulkudi and 45 per cent if he was a purakudi. If the water had to be baled, the share of both of them alike was two-thirds of the crop. If the land was rented, instead of being cultivated on the sharing system, arrangements were similarly made by which the purakudis obtained it on easier terms than the ulkudis¹.

When the whole district was assigned temporarily by the Nawab, the British Officers seem to have simply followed the system adopted by Rayoji in 1764 under the Nawab's rule. Rayoji, a Brahmin born in Bhuvanagiri, rose by sheer ability from the position of a sthala karnam, or revenue accountant, to that of the manager of the whole of the Arcot country. He conducted a survey showing the arable, waste, wet and dry lands and regulated the rates of waram (Government share) on wet land and tirva (money assessment) on dry land. He imposed three rates of assessment; one for ear-crops (kadir), one for pod-crops (kai) and a third for second crops (puvasi). He allowed the ryots rent-free house-sites (manai mafs), the Brahmins getting 7 guntas for a house of one 'manai' of 80 feet square, the Non-Brahmins five guntas in ordinary village and two in agharams or Brahmin villages. This gunta, his standard land measurement, was 24 'feet' square, the 'feet' being, it is said, those of the tallest man in the district. To these he added two more 'feet' out of charity and these 26 feet came to about 24 English feet and one hundred guntas so formed made up an area called kani. This kani (1.32 acres) is still the ordinary standard of measurement adopted by the ryots. His grain measure was a kalam (called Rayoji Kalam) of which 100 went to the Madras garde (4.39 tons) and which was sub divided into 12 Rayoji marakal, each containing 8 addas. For the first 10 years of his management he adopted the amani system. But the receipts fell off and in 1774 the Nawab having rented out the whole subha to him, he divided it among five subrenters who, in turn, employed sub-renters for whole villages; and in each of these villages, the ryots were collectively held responsible for the assessment fixed on the village. The revenue thus collected by Rayoji seems to have been high, but the British Officers, while the country was under assignment, never seemed to have collected such high revenue. The situation was rendered worse for them by the appalling results produced by Hyder Ali's invasion of the Carnatic in 1780².

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 322-323.

² *Idem*, pages 202-203.

It was not till the cession of the Carnatic in 1801 that the British made any attempts to collect the land revenue in a systematic manner. Before however dealing with these attempts, it may be stated here how the district came to be formed. The district, at first, consisted of the 21 existing taluks of Arcot, Vellore, Tiruvattur, Polur, Arni, Wandiwash, Chetput, Tiruvannamalai, Gingee (Senji), Tindivanam, Valudavur, Villupuram, Anniyur, Tirukkoyilur, Tiruvennanallur, Tiruvadi, Elavanasur, Kallakurichi, Vriddhachalam, Tittagudi and Bhuvanagiri, but excluded the farm of Fort St. David and the territory of Pondicherry (Puducherry) both of which had been separately acquired and were separately administered. In April 1805, the then taluk of Mannargudi, (which included what is now known as Chidambaram) was added from Tiruchirappalli. In 1808, however, Arcot, Vellore, Tiruvattur, Polur and Arni jaghir were transferred to North Arcot and Wandiwash to Chingleput while the Fort St. David and Pondicherry (Puducherry) villages (which at different times had been under the Collector and the Commercial Resident at Cuddalore (Gudalur) were incorporated with the district. In 1816 Pondicherry was finally restored to the French¹. In 1911, the Tiruvannamalai taluk was added to the North Arcot district and the Tindivanam taluk was subdivided into the Tindivanam and Gingee (Senji) taluks². At present the district consists of the following taluks: Cuddalore (Gudalur), Villupuram, Tindivanam, Gingee (Senji), Tirukkoyilur, Chidambaram, Vriddhachalam and Kallakurichi.

Captain Graham who was appointed as the first Collector of South Arcot in 1801, uniformly reduced the existing assessments by 25 per cent, alleging as his reason that those assessments had been pitched notoriously high by the Nawab's managers. This was enough to condemn him in the opinion of the Board of Revenue. But he offended it further by saying that he had made a village settlement which the Board found was no village settlement at all. For, his settlements were made not in all cases with the head inhabitants of the villages under joint security for the revenue but in most cases with renters who were utter strangers under their own individual security. The Board also found that his accounts were full of inconsistencies. It therefore asked him to come and personally explain matters; and when he came, finding his explanation unsatisfactory, recommended to the Government that he should be removed from the district and another Collector appointed in his place³.

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1908, pages 201-202.

² G.O. No. 237, Public, dated 7th March 1911.

³ *General Report of the Board of Revenue*, dated 9th October 1802, pages 52-62.

This was done and towards the end of 1802 a new Collector, Mr. Garrow, was sent to the district. Mr. Garrow had acted as the Secretary to the Board and had therefore its full support. But the settlements that he made, proved to be by no means successful. He did not believe in village settlements; such settlements, he said, benefited only the principal ryots and not the numerous body of small ryots. He wanted to introduce the ryotwari settlements which were then, under the influence of Alexander Read and Thomas Munro, fast coming into vogue. But he had no time to do this, as the season had far advanced. In 1802-1803 therefore he merely followed the footsteps of Rayoji, raised the assessments to the highest possible pitch and concluded settlements with the heads of villages. He fixed the rates of waram and tirva on dry land at the level at which they stood in 1800; and the ryots' share of the gross produce of the waram after the deduction of the usual meras and swatantrams came to only 40 per cent if they were non-Brahmins and 45 per cent if they were Brahmins or payakaris. He, however, gave remissions for bailing, but he imposed several miscellaneous imposts such as sadarward, mamul nazzar or an arbitrary addition of 1 to 3½ per cent to the revenue and so forth, all which were in vogue in the Nawab's days and which made the settlement 10 per cent above that of 1800-1801, which was itself 13 per cent higher than the average of the preceding nine years.

The ryots naturally objected and some of the heads of villages went to Madras to appeal to the Board. The Board, however, peremptorily ordered them to return to their district and asked Mr. Garrow to treat them with contemptuous indifference. In the next year, in 1803, seeing the preparations that Mr. Garrow was making to introduce the ryotwari settlement, the heads of villages who again got alarmed, went again to Madras to appeal to the Board. They represented that the assessments were not only high but that the collections were made with the utmost harshness; that one man who owed only four pagodas of revenue had been beaten so severely that he had died. Mr. Garrow, when asked to explain, reported that the man had died of hydrophobia from the bite of a mad dog, but admitted that three days before his death a revenue peon had "beat him a few stripes with a tamarind twig" and that the peon had been committed for trial. The Board refused to listen to the deputation but the Government viewed the situation with not a little concern and removed Mr. Garrow in December 1803¹.

Major Macleod, who was sent in his place, reported early in 1804 that the season was extremely unfavourable, that there were

¹ *General Report of the Board of Revenue*, dated 20th February 1804 pages 54-63.

Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I. 190 pages 204-205.

general complaints of high assessments, that many families had actually left the district, after selling their cattle at low prices and that the only way to grant some relief was to take the average of the previous years and to apply it to the actual cultivation of the current fasli. But the Board was not prepared for this sacrifice of revenue. It asked him to adopt the ryotwari settlement instead of the village settlement and if that were not possible at once, to make a village settlement exactly on the lines followed by Mr. Garrow. It also asked him to commence the survey forthwith, in order to introduce the ryotwari settlement at the earliest possible moment. He, however, actually made a village settlement in 1803-1804 which brought in Rs. 9,57,200 less than the revenue derived by Mr. Garrow's settlement. He was of opinion that the country was really over-assessed, that the average assessments of South Arcot were far higher than those of North Arcot. But the Board did not agree with him; it held that, until a survey had been made, nothing could be said about the severity of the assessments. Thus, opposed by the Board, Mr. Macleod seems to have lost all interest in his work. In March 1805 he applied for leave on the ground of ill-health and was succeeded by Mr. Ravenshaw¹.

Mr. Ravenshaw's administration (March 1805 to February 1813) was a memorable one. It was during his time that a formidable combination of the heads of villages with the karnams was revealed, that a ryotwari settlement based on survey was first introduced, and that this settlement was replaced by a village settlement. The village settlement which was intended to be made permanent proved a complete failure and paved the way again for a ryotwari settlement.

Mr. Ravenshaw, assisted by two Sub-Collectors, Mr. Hyde and Mr. Ross (stationed at Tiruvannamalai and Arcot respectively), did much to mitigate the lot of the ryots of the district. Shortly after taking charge, he exposed a wide-spread combination of the head inhabitants with the karnams, which had defrauded the State, of revenues amounting to no less than 278,700 star pagodas in 1804-1805. And he suggested that severe measures should be adopted to prevent such frauds in future. The head inhabitants and the karnams should be declared to have forfeited their lands, privileges and offices. Their lands should be confiscated. The karnams, in addition, should be punished with 50 lashes apiece on each of the four successive market days, while such of the head inhabitants who had absconded should be visited with imprisonment for 12 months in

¹ *General Report of the Board of Revenue*, dated 5th October 1804, pages 51-56.

Idem, dated 15th February 1805, pages 15-16.

Idem, dated 1st August 1805, pages 71-76.

The Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 205-206.

irons. The Board and the Government, however, ordered that such severe punishment should be meted out only to the ring-leaders, and, that too, after a detailed enquiry.

Immediately afterwards, he went into the whole question of assessments, showed beyond a shadow of doubt that they were too high, and proposed that, where the average assessments of the nanja lands exceeded 5 pagodas (Rs. 17½) per kani and of the punja lands exceeded 2 pagodas (Rs. 7) per kani, they should be reduced to those sums respectively, and that all the existing numerous and oppressive ready money collections, called *russums* and *nazzars* should be abolished. The Board, at last, felt convinced of the heaviness of the assessments and the ready money collections and proposed to the Government that the relief recommended by him should be given at once, without even waiting for the completion of the survey, which as a matter of fact, had not yet been begun. The Government expressed regret at these happenings, approved entirely the abolition of the ready money collections and ordered that the settlement for fasli 1215 (1805-1806) should be carried out on the principle of an equal division of crop between the Government and the ryot, and that the survey should be conducted without delay. The season for fasli 1215 however being far advanced, Mr. Ravenshaw reported that the equal division of crop could be effected only in subsequent faslis, as the survey proceeded. But he reduced the nanja and punja rates to 5 pagodas and 2 pagodas per kani and abolished all the ready money collections. In spite of these reductions, the revenue began to increase appreciably. Thus in 1804-1805 it was 397,600 star pagodas and in 1805-1806 it became 651,336 star pagodas.

The survey was begun in 1805-1806, the standard of measurement being Rayoji's gunta of 24 feet square, 100 of which made a kani. It was completed by August 1807 in the seven taluks of Gingee (Senji), Tindivanam, Valudavur, Villupuram, Tiruvennallur, Tiruvadi and Bhuvanagiri, and was followed in these areas in 1808 by a settlement based upon it. The survey classified the land into cultivated, waste and not cultivated, and divided them into fields. It brought to light 1,46,209 kanis of arable dry and 16,757 kanis of arable wet land more than had been shown in the old accounts. The settlement classified and valued the produce of each field according 'to the best information obtained' and with reference to its soil (no less than 26 varieties of dry soils, 18 of wet and 16 of garden being distinguished) and then fixed an assessment on it on the general principle of an equal division of the crop between the Government and the ryot. The method adopted for arriving at a commutation rate by which the standard produce could be expressed as the assessment was as follows. The assumed standard was land giving a gross produce of 100 kalams of grain per kani. Deducting from this quantity the customary *swatantrams*, *kalavasam*, and *meras*

and dividing the result by two, the Government share of the net produce was ascertained. This was converted into money at the rate of 5 kalams per pagoda and came roughly to 10 pagodas (Rs. 35) on both wet and dry land of the assumed standard. Therefore, either wet land or dry land which yielded a gross produce of 100 kalams per kani (which none of it, of course, actually did) was theoretically required to pay Rs. 35 per kani, and fields which yielded less, paid less, according to a regular scale of proportions. According to this scale there were sixteen wet, twelve dry and nine garden land rates, but the average rates in any village were not to exceed 5 pagodas (Rs. 17-0-8) for wet and 2 pagodas (Rs. 7) for dry land per kani. The average wet and dry rates for the whole of the settled taluks worked out to Rs. 9-7-6 and Rs. 3-2-2½ respectively per acre. Deductions of 25 per cent were made on wet land depending entirely on rain or irrigated by picottahs, and of 10 per cent on all land belonging to the Brahmins or Muslims and actually cultivated by them. On the other hand, much wet land and some dry land was classified as double crop, and assessment for both crops was collected whether a second crop was raised or not. The settlement of fasli 1217 (1807-1808) was made in the seven taluks mentioned above in accordance with this survey and settlement and the survey of the other taluks was steadily pushed on.¹

Meanwhile the ryotwari settlement had temporarily gone under eclipse and the village settlement had obtained recognition in Madras. This settlement had been strongly recommended by the Tanjore Commission early in 1807. The Government approved it as being the least liable to objection and better calculated for an ultimate measure of permanency than the ryotwari and zamin-dari or muttadari settlements. By the close of 1807, Mr. Hodgson, a Member of the Board and of the Tanjore Commission, having toured through the districts of Coimbatore and Tirunelveli, submitted two reports to the Government, urging in both the necessity for the adoption of village settlements. The Government referred these reports to the Board for remarks with a direction to state its opinion on the expediency of substituting the village settlement for the ryotwari settlement in the whole State.

The Board reported strongly in favour of a permanent village settlement. The village settlement, it remarked, was the ancient mode of settlement in all districts, save in Malabar and South

¹ *General Report of the Board of Revenue*, dated 15th February 1805, pages 139-147.

Idem, dated 5th October 1806, pages 35-46.

Idem, dated 10th October 1807, pages 40-47.

Idem, dated 15th February 1808, pages 17-18 and 103-110.

Manual of the South Arcot District by J. H. Garstin, 1878, pages 241-243, 253-262.

Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 206-210.

Kanara where traces of private property existed. In accordance with it, the country was divided into villages and in each village, the Government share was received from the nanja lands in kind at rates varying from 40 to 60 per cent of the gross produce after deducting a certain portion before the threshing season. The Government share in punja lands was received in cash either at so much for a fixed measure of land or at so much for the same measure of land varying with the produce. Now, the Board went on to observe, two systems of permanency had been put forward, the village system advocated by Mr. Hodgson, and the ryotwari system, advocated by Mr. Munro. According to the plan of a permanent ryotwari settlement propounded by Mr. Munro, for the Ceded Districts which could be extended to the other districts also, the existing assessment (under the ryotwari settlement) was to be lowered by 25 per cent with a still greater remission on land watered by machinery. This remission was to provide for all contingencies and nothing further was to be allowed for bad crops or failures of an ordinary kind. The waste lands were to be regarded as Government property and assessed when brought under cultivation; the repair of large tanks was to be made by the Government; the advances for cultivation were to be gradually discontinued, and the private creditors who might distrain the property of the ryots were to be required to give security for discharging the public demands before they could be allowed to distrain. This plan, the Board said, Munro had advocated, instead of a permanent zamindari settlement, believing that, while it permanently settled the minimum income of the Government, it provided for the future augmentation of that income with the extension of cultivation and the increase of population. But it appeared to the Board inadvisable to make so large a sacrifice as one-fourth of the revenue. Nor was this all. The ryotwari system, the Board observed, was inconsistent with the new judicial system which had been established. Under it, it was impossible for the Collector to attend to all legal formalities prescribed by the new code, on the various occasions which might occur for resorting to them. Under it also there were several disadvantages such as the danger of delegating authority to a corrupt Tahsildar, the general inability of the ryots to pay in all seasons the assessments fixed on their holdings, the constant change of field occupants and the resulting deterioration of agriculture, and, above all, the interference with the private concerns of the ryots. All these, the Board felt, were insurmountable objections to the ryotwari system. On the other hand, the village system advocated by Mr. Hodgson, appeared to the Board, an ideal mode of settlement. It was as old as Manu. It was familiar to the people. It would facilitate and reduce the charges of collection. It demanded very little attention from the Collectors. It promised not to create any discontent so long as the village was not over-assessed. And it afforded ample protection to the ryots against the oppressions of the heads of villages.

On all these grounds the Board recommended that a village settlement might be made for a period of three years in the first instance, in all districts in which the permanent zamindari settlement had not been introduced. The Government agreed to this and, at the same time, directed the Board to prepare materials for effecting a permanent settlement of the villages at the expiration of the triennial leases in all districts which might admit of that measure. Accordingly the Board ordered the introduction of the village settlement in South Arcot as well as in several other districts.

Under this system the assessment on each village was to be fixed for a period of three years with reference to the accounts of cultivation, the jamma and the actual collections for a series of past years. It was to be payable under all circumstances, extraordinary calamities excepted, in which case alone a remission might be made at the direction of the Government. In villages suffering under adverse seasons or other drawbacks, a progressive assessment might be fixed or the lease deferred or made only for one year with the ryots of the villages collectively or individually as before. Ordinary repairs of tanks, etc., should be carried out by the renters, but repairs of magnitude, or new works calculated to increase the revenue would be undertaken by the Government on the condition of a proportionate increase of assessment. In districts where the mirasi rights existed, the mirasdar must be given preference and made jointly and severally responsible for the assessment; but wherever they refused to agree to reasonable terms, engagements might be made with one or more of the mirasdar or with others. In districts where the mirasi rights did not exist, engagements might be made with patels or other heads of villages or even the resident ryots in preference to strangers. In all cases pattas were to be issued by the renters to the cultivating ryots for their mutual security against loss on the one hand and oppression on the other. It should, however, be expressly stipulated that the establishment of village assessments would not preclude the Government from prosecuting a survey for equalization of the rates of assessment in districts where they might not have yet been completed.¹

These instruction put a stop to the ryotwari settlements and commenced the village settlements in South Arcot. Mr. Ravenshaw introduced the triennial leases from fasli 1218 (1808-1809), concluding such leases with the heads of villages. He fixed the assessment on each village upon a consideration of the average collection of the past seven years, the revenue of the preceding fasli and the extent of waste susceptible of immediate cultivation. Of the 3,987 villages in the district, 3,742 were so leased. The remaining 245 included 81 shrotriem villages, 59 which were deserted and 105 which (as no one was found willing to lease them)

¹ *Studies in Madras Administration* by B. S. Baliga, Vol. II, 1949, pages 128-131.

were kept under *amani*, that is, under the direct administration of the officers of the Government. The total amount of all the revenue so arrived at was 41,600 star pagodas in excess of that of the preceding *fasi*. The *abkari* revenue was included in the leases but not the income from salt, nor the receipt from town duties (land customs) and from betel and tobacco, nor the *devasthanam* (temple) revenue.

But the experiment proved a complete failure. The price of grain fell, the seasons were unfavourable, cultivators were scarce on account of the oppressions of the renters, and what cultivators there were, fell more and more into arrears with their payments. In the first year of the lease, personal property to the value of 11,870 star pagodas was distrained for arrears. In the second, the figures rose to 33,826 pagodas; and, in the third, it reached 51,656 pagodas (Rs. 1,91,296)¹.

The same tale of failure was reported from all other districts in which the triennial lease system had been introduced. But the Board was not to be deterred; it still upheld the village settlement. The village leases, it said, had failed because of the unfavourable seasons, the low price of grain, the short period of the lease, and the freedom from compulsion which the cultivators enjoyed under the new system of judicature. It still believed that the *ryotwari* settlement was the most inexpedient measure for permanency, and that the *zamindari* or the *muttadari* settlement was equally objectionable. In its opinion, the village settlement, first made on a long lease, say, seven or ten years, and then permanently fixed at a standard rent which it called a '*sist*' was the settlement best calculated to give the *ryots* "a permanent interest in the improvement of land, if not the proprietary right in the soil, without involving the necessity of considerable remissions and without introducing strangers or shocking and fettering the people with novel and arbitrary regulations." Such a '*sist*', it thought, might be determined on "a calculation of the average collections of the former years and the general capabilities and permanent resources of the village." In villages where the headmen or the principal inhabitants might agree to pay the '*sist*' they should receive a *cowle* investing them with all the rights of the Government in the waste lands in the village and assuring them that, so long as they continued to pay the '*sist*', they would remain in possession of their lands without any additional assessment. In those villages, where the poverty of the inhabitants, the low state of cultivation or the large extent of available waste land might preclude an immediate settlement on adequate terms, a temporary settlement might be made on a moderate progressive rent and the principal inhabitants informed that, on their agreeing to pay the '*sist*', they would be placed on the footing of permanent renters. This '*sist*'

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 210-211.

the Board considered, would, when the country improved, amount to one-third only of the gross produce of land whereas it then stood at about one-half. The board was quite sanguine that village settlements so made would, in course of time, produce the best results. And it recommended that such settlements might be ordered subject to being made permanent on the approval of the Court of Directors.

The Government sanctioned these proposals, ordered that the village settlements should be made decennial in the first instance, subject to permanency on the approval of the Court of Directors and strongly recommended that measure to the Court of Directors dwelling at length on its merits. They stated that the immediate advantage of the settlement would be the simplification of the revenue system, the avoidance of all labour involved in temporary settlements, the decrease in the charges of collection, the reduction in taluk establishments and the release of ample time, for the Collectors which they could devote usefully to their other duties.¹

The decennial lease was duly introduced in South Arcot from fasli 1221 (1811-1812), but it proved nothing but another failure. Mindful of their experiences with triennial leases, the renters showed no disposition to bind themselves in a similar manner for a longer period and in the first year of the lease only 579 of all the villages of the district were taken up. In the next year, 1812-1813, when Mr. Hyde became Collector in the place of Mr. Ravenshaw, the number of villages leased rose to 2,069 and in the next three years to 2,613, 2,765 and 2,801 respectively. But Mr. Hyde, year after year, complained that the renters were robbing the ryots of the money necessary for carrying on the cultivation and that the condition of the ryots was rapidly deteriorating.²

By this time, however, the Court of Directors had begun to doubt the expediency of any permanent system of land revenue and definitely resolved to introduce the ryotwari settlements in all the temporarily assessed districts. In 1812 they wrote an important despatch to Madras. They were, they said, surprised at the general establishment of the village settlement as a measure of permanency conditional on their sanction when they had not been fully appraised of the results of the triennial leases introduced in the several districts. They had ample evidence from Bengal that great errors had been committed in concluding the permanent settlement with the zamindars and others in that State. A similar settlement formed in Madras, they remarked, had not been found successful. They could see little difference between the muttadari settlement which had already failed in Madras and the permanent

¹ *Studies in Madras Administration* by B. S. Baliga, Vol. II, 1949, pages 131-132.

² *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 217.

village settlement which had been urged for general adoption. Both affected vitally the interests and rights of the small landed proprietors or ryots. The patta Regulation which was intended to protect the rights of the ryots had almost become a dead letter alike in Bengal and Madras. The zamindars and mittadars had habitually disregarded this regulation and the mirasdars and heads of villages who were required to grant pattas to the ryots might likewise do the same. The principal objection raised against the ryotwari settlement, they said, was its detail. But Munro did not find his administration impeded by the details of that system either in the Baramahal, or in South Kanara or in the Ceded Districts. The detail must be carried on by somebody. The question was whether it had better be carried on by the Collectors or zamindars or others. Moreover, the detail was involved chiefly in the jamabandi and once the jamabandi was over the collection went on by itself. The Directors quoted the authority of several of the Company's servants, including the views of Lord William Bentinck, in favour of the ryotwari system. They pointed out that that system had two great advantages. One was that it secured effectively to the State, better than any other system, an adequate revenue from waste lands as and when they were brought under cultivation. The other was that it ideally suited the country in which the Hindu Law of Inheritance led to the division and subdivision of properties into small holdings. For all these reasons the Court of Directors ordered that in all non-permanently settled districts the ryotwari system should be adopted, that where the village rents had been already established, the leases should be declared terminable at the expiration of the period for which they had been granted. They warned the Government of the responsibility that would attach to them for any detriment to the Company's interests from disobedience to these orders.

The Government would not easily give in. On receipt of the Directors' orders, they wrote two despatches to them justifying the village settlement once again and expressing fears that a reversion to the ryotwari settlement might mean considerable loss of revenue as it would become necessary, under it, to lower the assessments in order to really benefit the ryots. But the Directors stood firm; they repeated their orders and the Government were therefore compelled to issue orders to the several Collectors to re-introduce the ryotwari settlement on the expiration of the village leases.

The ryotwari settlement which was now ordered to be adopted differed in some respects from that introduced by Read, Munro, Ravenshaw and others previously in the various districts. It was now ordered that the ryots were everywhere to be freely allowed to take up or give up lands as they thought fit at the time of the jamabandi every year. The settlement was to be made in all cases with persons who had a 'hereditary prescriptive right' to enter

into direct engagements with the Government, and wherever there was over-assessment it was to be lowered. This over-assessment had chiefly resulted from a defective survey in many cases, a survey which had proceeded from the details to the aggregate and not from the aggregate to the details. This type of survey was therefore to be avoided. Before assessing each cultivable field hereafter, the aggregate maximum demand upon the whole arable land in the village should be determined. This aggregate should, on no account, exceed the average collection of former years of the village. It should be distributed over each field in detail in proportion to its productive quality as shown by the survey or the village accounts. A final point in regard to which the new settlement was to differ from the old was that no extra assessment to the extent of 10 per cent was to be imposed on the more fortunate ryot in order to compensate the Government for the failure of the unfortunate ryot.¹

These orders were issued by the Board in 1818. Mr. Hyde was told to introduce the new ryotwari settlement at once into such of the villages as had fallen into arrears in fasli 1231 (1821-1822) and also to prepare the ground for its introduction in the other villages on the expiration of the decennial leases. He reported (1820) that Mr. Ravenshaw's rates had been fixed too high, that the ryot's share of the gross produce should be 60 per cent, or at least 55 per cent, instead of the 50 per cent and that the commutation rate of five kalams per pagoda should be reduced to six kalams. The Board, however, alarmed at the idea of the relinquishment of 3½ lakhs of revenue which these proposals involved, called for more information. But Mr. Hyde apparently never sent this information². There is, however, evidence to show that, on the expiration of the decennial leases, he introduced the ryotwari settlement in fasli 1241 (1821-1822). His settlements brought in Rs. 18,07,426 in fasli 1231, Rs. 20,48,815 in fasli 1232, Rs. 14,99,925 in fasli 1233 and Rs. 18,45,587 in fasli 1234³.

He was succeeded in 1826 by Mr. Brooke Cunliffe who was Collector for the next five years. In 1827 he made a survey and settlement in the taluks of Settupattu, Tiruvannamalai, Tirukoyilur, Elavanasur, Kallakkurichchi and Vriddachalam. He, like Mr. Hyde, considered that Mr. Ravenshaw's rates were very excessive, but succeeded only partially in reducing them, on account of the opposition of the Board. But he succeeded in introducing several beneficial reforms, such as the inauguration of the system of paying the revenue by instalments, or kists; the abolition of the practice of 'Dittam' whereby a ryot was required to bind himself to cultivate and pay for a certain quantity of land

¹ *Studies in Madras Administration*, by B. S. Baliga, Vol. II, 1949, pages 133-135, 139-140.

² *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 212.

³ *Manual of the South Arcot District* by J. H. Garstin, 1878, page 27.

each year; the doing away of 'Taram barti', a plan under which the ryots were prevented from relinquishing land, heavily-assessed in favour of lightly-assessed, by being charged the revenue due on any of the former which they gave up in addition to that of the latter which they cultivated in its stead; the improvement of the methods of conducting the jamabandi, so that the ryots might be brought into more direct contact with the European officers and have more chance of representing errors in the karnam's accounts; and the issue of regular pattas stating the names or numbers held by each ryot, their extent, classification and assessment and the kists in which the assessment was to be paid¹.

His immediate successors did little to change the revenue administration. In 1840, however, Mr. Ashton, the then Collector, raised a storm by issuing instructions to the effect that the manai mafs (already mentioned as having been granted on certain scales by Rayoji) were to pay assessment unless they were specially exempted in the survey accounts or by specific authority. These orders applied only to Tirukkoyilur, Tiruvannamalai, Settopattu and Tindivanam, the jamabandi of the rest of the district having been already concluded. But, when he went for his first jamabandi at Tirukkoyilur, the ryots came down in a body and refused to take the pattas unless the tax was abolished. The same scene was enacted much more clamorously when he went to Tiruvannamalai for the jamabandi. At Settopattu matters reached a climax. The ryots would neither take the pattas themselves, nor let the monigars receive them and broke out into an uproar which he vainly endeavoured to quell and which ended in his being pelted with handfuls of dust. He eventually announced that the order would be withdrawn; but he found his authority so weakened that he did not venture to complete the jamabandi of Tindivanam, the only remaining taluk and returned to Cuddalore (Gudalur).

The Government removed him from his post and appointed Mr. John Dent (who had been Collector of the district immediately before him and who was at that time the Senior Member of the Board) as a Commissioner to enquire into the disturbances. After making investigations on the spot, Mr. Dent issued a proclamation declaring that portions of nattam, occupied by houses or 'backyards' even if cultivated with tobacco and vegetables for the use of the occupants, would be exempted from assessment; that the other portions of the village site which was cultivated would be charged the highest dry rate of the village; that the assessed land which had been already occupied by houses and backyards which did not cover a greater extent than allowed by a certain scale sanctioned in 1833 would be exempt from payment of revenue; but that

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 213.

similar land so occupied in future would be charged as though it were cultivated. The ryots represented to him also some twenty-four other grievances after examining which he issued a series of orders, known for many years afterwards as Dent's hukumnama¹.

Nothing important happened in the district until 1851, when Mr. Edward Maltby was appointed its Collector. In an able report written in 1853, he proved conclusively that Mr. Ravenshaw's assessments, which more or less still prevailed in several taluks of the district, were excessive, that because of these excessive assessments people were emigrating every year and no less than 54 per cent of the wet lands and 77 per cent of the dry lands were still lying uncultivated. He pointed out that the assessments in South Arcot were much higher than in the neighbouring districts, Chingleput, Tanjore and Tiruchirappalli and urged that they should be remodelled on a basis which would leave the ryots 60 per cent of the gross produce of wet land and 66 per cent of that of dry land. He argued that, though these reductions might, at first, involve a big loss in revenue, eventually, they would be able to more than make up the loss by the great extension of cultivation. The Board and the Government agreed generally with his suggestion, and as a result a notification was issued in 1854 which made the following reductions in the existing assessments in the then existing ten surveyed taluks. In the case of wet lands, the classification of land as double crop and doubtful double crop was abolished, wet land formerly so classed being entered as single crop and charged for a second crop at half the rate of the first only when this second was actually grown. Land already classed as single crop was not to be charged for a second crop even if one was grown. Moreover, a deduction of 25 per cent from the first ten of Mr. Ravenshaw's sixteen wet rates and 20 per cent from the last six was made; these concessions were not however declared applicable to fields which were rain-fed or watered by baling which were to receive their usual 25 per cent remission and to be granted another 10 per cent in addition. In the case of dry lands, the classification of dry land as double crop was also abolished. A reduction of 33-1/3 per cent on the first eight of Mr. Ravenshaw's dry rates and 25 per cent on the last four was granted whether the fields possessed private wells or not. Garden land was abolished as a separate class and was assessed at the highest dry rate; the deduction of 10 per cent allowed to the Brahmins and Muslims was done away with; the remission for seed beds was discontinued; dry land cultivated with Government water was transferred to wet water rate (kasur) being charged meanwhile; and one anna per kani was added to each of the rates to form a Road Fund for making and improving the district roads.

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 214-215.

The changes in Mr. Ravenshaw's rates so effected are exhibited below.

Wet land.		Dry land.	
Mr. Ravenshaw's rates.	Mr. Maltby's rates.	Mr. Ravenshaw's rates.	Mr. Maltby's rates.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
RS. AS. PS.	RS. AS. PS.	RS. AS. PS.	RS. AS. PS.
28 0 0	These disappeared owing to the abolition of double-crop land.	14 0 0	..
26 4 0		12 4 0	..
24 8 0		10 8 0	7 1 0
22 12 0		8 12 0	5 15 0
21 0 0		7 0 0	4 12 0
19 4 0		6 4 10	4 5 0
17 8 0		5 4 0	3 9 0
16 12 0	11 14 0	4 3 3	3 14 0
14 0 0	10 10 0	3 8 0	3 11 0
12 4 0	9 4 0	2 12 10	2 8 0
10 8 0	8 8 0	2 1 7	1 11 0
8 12 0	7 1 0	1 6 5	1 2 0
7 0 0	5 11 0	..	..
5 4 0	4 5 0	..	..
3 8 0	2 14 0	..	..
1 12 0	1 8 0	..	..

Mr. Maltby's prediction that the immediate loss in revenue would be eventually made up by extension of cultivation came true almost at once. In 1855-1856, the year after the introduction of the concessions, the enormous extent of 235,274 acres was newly brought under the plough and in 1856-57 a further area of 139,775 acres. By the end of this latter fasli the revenue due to fresh cultivation more than counterbalanced the loss incurred by the lowering of the assessments and the amount of wet land left untilled in the district fell from 54 per cent to 28 per cent and of the dry land from 77 per cent to 66 per cent. It can thus truly be said that the prosperity of the district dates from the changes inaugurated by Mr. Maltby¹.

Meanwhile, in 1854, Mr. Hall, who had followed Mr. Maltby as Collector, set himself to examine the assessments which were in force in the remainder of the district, namely, in the then Chidambaram and Mannargudi taluks, in the so-called 'taluk' of Cuddalore (Gudalur) which consisted of 50 villages and in the lapsed jaghir of Sankarapuram. The jaghir of Sankarapuram had been originally in 1789, conferred by Nawab Muhammad Ali on his minister Saiyad Muhammad Azim Khan Bahadur and had consisted of some 182 villages grouped into four estates round Sankarapuram, Chekkadi, Palaiyamkottai and Kollamalai. It had been enjoyed by Muhammad Azim until his death and by his eldest son, Saiyed Kallim Ulla Khan. A dispute having arisen, subsequently among the various members of the family, as to the amount of their several shares in the property, the jaghir had become

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 215-217.

the subject of a suit in the Supreme Court and, during the pendency of litigation, had been placed under the management of the Collector (1828-1829). At length in January 1829 the Government had ordered the resumption of the jaghir from 1st February and the members of the family of the jaghirdar had been pensioned off. Between 1834 and 1836 the villages in the Palayamkottai and Kollamalai portions of the jaghir had been surveyed and classified by Mr. Ashton. His proposals as well as the proposals of his successors, Mr. Hallet in 1842 and Mr. Davis in 1847, had been left unnoticed, and nothing had been done till Mr. Priestley commenced the survey of the villages in 1853. Mr. Hall now reported in 1855 that in the Palayamkottai villages the dry lands were assessed at rates which varied in the same field according to the class of the ryot and the nature of the crop, while in the wet lands the old practice of the division of the produce still continued, the Government share ranging from 40 per cent of the outturn to 65 per cent according to the class of the ryot and the kind of crop. Additional cesses of all kinds such as nazzars and *russums*, he said, were also levied. In 1857, he settled these villages in a systematic manner, his work being based on Captain Priestley's survey. It may be stated here that, when the new settlement made in 1858 was introduced into the then Chidambaram and Mannargudi taluks in 1861-1862, his rates were only slightly altered to render them uniform with the assessments thereby brought into force in the country surrounding them. It may also be stated that in the Kollamalai villages no money rates were introduced until the new settlement of 1858, that in the Chekkadi villages no improvement in the revenue system was effected till much later in 1874 when a systematic survey and settlement was made, and that in the Sankarapuram villages the old system actually subsisted till 1889-1890 when the new settlement then made throughout the district was introduced therein¹.

In the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk Mr. Hall found that the wet rates varied from Rs. 3-8-0 to as much as Rs. 38-8-0 per kani and that 33½ per cent of the wet land was untilled. He proposed various reductions in the assessments ranging from 5 to 30 per cent and the Government sanctioned all these which were not above 10 per cent. In the dry lands he found that nearly 33 per cent was untilled and he proposed, and the Government sanctioned, the reduction to Rs. 7 per kani of all assessments which were in excess of that amount. And, as elsewhere, the deduction of 10 per cent allowed to the Brahmins and Muslims was done away with and one anna per kani was added to the new rates for the Road Fund. In the Mannargudi and Chidambaram taluks the assessments temporarily introduced by Mr. Ravenshaw were still in force. According to these, all dry land had been charged one uniform rate, namely, Rs. 3-12-7 per kani, though the Brahmins paid

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 336-339.

only Rs. 3-1-0 and all garden land, one uniform rate of Rs. 10-15-0 per kani. Mr. Hall proposed to do away with the deductions to the Brahmins, to add one anna for the Road Fund and to charge all dry land Rs. 3-1-0 per kani and all garden land Rs. 7 per kani. The Government agreed to all this. As to the wet land, Mr. Ravenshaw had grouped the villages into five classes, of which the fifth included those which possessed only manavari, wet land; and in each of these classes he had fixed (besides an average charge for all waste) four different money rates. Those in the fifth class had been raised by one-third in 1838 after the construction of the Lower Anicut across the Coleroon (Kollidam) had brought them regular irrigation. Mr. Hall proposed to reduce the rates in the first four classes by 20 per cent and those in the fifth by 10 per cent. To this also the Government agreed. The rates then stood at about the same standard as elsewhere in the district except that the minima were higher. On Mr. Hall's recommendation, second crop was charged at half the assessment for first crop and instructions were issued in regard to the levy of kasear on dry lands irrigated from Government sources. As before, the reductions in the assessment led to a large extension of cultivation, the average area tilled in the three years succeeding the change being nearly 20,000 kanis in excess of the average in the triennium preceding it.

In 1859 some important changes were made. The rates on dry land introduced by Mr. Maltby were still further lowered; the ryots were allowed to relinquish any land at any time during the fasli, instead of only at the beginning of it as before; remissions for land in a patta which was left waste were abolished, the ryots being required to pay for all they held except wet land which was left waste for want of water; rules were passed to hinder persons who had relinquished land from taking it up again, and the village establishments throughout the district were revised by Mr. Pelly, and the existing thirteen taluks grouped into eight (54 villages of Settopattu being transferred to North Arcot)².

In 1861, a much more important change was made: the modern system of survey and settlement was introduced into Chidambaram and Mannargudi. According to this system which was chalked out for the whole State in 1855 and the subsequent years the lines on which the settlement was to be made were laid down as follows. A revenue survey showing all the physical features such as hills, jungles, roads, channels, tanks, topes, houses and cultivable lands was to be conducted. In the case of the cultivable lands, the sizes of the fields were to be accurately shown. Permanent boundary marks were to be established and field, village and taluk maps were to be prepared. As to the settlement operations,

² *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 217-218.

³ *Idem*, page 219.

soils were to be divided into a few series based on differences of composition, like the alluvial and exceptional, the regar or regada (the black cotton soil), the red ferruginous, the calcareous and the arenaceous. The alluvial and exceptional were to be further classified into the alluvial and the permanently improved, while the others were to be classified as clayey, loamy or sandy. All the lands were to be further divided into five sorts, the best, the good, the ordinary, the inferior and the worst. The grain outturn for each class and sort of soil was to be then carefully determined by actual experiments with reference to the standard grains grown, i.e., paddy for irrigated lands and cumbu, cholam or some other grain for unirrigated lands. These grain outturns had to be commuted into money at the average of the selling prices for a series of years, generally 20 non-famine years, preceding the settlement. From the amount arrived at by such commutation a deduction of 15 per cent was to be made for marketing charges and a deduction of $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ for vicissitudes of the season and for small uncropped areas like irrigation channels. Against the average value of the produce thus determined was to be set off the cost of cultivation, the estimation of which was to be done with every case. The items of cost to be usually included in the cultivation expenses were ploughing cattle, agricultural implements, seed, manure and labour required for ploughing, sowing, etc. The method of calculation of these was to vary according to the crops grown and the method of culture as well as the mode in which these items were usually paid, whether in grain or money or in both grain and money. Payments in grain were to be commuted into money at the commutation price adopted for the settlement. The cost of the bullocks and the implements of husbandry was to be distributed over the number of years during which they were estimated to be serviceable and other items were to be calculated for each year. The calculations were to be first made for the area which could be cultivated with one plough and one pair of bullocks and the required calculations for an acre were to be deducted from them. The expenses of cultivation were to be taken to be the same as had been already determined in neighbouring settled districts. The cultivation expenses thus arrived at being deducted from the gross assets, i.e., the value of the total outturn, the result would be the approximate net produce of the land under examination and half of this or rather less than half was to be taken as the Government demand. The straw was to be usually taken as a set off against the item 'feed of bullocks'.

For the purposes of simplicity and for avoiding multiplication of rates, the classes and sorts of soil which were alike were to be arranged in grades called 'tarams'. The values of half the net produce of the different classes and sorts of soil falling in the same 'taram' being very nearly equal, only one rate of assessment was to be fixed for each 'taram' and the rates so fixed were to be so adjusted that their descent from the highest to the lowest might

be by a uniform amount in each 'taram'. Again, the productive powers of the soils being different, lands irrigated and dry, two scales of tarams were to be adopted, one for wet lands and another for dry lands. And, as all villages would not have the same advantages in respect of proximity to markets, facility of communication, means of irrigation, etc., villages were to be arranged in groups, generally two or three for a district, according to circumstances. The irrigation sources were also to be arranged in classes according to the nature of the water supply. All these factors were to be taken into consideration in correcting the assessments on the fields. The final accounts of the settlement thus arrived at were to be entered in a settlement register which was to be the foundation of the whole revenue administration, containing as it did, information regarding every holding, large or small. From this register a ledger was to be prepared for giving the personal account of each ryot and this was to form his 'patta'. The settlement so made was to last for thirty years. During this period neither the grain outturn nor the commutation rates were to be altered, but each ryot was to be free to hold or relinquish whatever fields he liked or to take up other available fields. There was therefore to be an annual settlement of accounts with the ryots and this was to be called the annual jamabandi¹.

It was more or less on these lines that Mr. Newill conducted the resettlement of Chidambaram and Mannargudi. He relied on the survey made by Captain Priestley. He divided the soil into 15 'tarams' according to their quality and distributed the lands, both dry and wet, in one or other of these 'tarams'. After repeated enquiries and local examinations, he arrived at the grain valuation for the irrigated lands for the various 'tarams' ranging from 45 to 15 kalam per acre. He then merged all the 15 tarams into 9 classes only with reference to their productive powers. He fixed the commutation price at $6\frac{1}{2}$ kalam (24 measures) to the pagoda, equivalent to Rs. 7-12-8 a Madras garce, after taking into consideration the ryots' selling price of samba rice for a series of years past and the cost of cartage to the market. He next calculated the expenses of cultivation after a protracted enquiry and made also a deduction of 15 to 30 per cent out of the gross produce for hedges, banks and other unprofitable parts of fields, the percentage varying in the inverse ratio to the nature of irrigation. He divided the villages into three grades as regards irrigation. He fixed the rates for the lands classed in the medium or second grade of irrigation after deducting from the gross produce the expenses of cultivation and 25 per cent remission on account of hedges, banks, etc. He raised the medium assessment by one grade in the lands of the first class and lowered the medium

¹ Memorandum upon Current Land Revenue Settlements by E. Stack, 1,880, pages 333-352.

Administration Report Madras, for 1901-1902, pages 68-76.

assessment by one grade in the lands of the third class, after making an allowance of 15 per cent deduction on account of hedges, banks, etc., in the former case and 30 per cent deduction in the latter case. His rates of assessment for wet lands under the three grades came to as follows :—

Class.	First grade.		Second grade.		Third grade.	
	RS.	AS.	RS.	AS.	RS.	AS.
1	8	8	7	8	8	8
2	7	8	6	8	6	8
3	6	8	5	8	4	8
4	5	8	4	8	4	0
5	4	8	4	0	3	8
6	4	0	3	8	3	0
7	3	8	3	0	2	8
8	3	0	2	8	2	4
9	2	8	2	4	2	0

His rates of assessment for dry lands came to as follows :—

Number of rates.	Dry proposed rate per acre.	
	RS.	AS.
1	8	8
2	3	0
3	2	8
4	2	0
5	1	12
6	1	8
7	1	4
8	1	0
9	0	12
10	0	8

Though in many villages the assessment was raised, the total effect of the resettlement was a decrease amounting to Rs. 93,000 in revenue¹.

For the next twenty-six years, until another settlement operations began, no general revision of assessments was carried out in any part of the district but, as elsewhere, numerous minor changes were effected which considerably improved the land revenue administration. Manavari land, which was previously assessed as wet land subject to a deduction of 25 per cent and which was increased in 1854 to 35 per cent, was in 1864 transferred to the head of wet or dry according as it or had not, means of irrigation. In 1866 it was ordered that no additional charges for water or second crop should be levied on dry land containing wells, and that land classed as wet but dependent solely on private wells should be transferred to dry and charged the highest dry

¹ B. P. No. 4398, dated 3rd September 1859.

G.O. No. 309, Revenue, dated 19th October 1860.

G.O. Nos. 395-396, Revenue, dated 25th July 1864.

rate. In the same year the classification of land as garden was abolished, such land being transferred to wet, if irrigated and to dry, if not. In 1869 the levy of prohibitory assessment on waste and poramboke cultivated without permission was sanctioned. In 1874 second-crop assessment was ordered to be charged throughout the district on all wet land classed as single crop on which a second-crop had been raised with Government water, this system having been already introduced at the resettlement of Chidambaram and Mannargudi. In 1875 the rule requiring that transfers of registration and applications for land must deal with no area less than a survey field was abrogated; and 'squatting' on Government waste was recognised. In 1876 a curious practice which had long existed in three villages—Vanur and Pulichapallam in Villupuram and Meyyur in Tirukkoyilur—of periodically re-distributing among ryots the land of the village, was finally put a stop to¹.

Then came the settlement of 1887-1893, which was based upon a complete resurvey of all the taluks and which dealt with the whole district. It was conducted by Sri J. Lakshmikanta Rao, the Deputy Commissioner of Revenue Settlement. The new rates which it fixed were first introduced in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Villupuram taluks, and later in all the other taluks. Under it for purposes of dry assessments, the villages were arranged into three groups, the last of which contained those among the Gingee (Senji) hills; the second those in the Gingee (Senji) division of Tindivanam, in the north-west of Villupuram and in the western borders of Tirukkoyilur and Kallakkurichchi; and the first the remainder of the district. For the purposes of wet assessment four classes of irrigation sources were distinguished. The first class consisted of all irrigation under the ancient channels of the Coleroon (Kollidam), the Gadilam, the Ponnaiyar, the Vellar and the Minimuktanadi as well as the tanks directly fed by them. The second class constituted all irrigation under direct river channels unconnected with anicuts, spring channels, tanks directly fed by such sources and rain-fed tanks holding five months supply and upwards. The third class was composed of all irrigation under spring channels and rain-fed tanks of an ordinary character and tanks indirectly fed by the second class sources. The fourth and the last class included all small shallow and indifferent tanks. By this grouping and classification, a higher scale of rates was applied to the best and most favoured tracts of the country and a lower scale to those less favourably situated or indifferently irrigated. The process by which the money rates were calculated was as follows: The soil of each field was examined and its classification duly recorded. The lands were classified under one or other of the classes into which the three main divisions of regar (black), red (ferruginous) and arenaceous were divided, and were placed in one of the subdivisions of sorts thereof, i.e., whether clayey, loamy or sandy, according to the quality of the soil as ascertained by inspection.

¹ *Annexette of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I., 1906.*
page 220

The soils of like quality were merged together and the result gave 10 tarams for irrigated and 9 for unirrigated land. The crops taken as standard for estimating the outturn for acre were cumbu and varagu for dry lands and paddy for wet lands and the average yield of the various soils was ascertained by taking the average of the different products of the various soils of the neighbouring districts based on several experiments as regards these crops in those districts. The outturn thus determined for each soil was commuted into money at a rate calculated upon the average of the prices that prevailed during the twenty non-famine years immediately preceding the settlement reduced by 15 per cent on account of the difference between the selling prices of the ryots and merchants or in other words, on account of cartage and merchants' profits. The commutation prices thus arrived at were Rs. 108 for a garce (3,200 Madras measures) of paddy, Rs. 123 for a garce of cumbu and Rs. 80 for a garce of varagu. The cost of cultivation was determined by striking an average of the cultivation expenses of the adjoining settled districts and the amount thereof was deducted from the value of crop. A further deduction of one-fifth of the outturn was made both for dry land and wet land to meet agricultural risks resulting from failure of rain, etc., and to compensate for unprofitable areas such as small channels, field banks, etc. After making all these deductions, the remainder represented the net yield and half of this was taken as the Government share.

The assessment rates so arrived at were as follows :—

Wet.		Dry.	
Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.
9	0	3	8
8	0	3	0
7	0	2	8
6	0	2	0
5	0	1	8
4	8	1	4
4	0	1	0
3	8	0	12
3	0	0	8
2	8	0	6

A deduction of one rupee per acre was made for baling from the assessment of the first crop and half a rupee from that of the second crop if the lands were irrigated solely by lift. The special water rates were abolished and the water rates were levied in this as in all other districts in accordance with those laid down in the Board's Standing Order No. 5. The assessment on the irrigated lands of the 'gundu' or 'cannon ball' villages of the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk was till then a consolidated assessment without any distinction between single and double crop charges. This anomaly was now removed by the new settlement. All tracts of unfailing double crop land under superior or first class sources of

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supply were registered as double crop and an additional charge was made of half the single crop rate.

As a result of the survey and the settlement, there was a total increase in the cultivated area (both wet and dry) of 7 per cent and a total increase in the assessment of 3 per cent. The cost of the survey and settlement came to Rs. 16,22,683.¹

The resettlement of the district was made after thirty years, during 1918-1923. It was based on the scheme report submitted by Mr. H. A. Watson² and was introduced in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk in 1917-1918; in the Villupuram, Tindivanam and Gingee (Senji) taluks in 1918-1919; in the Kallakurichchi and Tirukkoyilur taluks in 1920-21; in the Chidambaram taluk in 1921-22; and in the Vriddhachalam taluk in 1922-23. It was based mainly on the rise in the prices of staple foodgrains since the last settlement. No general reclassification of soils was made, as the classification made at the original settlement was on the whole found satisfactory. But several other changes were made, the most important of which were as follows: At the original settlement, it will be remembered, the irrigation sources were grouped in four classes. This classification did not take into sufficient account the superiority of irrigation afforded by Coleroon fed sources, which had been increased by improvements made since then by the Government. In order to rectify this defect and, at the same time, to provide for the introduction of normal rates of composition for second crop charge, the irrigation sources of the district were reclassified thus: Coleroon (Kollidam) first class was to consist of the best irrigation under the Coleroon (Kollidam) Lower Anicut. Ordinary second class was to comprise all irrigation under the anicut channels of the Gadilova, the Ponnaiyar, the Vellar and the Manimuktanadi as well as the tanks directly fed by them and other sources which ordinarily afforded a supply of eight months and upwards. Coleroon (Kollidam) second class was to include irrigation sources supplied from the Lower Anicut which were placed in the second class at the original settlement. Ordinary third class was to cover all irrigation under the anicut channels of smaller rivers, direct river channels unconnected with anicuts, spring channels of the same capacity as river channels, tanks directly fed by these sources as well as tanks directly fed by second class sources and rainfed tanks and other sources which ordinarily afforded a supply for less than eight months but not less than five months. Coleroon (Kollidam) third class was to comprise irrigation sources supplied from the Lower Anicut which were placed in the third class at the original settlement. Ordinary fourth class

¹ G. O. No. 135, Revenue, dated 11th February 1889.

G. O. No. 1734, Revenue, dated 6th December 1897.

Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 220-221.

² B. P. No. 214, dated 29th May 1894.

³ G. O. No. 476, Revenue, dated 4th February 1918.

was to consist of all irrigation under smaller spring channels and tanks indirectly fed by third class sources and also rainfed tanks and other sources which ordinarily afforded a supply for less than five but not less than three months. And finally, the last class, the ordinary fifth class was to include all small shallow and indifferent tanks. Besides this classification, a definite classification was ordered to be assigned to all spring ponds or oozes and lands regularly cultivated with wet crops with the help of water from them; they were ordered to be registered as wet and those which regularly grew wet crops to be registered as double crop lands. Special wet rates were also ordered to be applied to all wet lands affected by the Toludur project. The occupied dry lands commanded by the system were made liable to be compulsorily converted into wet and assessed at the special wet rates, and the classification of soils were to be liable to revision.

The existing classification of the soils in the district was retained; but inequalities or irregularities wherever revealed were set right. As to the standard crop outturn in wet land, paddy was taken as the standard crop and the outturn fixed at the original settlement was retained. As to the commutation rate, a 15 per cent deduction was made as before, for cartage and merchants' profits and the rate was calculated on the basis of the average price of paddy in the ryots' selling months for the twenty non-famine years ending in 1914-15. The rate thus arrived at was Rs. 189 a garce or 75 per cent higher than that adopted at the original settlement. The existing money rates were enhanced by 30 per cent in the Coleroon (Kollidam) tracts and by 18½ per cent in the non-Coleroon (non-Kollidam) tracts. The rates in the Coleroon (Kollidam) tracts and the non-Coleroon (non-Kollidam) tracts came to as follows:—

Coleroon (Kollidam) tracts.

RS.	A.
11	11
10	6
9	2
7	13
6	8
5	14
5	3
4	9
3	14

Non-Coleroon (Non-Kollidam) tracts.

RS.	A.
10	11
9	8
8	5
7	2
8	15
5	5
4	12
4	2
3	9
3	0

As regards charge for second crop, all lands registered as 'double crop' were continued to be so registered and declared to pay for second crop the same proportion of the first crop charge as they were hitherto paying. Lands registered as single crop and which in all ordinary seasons had an unfailing supply of water for two crops were registered as double crop; they were however made eligible for remission of the difference between the double

and single crop charges if the water supply was insufficient for two crops in any year. The charge for a second crop when raised on land registered as single crop was declared to be one-half the single crop assessment. Holders of registered single crop lands were given the option of compounding at standard rates the charge for two crops on any single crop land under second, third, fourth and fifth class sources where the supply of water was not ordinarily unfailing. And among minor matters, the Government reserved to themselves the right to impose at any time during the period of the resettlement whatever additional assessment they might deem necessary on any dry land on which wet crops were or were to be raised, by the aid of achukattus in a manner, which might be regarded as objectionable.

The existing grouping of the dry land was continued unaltered except in special cases. Cumbu and varagu which were adopted as the standard crops at the original settlement, as also the outturns fixed for them at that settlement were retained. As to the commutation rate, a 15 per cent deduction was made as before for the cartage and merchants' profits and the rate was calculated on the basis of the average prices of the grains in the ryots' selling months for the twenty non-famine years ending in 1914-1915. The rates thus arrived at were Rs. 226 a garce for cumbu and Rs. 140 a garce for varagu or 84 and 75 per cent respectively higher than the rates adopted at the original settlement. The existing money rates in the dry lands were enhanced by 12½ per cent and they came to

RS.	AS.
4	0
3	6
2	13
2	4
1	11
1	6
1	3
0	13
0	9
0	6

Fixed fish rents were enhanced by 30 per cent in the Coleeroon (Kollidam) tracts and by 18½ per cent in the non-Coleeroon (non-Kollidam) tracts. And, as at the original settlement so at the resettlement, a percentage deduction was made on account of porambokes such as roads, channels, banks, paths, etc., included in the patta holdings. Besides this, when the resettlement resulted in an increase of more than 25 per cent in the assessment payable on any individual patta, the increment was ordered to be spread over a series of years. This concession (which is called increment remission) was however not to be applied to enhancements which were due to increase in area ascertained in the course

of resurvey; the transfer of land from dry to wet, and the transfer of land from single crop to double crop; nor was it to be applied to cases in which the total increase did not exceed one rupee.

The cost of the resettlement operations, including the cost of the survey and the special staff was Rs. 25,09,859. The resettlement however brought in an increase in land revenue amounting to Rs. 9,73,061.²

The policy of resettlement soon underwent a complete change. From 1930 onwards prices having fallen on account of the general economic depression, special remissions were granted in South Arcot as elsewhere and in 1937 it was decided to hold in abeyance all resettlement operations, and the system of periodical resettlement itself was abandoned as a matter of State policy.³

Having thus traced the history of the ryotwari settlement, we may now turn to the history of the permanent settlement and the inams. As everyone knows, the permanent settlement introduced by Cornwallis in Bengal in 1793 was extended to several districts in Madras in the opening years of the last century. By 1806, the year in which it was proposed for parts of South Arcot, it had become a favourite system of administration with the Government. By this system, the zamindars had been declared proprietors of the land both waste and arable, within their zamindaris, and where they did not exist, they had been created by subdividing the Government lands into muttas composed of several villages and selling these muttas by public auction to the highest bidders. The assessment on each zamindari or mutta had been fixed permanently with reference to the average collections of past years and, where a survey had already been made, with reference to the survey rents. Two-thirds of the gross produce received by the zamindars or others had been fixed as peshkash and the zamindars had been restricted in their demands on the ryots to the customary rates of assessment in money or the division of the produce in kind. This permanent settlement would have been introduced into the whole of South Arcot had it not been for the timely warning issued by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, that it should, on no account, be introduced into the newly acquired territories without their prior approval⁴. There was however

1 G.O. No. 1023, Revenue, dated 13th March 1918.

G.O. No. 273, Revenue, dated 15th November 1910.

G.O. No. 2608, Revenue, dated 28th November 1921.

G.O. No. 1170, Revenue, dated 4th August 1923.

G.O. No. 1330, Revenue, dated 1st November 1923.

G.O. No. 1694, Revenue, dated 16th November 1923.

2 G.O. No. 1694, Revenue, dated 16th November 1923.

3 G.O. No. 3412, Revenue (Confidential), dated 20th December 1939

G.O. No. 804, Public, dated 26th April 1937.

G.O. No. 1067, Revenue, dated 21st May 1937.

Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, pages 57-58.

4 Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, pages 57-58.

nothing to prevent its introduction into the Company's old possessions. Mr. Fallowfield, who was the Collector of the Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Tiruvendipuram countries (the Company's old possessions) therefore, proposed in 1806, that the permanent settlement might be introduced in those countries. He proposed that, on the basis of past collections, an assessment of 4,800 star pagodas might be fixed for 5 years for the Cuddalore (Gudalur) country, to be made permanent at the end of the period at 5,000 star pagodas per annum. The Board considered that 5,000 star pagodas might be fixed at once but suggested that, as a measure of political expediency, the Government should retain possession of the environs of Cuddalore (Gudalur) town and harbour, that all gardens which were then held free of quit-rent should be modestly assessed, and that the future proprietor of the estate should be declared to have no title to these lands or to the rent from them. As to the Tiruvendipuram country, Mr. Fallowfield proposed that it might be divided into six estates, namely Tiruvendipuram, Vanamadevy, Todamanattam, Arriavetty, Alagiyanattam and Virapperumanallur, and that to these might be added a seventh estate consisting of the two jaghir villages of Chinnappanayakanpalayam and Naduvirapattu.¹ He proposed an assessment of 9,400 star pagodas for 5 years for the six estates to be made permanent at 9,800 star pagodas at the end of that period; and an assessment of 1,100 star pagodas for 5 years for the seventh estate to be made permanent at 1,150 star pagodas at the end of the period. The villages in the proposed seventh estate, he said, had been held on a lease for 10 years from 1797 by Virasami Mudali at an annual rental of 950 star pagodas, and, on his death, by his father Appu Mudali. The Board generally approved all these proposals but recommended that the Tiruvendipuram Nattars should be continued to be given the 5 per cent commission which they had long enjoyed.

The Government confirmed the peshkash of the Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Tiruvendipuram countries at 5,000 and 9,800 star pagodas respectively and in regard to Chinnappanayakanpalayam ordered that the estate should be offered to Appu Mudali in perpetuity at a peshkash of 1,150 star pagodas, but that, if he refused the terms, it should be sold along with the other estates. The Cuddalore (Gudalur) estate was not sold, as no offers were received when it was auctioned. The Tiruvendipuram estates were eventually handed over to the Nattars on their agreeing to pay the peshkash fixed and to forego the 5 per cent commission (fasli 1217). The Chinnappanayakanpalayam consisting of Chinnappanayakanpalayam and Naduvirappattu was offered and accepted by Appu Mudali at the peshkash fixed for it.²

¹ Board's Consultation, No. 31, dated 15th October 1807.

² *Manual of the South Arcot District* by J. H. Garstin, 1878, pages 246-252.

Subsequently one other estate was permanently settled, and that was the estate of Vettavalam. Its history is this. In 1801 when the district came into the possession of the British, they found that the palayagar of Vettavalam (consisting of some 32 villages of which five were shrotriems was paying a peshkash of Rs. 4,000 and a nazzarana of Rs. 1,000. They also found that he possessed the kaval jurisdiction and a kaval income from 377 Government villages amounting to above 3,000 pagodas annually. Captain Graham assumed the palayam but allowed the palayagar to enjoy his kaval emoluments; and these together with a tenth of the net revenues of his palayam were paid to him till 1804, when his allowance were increased to one-third of the net revenues of the palayam. Shortly afterwards the kaval fees were resumed and a pension amounting to 15 per cent of these fees was settled upon him, as in the case of the other palayagars. He enjoyed this pension and one-third of the net revenue till his death¹ when his brother, who succeeded him, put in a claim for both. The Board now held that the Government were bound to continue the palayam allowance as that was granted as a substitute for the profits which the palayam would have yielded to its proprietor. It however suggested that an agreement might be made with the palayagar by which, on his agreeing to waive all claims to his palayam, the village of Vettavalam and some other surrounding villages might be granted to him on a permanent tenure. The Government agreed to this and in 1816, thirteen villages were granted to him and the peshkash on these was fixed at 10 star pagodas². But a sanad was granted to the palayagar only in 1871³. The kaval pension was not granted to him⁴.

Of these estates, some disappeared in course of time and only four estates remained until recently, and these were (1) Vettavalam, (2) Alagiyanattam, (3) Chinnappanayakanpalayam and Naduvirappattu and (4) Mandakappattu. The last was formed in 1853 out of a portion of Alagiyanattam when that portion was sold for arrears at public auction for 3,550⁵.

As for the inams, a detailed enquiry into the inams of the district was made by the Inam Commissioner in 1861. He found that there were few tenures here requiring special orders. The kattubadi inams having been, as early as 1806, declared by the Government to be life tenure, he proposed to enfranchise them on a quit-rent of one-half the assessment in addition to the jodi then borne by them. The few kaval inams which occurred in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk, he proposed to treat similarly,

¹ South Arcot Collectorate, Volume No. 304, pages 11-18.

² Board's Consultations, dated 20th June 1816 and 25th July 1816.

³ B. P. No. 8987, dated 7th December 1870.

B. P. No. 1790, dated 3rd June 1871.

⁴ South Arcot Collectorate, Volume No. 304, pages 56-58.

⁵ Board's Consultations, dated 28th February 1853—see Volume pages 2522.

unless it could be shown that the obligation to render service had been authoritatively removed. The Uru maniam, which had already been resumed but of which a few remained in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk, he proposed to treat as personal grants. Besides these tenures, he said, there was another tenure peculiar to the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk namely, the Daftar Inam Gardens of the old Fort St. David and Tiruvendipuram Farms. Some of these were granted by the Chiefs-in-Council of Cuddalore (Gudalur) in the early days of British rule and were treated as freeholds, while some others, though granted by subordinate officers who had no right to grant them, had by prescription, become freeholds for all practical purposes. He proposed to treat both these types of inams as freeholds. There were some others also, he said, which were of doubtful character; and these he proposed to deal with as follows. Those which had been cultivated and enjoyed rent-free for fifty years were to be treated as valid inams and enfranchised on 7/8 quit-rent, those which, though enjoyed rent-free, were considered liable to assessment when cultivated, as well as those which were less than fifty years old were to be enfranchised on a quit-rent of one-half of their assessment; those for which no assessments were entered in the accounts as well as those which were new (puddu tottams) were to be assessed at the same rates as were charged for adjoining Government lands of similar quality, but without reference to the improvements made by the holders. All these proposals were accepted by the Government and carried out by the Inam Commissioner.¹

The Inam Commissioner also dealt with three 'hill estates', as they were called, situated in the Kallakurichchi taluk, belonging to the palayagars named Ariya Goundan, Kurumba Goundan, and Jadaya Goundan, and comprising ninety-six hill villages with their dependent hamlets. These estates had not been resumed when the general resumption of the palayagars' lands was made, possibly because they were then situated in the Sankarapuram jaghir, nor had they been resumed when the Sankarapuram jaghir lapsed to the Government. They had been granted originally in connection with the kaval office of the palayagars, and they constituted in fact their mukhasas. Ariya Goundan held no kaval office under the British Government but he paid, ever since the days of the Nawab, a small nazzar or peshkash of Rs. 37-5-2 which was probably imposed in consequence of his holding no office. Both the other palayagars, who held their villages rent-free had kaval, in the Government taluks, but with the abolition of their offices, their lands and fees were resumed and money pensions were conferred on them. Kurumba Goundan, however, continued to enjoy kaval maniams in the villages of the resumed jaghir of Sankarapuram. The Inam Commissioner treated all these inams as personal grants and enfranchised them on a quit-rent equal to one-eighth of their value.²

¹ Inam Selections of South Arcot, pages 4-6.

² *Idem*, pages 31-32.

Nor is this all. At the time of the original settlement of the district, it was found that 146½ acres of land within the Cuddalore (Gudalur) municipality had paid no assessment of quit-rent whatever and though it was wholly covered with fruit trees, was shown in the accounts as *manai maf*. The whole of it was enfranchised at one-half of the assessment.

Some of the inams of the district have an interesting history. Viraperumanallur in the Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluk was granted in 1813 to one Ramaswami Pillai "as a reward for services rendered under Governor Farquhar at Malacca and the Island of Mauritius". Bommayapalayam in Villupuram was given for the support of a math there, and, in the same village is certain rent-free land and a tope which are assigned for the upkeep of a choultry called after Ananda Ranga Pillai, the famous Dubash of Duplex. There is evidence to show that Duplex and his wife visited the math, the choultry and the tope on 14th December 1744. Vepperi in the Tindivanam taluk was granted by the Government in 1805 on the recommendation of the Duke of Wellington—then Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesly—to Subedar Burrah Khan who had lost five relatives and been himself disabled at the battle of Assaye.

A few words may be said here about the beriz deductions which the temples in the district are receiving in lieu of the inams which they were formerly enjoying. Prior to the assumption of the Government of the Carnatic by the British the temples derived revenues from various sources, such as (a) *swatantrams* and *meras*, (b) *russums*, (c) *vartanai*, (d) *magamai*, and (e) *tarapadi maniams*. The system worked very badly. Soon after the British took over the district, all the allowances paid to the temples, the total value of which was estimated at Rs. 68,862 in 1803-04, were resumed, but not their landed inams. In 1906 Mr. Ravenshaw recommended that a fixed annual allowance of Rs. 89,250 should be given to the temples, explaining that though this was at the time in excess of the actual receipts, it was less than what they would amount to eventually as soon as the waste lands of the institutions were brought under cultivation. His proposals were accepted by the Government, but in 1803 the amount of the allowance was reduced to Rs. 55,000 as the sum formerly granted was found to be far in excess of the actual receipts from the resumed allowances¹. We have already seen in the Chapter on Welfare Schemes how in 1841, under the instructions of the Court of Directors the Government divested themselves of the responsibility of managing temple endowments and how these endow-

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, pages 225-226.

ments were handed over to the trustees. The supervision of the Collectors over the temples was now withdrawn and their responsibility was limited to paying the allowances already fixed to the trustees. In 1854 the Government went a step further; they decided that the Collectors should not be required even to make the payment of annual allowances, from the public treasuries, that in lieu of these allowances, the temples should be given the lands, the assessments of which were to be 10 per cent in excess of the allowances in order to cover the charges of collection and vicissitudes of season¹. These orders were actually carried out in South Arcot,² but before they could be carried out in all the districts, wide-spread protests were made by the trustees so that they found it difficult to make the collections.³ As a result of this, the Government with the concurrence of the Government of India, had to rescind their orders and to revert to the system of granting money allowances⁴. These allowances were, however, now ordered to be paid not from the treasuries but from the revenue collections of certain selected villages lying contiguous to the temples⁵. Under this system the allowances are now paid by the village officers as soon as they collect the beriz or revenue of the villages. The beriz deductions so made amount to about Rs. 61,000 in the district⁶.

Both the permanently-settled estates and the whole-inam villages of the district have been vitally affected by the general legislation governing estates passed in the State in recent years. The Rent Recovery Act of 1865 (Madras Act VIII of 1865), the Madras Estates Land Act of 1908 (Madras Act I of 1908) and the Madras Estates (Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari) Act of 1948 (Madras Act XXVI of 1948) have all alike treated them as estates. The Rent Recovery Act of 1865 was passed to define the rights of the tenants in "estates and to consolidate and improve the laws which defined the process to be taken in the recovery of rent". The Act, however, failed to improve the lot of the tenants and the landholder was given the veiled right to enhance the rent on grounds similar to those upon which the Government could enhance the revenue in ryotwari areas. This led not only to

¹ Board's Consultations Nos. 32-33, dated 14th September 1854 and G.O. No. 1866, Revenue, dated 2nd July 1863.

² *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis. Volume I, 1906, page 227.

³ G.O. No. 923, Revenue, dated 25th May 1871.

G.O. No. 1467, Revenue, dated 28th August 1871.

G.O. No. 742, Revenue, dated 8th May 1872.

⁴ G.O. No. 1361, Revenue, dated 27th September 1872.

G.O. No. 829-830, Revenue, dated 11th August 1873.

G.O. No. 1119, Revenue, dated 17th August 1876.

⁵ G.O. No. 1625, Revenue, dated 8th October 1878.

⁶ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District*, Vol. II, 1932, page XLVIII.

exactions but also to confusion in the minds of jurists as to the exact rights of the tenants. It was thought that their tenancy was from year to year and that they could be evicted at the end of the year. The position was not fully clarified till 1908 when the comprehensive Estates Land Act of that year was passed. This Act defined for the first time the substantive and relative rights and obligations of landholders and their tenants or ryots. It secured a permanent right of occupancy to every ryot who at its commencement was in possession of ryoti land or who subsequently was admitted to possession of such land. This right was made heritable and transferable by sale, gift or otherwise. Nor was this all. He could use the land without materially impairing its value or rendering it unfit for agricultural purposes. He could enjoy and cut down all trees planted by him after the passing of the Act, or those which grew upon his holding. He could make improvements to his land except when the landholder wanted it in order to benefit other ryots as well. He could not be subjected to any enhanced rent on the ground of the improvement effected by the landholder, unless it had been registered in accordance with the provisions of the Act. He had a right to have evidence of improvements effected by him recorded; and had a right to the sole benefits accruing from such improvements. He was protected against all unlawful exactions and given the right to a reduction of rent in certain circumstances. He could also insist upon a patta from the landholder. The Act at the same time conferred certain rights on the landholder. He acquired a first charge for rent and interest thereon not only upon the ryot's holding but also upon its produce. He could reserve mining rights, receive a premium when first admitting any person to possession of ryoti land, enhance the rent under certain conditions, and recover arrears of rent by a suit before the Collector by distraint and sale of movable property, crops, etc. The Act also provided for a survey and a record of rights to be made by the Collector in certain cases¹.

Now, this Act brought under the definition of estate "any village of which the land revenue had been granted in inam to a person not owning the kudivaram right thereof provided that the grant has been made, confirmed or recognised by the British Government or any separated part of such village." This definition was made to set right certain doubts that had arisen consequent on the Inam Settlement. The inam title-deeds issued under that settlement were so drawn up that they conveyed an impression as if the land belonged to the inamdars irrespective of the fact whether they possessed the kudivaram right in it or not. As a result of this some of the inamdars claimed the right in the soil to the injury of the actual kudivaram holders. An Act was therefore

¹ *Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras* by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, page 41.

passed declaring that nothing contained in any title-deed issued to any inam was derived or drawn. When this Act was passed the Government held the view that an inam on the face of it carried only the melvaram right and that, if any inamdars set up a claim to the kudivaram right also, it was for him to establish that right. This view which practically amounted to saying that the kudivaram right should be considered to belong to the cultivators unless the contrary was proved was upheld for a long time and the validity of this view was recognised by the courts in several cases and was presumed when the whole-inam villages were included in the above mentioned definition of estate in the 1908 Act. But this view was completely upset by the Privy Council in 1918. In that year, on a well-known decision, the Privy Council held that there was no presumption in law that an inam conveyed the melvaram right alone, and ruled that whoever claimed the kudivaram right must prove it in a court of law. This decision as well as some other decisions to more or less the same effect practically threw on the cultivators the onus of proving that they possessed the kudivaram right in each and every case. The hardship to the ryots involved in it was removed by the Government by amending the definition of estate by Madras Act VIII of 1934. The definition was changed by this Act into "any village of which the land revenue without the kudivaram has been granted in inam to a person not owning the kudivaram thereof, provided that the grant has been made, confirmed or recognised by the British Government." The alteration so made virtually amounted to laying down that, if the inamdars of a whole-inam village wanted to escape the provisions of the Estates Land Act, he had to prove in a court of law that he possessed the kudivaram right in that village. The onus of proving the kudivaram right in the case of whole-inam villages was thus again shifted back from the cultivators to the inamdars and the cultivators were, for all practical purposes, considered to possess the kudivaram right. By Madras Act XVIII of 1936 the definition of 'estate' was further extended so as to include within its scope any inam village of which the grant had been made, confirmed or recognised by the British Government. The effect of the amendment was to bring all inam villages within the scope of the Madras Estates Land Act. In the case, however, of inam villages which became estates by virtue of this amending Act, the inamdars were given an opportunity to prove that they possessed the kudivaram right in lands in such villages by lodging applications before a special tribunal¹.

Meanwhile the zamindari system in all its aspects came to be criticised, discredited and condemned with more and more vehemence. In 1937, in consequence of the agitation in the Legislature, the Congress Ministry appointed a committee presided over by

¹ *Studies in Madras Administration* by B. S. Baliga, Volume I, 1940 pages 93-94.

Extracts from Papers relating to Tenancy Right in I , Volumes to III.

Sri T. Prakasam, the Revenue Minister, to enquire into the whole question. On the basis of its recommendations the Estates Land Reforms Bill of 1938 was drafted. Both this Bill and a revised Bill prepared in 1939, however, could achieve nothing as the Congress Ministry soon afterwards resigned office.¹ In 1940 the Adviser Government, which succeeded the Congress Ministry drew up a scheme for the conversion of zamindari tenure into ryotwari by buying out zamindars and paying them compensation on the basis of net income². In 1945 the Working Committee of the Congress issued a manifesto urging comprehensive land reforms, including the abolition of the zamindari system and the acquisition of estates by the payment of equitable compensation. Early in 1947, after the National Government came to power, the legislature passed a resolution accepting the general principle of the abolition of the zamindari system³. In pursuance of this resolution the Government, as a first step, passed an Act called the Madras Estates Land (Reduction of Rent) Act XXX of 1947 for reducing the high rents which prevailed in the estates. It provided for the reduction of rents payable by the ryots in estates approximately to the level of the assessments imposed on ryotwari lands in the neighbourhood⁴. The Government also brought forward a Bill in the same year for abolishing all estates. The zamindari system, they stated, had perpetuated an assessment which was not only high but had also no relation to the productivity capacity of the land. It had led to loss of contact between the Government and the actual cultivators. It had acted as a brake on agricultural improvements. It had allowed most of the irrigation works to fall into disrepair. It had, because of its complexities, brought in an immense amount of litigation in which the illiterate ryots had been placed at the mercy of the unscrupulous agents of the zamindars. It had rarely, if ever, resulted in administration as efficient as that of the Government areas, and consequently it had led to a great deal of discontent and agitation among the ryots. Indeed the system, having outlived its usefulness, had nothing to recommend its continuance⁵.

The Bill was passed into the Madras (Estates Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari) Act XXVI of 1948. It applies to all zamindaris, all unsettled palayams, and all whole-inam villages except those which became estates by virtue of Act XVIII of 1936. When an estate is notified under the Act all the earlier enactments relating to estates, except the Rent Reduction Act of 1947,

¹ *Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras* by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 43-44.

² *Madras in 1950*, pages 58-60.

³ G.O. No. 114, Legal, dated 13th September 1947—see the Statement of Objects and Reasons.

⁴ G.O. No. 3, Legal, dated 7th January 1948.

⁵ G.O. No. 114, Legal, dated 13th September 1947—see the Statement of Objects and Reasons.

cease to be applicable to it; and the entire estate, including all communal lands and porambokes, waste lands, pasture lands, lanka lands, forests, mines and minerals, quarries, rivers and streams, tanks and irrigation works, fisheries and ferries stand transferred to the Government and vest in them free of all encumbrances. The estate is then to be surveyed and settled on ryotwari principles by Settlement Officers appointed under a Director of Settlements who works under the Board of Revenue. The ryots are to be given ryotwari pattas for their holdings with effect from the notified date and the landholders, zamindars, inamdars and under tenure holders are also to be given ryotwari pattas in respect of their private lands as well as lands personally cultivated by them and satisfying the other conditions laid down in the Act. Appeals from the decisions of the Settlement Officers in these cases also are to lie to the Estates Abolition Tribunal, except in the case of ryotwari pattas granted to ryots in respect of which revision petitions may be preferred to the Director of Settlements and the Board.

The compensation to be paid is roughly determined soon after the notification of the estate and half this amount is deposited as advance compensation to be adjusted against the final compensation determined after the settlement operations in the estate are completed. Meanwhile the landholder is to be paid for every fasli till the final compensation is deposited, an interim payment equal to half the basic annual sum roughly estimated. This interim payment is something distinct from the final compensation and does not form part of the final compensation. As to the method of calculating the basic annual sum in the case of the zamindari estates, the gross annual ryotwari demand in respect of all lands for which persons other than the zamindar are entitled to ryotwari pattas under the Act and the average net annual miscellaneous revenue from all other sources in the lands have to be computed and one-third of this figure had to be taken to be the zamindar's share. This one-third portion is, however, to be made subject to two deductions, a deduction of five per cent of the gross annual ryotwari demand on account of establishment charges and another deduction of three and one-third per cent on account of the maintenance of irrigation works which is the zamindar's responsibility. In calculating the basic annual sum for inam estates the annual gross ryotwari demand and not one-third of it is to be taken as the starting point. From this figure three and one-third per cent is to be deducted. The balance represents the basic annual sum for the estate which the landholder is obliged to maintain. The whole miscellaneous revenue is added. Then the quit-rent or the jodi, etc., payable annually to the Government by the landholder is also to be deducted. The balance represents the basic annual sum for the inam estate. For all estates compensation is to be the basic annual sum multiplied by a figure which varies between $12\frac{1}{2}$ and 80. Where the basic annual sum does not exceed Rs. 1,000 the multiplier is 30; over one lakh of rupees the multiplier is $12\frac{1}{2}$.

There are to be four intermediate stages 15, 17½, 20 and 25 depending on the annual basic sum. Payments are not to be made direct to the landholders but are to be deposited with the two Tribunals constituted under the Act. Provision is also made for the appointment of more Tribunals when necessary¹.

These are, in the main, the provisions of the Madras (Estates Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari) Act. This Act was amended by Act I of 1950 to provide for the payment of a portion of the compensation without waiting for the completion of the survey and settlement operations. Under the latter Act advance compensation is to be adjusted towards the compensation as finally determined. The Act also ensures the payment of a minimum of 12½ crores of rupees as compensation for the zamindari estates in the State of Madras as it was before the creation of the Andhra State². In South Arcot the estates were taken over by the Government after 1952 (in 1953 and following years) the year with which our book generally closes.

There is not much information available about the land tenures of the district. What little information there is, however, shows that here as in other districts both the fixed rent and the varam tenures are prevalent. The former is a system by which lands are leased out by the landlords for fixed rents to the tenants, while the latter is a system by which lands are leased out by the landholders to the tenants for a share of the produce. One feature of the district is the high rents paid for dry lands, and this is due to two causes; the great extent of groundnut cultivation and the great fertility of the dry lands in the river valleys such as the tract between Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Panruti where a good rainfall and the high level of sub-soil water enable two crops to be grown without the aid of irrigation. The lease deeds show that, as a rule, in the case of a second wet crop, the lessee takes the risks, pays the water-rate and takes the produce. In some cases he pays half the produce as rent, in some two-fifths, and in others one-third. Where a grain crop is grown after the first wet crop, the lessor commonly takes half of the produce and in some cases even two-thirds. The lease deeds also show that in most cases the lessee is required to pay the rent, whether the land is cultivated or not. In some cases however he is allowed remission if the crops fail. The ordinary varam rent is half of the produce, other proportions are three-fourths, three-fifths and four-ninths of the produce, five-sevenths paddy and straw, half paddy and straw, two-thirds paddy and straw, one-fourth grain and two-thirds straw, etc. The instalments are generally two; but three or more instalments are allowed in the case of betel gardens, coconut topes, etc. Interest on arrears range from 9 per cent to 36 per cent. As a rule,

¹ G.O. No. 75, Legal, dated 18th April 1949,
Madras in 1950, pages 60-64.

² G.O. No. 26, Legal, dated 25th January 1950.

in the case of rents in kind, the grain is to be delivered at the lessor's house. As a rule also the lessee is required to manure the crops properly. The restriction on cultivation of particular crops is, however, not frequent. Sub-letting is said to be on the increase, the percentage of absentee landlords being 10¹.

Since the accession of the National Government, tenancy and other land reforms have been actively considered. In 1946 the Government appointed a Special Officer and in 1950 a Special Committee presided over by Sri M. V. Subramaniam, I.C.S., a Member of the Board of Revenue, to consider and report on various tenancy as well as other land revenue matters². Their reports are now being considered and a Bill has already been framed for fixing the tenants' share. But as this book closes with the year 1952, we shall not deal with these matters here.

The land revenue of the district, in 1950-1951 for instance, amounted to Rs. 41,28,842³. As for the machinery employed for collecting it and for administering all other revenue matters, the district, as has already been seen, has had a Collector from the very beginning. He was, as has also been seen, from the early days assisted by Sub-Collectors. From 1859 he came to be assisted by Deputy Collectors as well⁴. As for the taluks we have already seen how the present taluks came to be formed. And as for the Revenue Divisions they have naturally changed from time to time. At present these divisions consist of Tirukkoyilur, Chidambaram and Tindivanam. The Tirukkoyilur Division comprises the taluks of Tirukkoyilur, Kallakurichchi and Vriddhachalam; the Chidambaram Division comprises the taluks of Chidambaram and Cuddalore (Gudalur); and the Tindivanam Division comprises the taluks of Tindivanam, Villupuram and Gingee (Senji). The Revenue divisions have been invariably under the charge of Sub-Collectors or Deputy Collectors and the taluks under the charge of Tahsildars. The Tahsildars have been having under them the usual revenue subordinates, the Deputy Tahsildars and Revenue Inspectors. The village establishments have always consisted of the village headmen (the Nattamaikarans), the karnams, etc.

So much about land revenue. The history of the other revenues is soon told. We can deal here only with such of them as were formerly or are now under the Madras Government. Taking those that have been throughout under the Madras Government

¹ G.O. No. 1357 Revenue (Confidential), dated 8th April 1918, page 77.

² *Report of the Special Officer on Land Tenures in the Ryotwari Areas of the Madras Province, 1947*, pages 61 and 182.

³ See the *Reports of the Special Officer on Land Tenures in Ryotwari Areas (1947)* and on the *Investigation of Land Tenures (1949)*.

⁴ See also the *First and Second Reports of the Land Revenue Reforms Committee (1951)*.

⁵ G.O. No. 2604, Revenue, dated 22nd September 1952.

⁶ G.O. No. 379, Revenue, dated 22nd March 1859.

first, excise was until lately, the most important source of revenue; but today, with the introduction of prohibition, it has dwindled into a very small sum. In 1945-1946, for instance, when prohibition had been suspended by the Adviser Government, it amounted to no less than Rs. 15.89 crores in the State and Rs. 0.93 lakhs in South Arcot¹; but in 1952-1953 (after the whole State had gone dry), the revenue became insufficient even to meet the expenditure, there being a deficit of about 33.27 lakhs of rupees in the State².

This revenue was in pre-prohibition days derived from the manufacture and sale of arrack, and toddy, and from the sale of foreign liquors, opium, ganja and bhang. It is now derived chiefly from foreign liquor. Its history is now merely of antiquarian interest, but none the less it is interesting, and it has to be recounted inasmuch as it affected the administration of the district for more than a century.

From 1801-1802 to 1838-1839 the revenue from arrack and toddy was realized by farming out to renters (for periods varying from one to five years) the exclusive right of manufacture and sale of each of these liquors in each taluk. In 1839-1840, the arrack and toddy farms in each taluk were combined and sold by auction together to one and the same renter. In 1844-1845, with a view to inducing capitalists to come forward, the whole district was sold as one farm. This practice was continued until 1872 (regulated here as elsewhere by Act III of 1864) when 'the improved excise system' was introduced under which the monopoly of supply of arrack and toddy in the district was given to a contractor subject to the condition that he paid duty on every gallon of spirit issued and guaranteed a minimum revenue to the Government. Messrs. Parry & Co. held the contract for a long time. It was, however, soon found that this system was responsible for a serious growth of illegal practices. As all the shops were in the hands of the manufacturer and as he had to pay duty only on the quantity issued to the vendors, it mattered little to him if the shops sold illicit liquor. Further the renter failed to maintain the preventive staff required to put down the illicit practices. The Government therefore appointed a committee in 1884 to suggest improvements and upon its recommendation passed Act I of 1886. The 'improved excise system' was now in the case of arrack replaced by the free supply system which was one of free competition among the licensed distillers in respect of manufacture and supply. This led to unhealthy competition and finally to the danger of a monopoly. The system was therefore abandoned in 1900 and replaced by the contract distillery system. Under this system the privilege of manufacture and vend were entirely separated; the manufacturer was

¹ *Administration Report of the Excise Revenue for 1945-46*, page 19.

² *Administration Report of the Madras Excise and Prohibition Department for 1952-53*, page 23.

given the privilege of supplying a fixed area at a definite rate per gallon, the Government supervising the process and ensuring the quality of liquor. The liquor was issued from a central source of supply and the right of retail sale was disposed of by auction. By this arrangement the prevention of illicit practices was left in the hands of the Government. Messrs. Parry & Co., as agents of the East India Distilleries and Sugar Factory Company, Nellikuppam, again became the manufacturers in the district. In the case of toddy, a fee was levied for the right of retailed vend and a tree-tax was also levied upon every tree from which toddy was to be drawn. As for foreign liquor, tavern licences were granted for consumption on the premises, the facts being determined by auction. But wholesale licences and retail licences for consumption off the premises, for refreshment rooms, bars, etc., were granted on payment of fixed fees. The sale of opium was administered under Central Act I of 1878 and that of ganja under Madras Act I of 1886, and the right of retail vend to the public was generally sold by auction. Under the terms of the Convention of 1815, Pondicherry was supplied with opium from the British store houses on payment of the prescribed duty and cost price; and a similar arrangement was made regarding ganja¹. This was the position till 1948 when prohibition was introduced into the district. We have already seen in the chapter on Welfare Schemes how prohibition was introduced and with what results.

The loss of revenue caused by prohibition has been more than made up by the levy of new taxes called commercial taxes. The credit for devising and introducing these new taxes belongs to the First Congress Ministry presided over by Sri C. Rajagopalachari. In 1939 the Madras General Sales Tax Act (Act IX of 1939), the Madras Entertainments Tax Act (Act X of 1939), the Madras Sales of Motor Spirit Taxation Act (Act VI of 1939) and the Madras Tobacco (Taxation of Sales and Licensing) Act (Act VIII of 1939) were passed. The last of these Acts was suspended in 1944 on account of levy of central excise duty by the Government of India and a lump sum compensation was given by that Government thereafter to the Madras Government for the loss of the State revenue. In 1953 this Act was repealed and the State enacted the Madras Tobacco (Taxation of Sales and Registration) Act, 1953 (Act IV of 1953)². This Act came into force from 20th April 1953. It enabled a single point tax on the first sales to be levied on all varieties of cigarettes sold at the retail point at more than three pies per cigarette on a graduated scale ranging from 10 per cent of the turnover to 30 per cent of the turnover according to the rate of the retail price of the cigarette and at 30 per cent

¹ *Excise and Temperance in Madras* by D. N. Strathie, 1922.

The Madras Presidency 1881-1931 by G. T. Boag, 1933, pages 55-56. *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District* by W. Francis, Vol. 1, 1906, pages 237-241.

² Information furnished by the Board of Revenue.

of the turnover on cigars and cheroots sold at not less than two annas per cigar or cheroot and on pipe tobacco or cigarette tobacco. In 1955, the tax was extended to cigarettes of which the price at retail point was not more than three pies per cigarette, at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the turnover. The tax realized for the year 1953-1954 for the whole State was Rs. 30,21,662.

The General Sales Tax came into force on 1st October 1939¹. It was levied on all businesses the turnover of which exceeded Rs. 10,000 thereby exempting all small traders dealing in food, clothing, etc. To facilitate its levy and to avoid detailed investigations into the exact turnovers in the case of smaller businesses the amount of the tax was fixed at Rs. 5 per month when the turnover was between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 20,000. A tax at half a per cent was levied when the turnover exceeded Rs. 20,000. Safeguards were provided in the Act to avoid the taxation of both the seller and the buyer in respect of one and the same transaction and also on both the purchases and sales of the same goods of the same dealer. Exemptions were made in the case of certain articles like bullion and species, cotton, cotton yarn, and cloth woven on handlooms and sold by persons exclusively dealing in such cloth. In the case of hides and skins provision was also made to levy the tax at a single point in a series of sales by successive dealers. In the case of certain finished articles of industrial manufacture a rebate of one-half of the tax levied on sales of such articles for delivery outside the State was allowed. The sale of electrical energy, motor spirit and manufactured tobacco was exempted from the tax². In 1940-1941 the rates of tax were reduced to Rs. 4 per month on turnovers between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 20,000 and to one-fourth per cent on turnovers exceeding Rs. 20,000³. In 1944 the rates of taxation were raised to Rs. 8 per mensem on turnovers between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 15,000, to Rs. 12 per mensem on turnover between Rs. 15,000 and Rs. 20,000 and to one per cent on turnovers exceeding Rs. 20,000⁴. In 1948 the slab rate system of taxation was abolished except in the case of fruit and vegetable dealers and a tax at 3 pies per rupee was levied in all cases in which the turnover was Rs. 10,000 or more. In respect of certain luxury goods an additional tax at the rate of 3 to 6 pies for every rupee was also levied at the stage of sale by the first dealer⁵. In 1949, the slab rate system was made inapplicable to dealers in coconuts, canned, preserved, dried or dehydrated vegetables and fruits. In the same year the tax on food and drink sold in hotels, boarding houses, and restaurants was raised to $4\frac{1}{2}$ pies in the rupee when the turnover was Rs. 25,000 or more; and the sale of cotton which had been exempted from tax prior to 1st

¹ G.O. No. 338, Revenue, dated 12th February 1941.

² See the Act in the *Fort St. George Gazette*.

³ G.O. No. 2528, Revenue, dated 5th November 1941.

⁴ G.O. No. 769, Revenue, dated 28th March 1947.

⁵ G.O. No. 429, Revenue, dated 23rd February 1949.

August 1949 now became liable to a tax at a single point at the rate of half a per cent on the turnover¹. From 1950, by virtue of Article 286 (1) of the Constitution of India, sales in the course of export outside the territory of India were exempted from tax, while the taxes on other sales, including sales in the course of export to the other States in India, continued to be levied under the special permission of the President till 6th September 1955². The net result of all this brought no less than Rs. 15,49,09,190 to the State in 1951-52, South Arcot contributing Rs. 33,32,224³. From 1954 the levy of additional tax was extended to certain varieties of mill cloth, fine or superfine-cotton cloth other than handloom cloth, hosiery goods other than those made wholly of cotton and medium cotton, mill cloth at the rate of one anna three pies and precious stones at the rate of six pies. From 1956 the sale of sugar was also subjected to the additional tax at the rate of one anna in the rupee. A single point tax or six pies was also levied on the sale of raw tobacco and certain varieties of manufactured tobacco which were not subjected to tax under the Madras Tobacco (Taxation of Sales and Registration) Act, 1953. From 1st April 1954 exemptions were granted to certain articles like handloom cloth, eggs, meat, fish, flowers, vegetables and fruits and from 1st April 1955 to onions, potatoes, betel leaves and plantain leaves and to co-operative societies effecting sales of palm-gur and to sales effected by cottage industrial co-operative societies.

The Entertainment Tax Act came into force on 1st August 1939⁴. This Act repealed a previous Act of 1926 (Act V of 1927) by which local bodies could levy a tax on entertainments and provided compensation for such bodies. It authorized the levy of a tax on a graduated scale according to the value of the payment made for admission to any entertainment. When the payment was not more than 2 annas, the tax was levied at 3 pies; when it was more than 2 annas but less than 6 annas it was levied at 6 pies. In the case of higher payments it rose gradually from 1 anna in the case of payments between 6 annas and 12 annas to Rs. 2 in the case of payments between Rs. 9-8-0 and Rs. 10. When the payment was Rs. 10 or more it was Rs. 2 for the first 10 rupees and Rs. 2 for every 10 rupees or portion thereof in excess of the first 10 rupees. Provision was made in the Act for compounding the tax for a fixed sum as well as payment of a fixed percentage of the gross proceeds, when the proprietors applied for such lump sum payments. Provision was also made for exempting entertainments the proceeds of which were devoted to philanthropic, religious or charitable purposes; and entertainments which were of an

¹ G.O. No. 2601, Revenue, dated 27th September 1950.
Madras in 1949, page 25.

² *Madras in 1950*, page 23.

³ G.O. No. 2511, Revenue, dated 8th September 1952.

⁴ G.O. No. 3075, Revenue, dated 10th December 1940.

educational, cultural and scientific character¹. In 1945 the rates of tax on payments for admission above 2 annas were increased by fifty per cent². From 1947 the tax was levied at the following rates. Where the payment inclusive of the amount of the tax is—

	Rate of tax.
(i) not more than 5 annas	$\frac{1}{2}$
(ii) more than 5 annas but is not more than Rs. 1-8-0.	$\frac{1}{2}$
(iii) more than Rs. 1-8-0	$\frac{1}{2}$

A concession was also given to cinematograph exhibitions for which the tax was calculated at the above rates after excluding from such payments the amount of the tax. In addition to the above tax, a show tax calculated at different rates for Madras City, big municipalities, etc., was also levied in 1949. The rate of tax prescribed for dramatic and music performances, Indian dances, exhibitions of works of arts, manufactures, etc., is as follows :—

Where the payment inclusive of the amount of tax is—

	Rate of tax.
(i) not more than 3 rupees	$\frac{1}{2}$
(ii) more than 3 rupees but not more than 5 rupees	$\frac{1}{2}$
(iii) more than 5 rupees	$\frac{1}{2}$

All dramatic performances other than dance, dramas and all music and dance performances and variety entertainments by approved registered sabhas and similar associations were exempted from entertainments tax. In 1951-1952, the tax yielded Rs. 1,26,31,689 in the State, South Arcot contributing Rs. 2,60,595³.

The Sales of Motor Spirit Taxation Act came into force on 1st April 1939⁴. It provided for the levy of a tax of one-anna and six pies per gallon on all retail sales of petrol and six pies per gallon on the sale of motor spirit other than petrol. The tax was payable only once and the dealers were required to register themselves and maintain proper accounts⁵. In 1947 the rates of tax were raised to 4 annas in the case of petrol and $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas in the case of motor spirit⁶ other than petrol; and in 1952 the rate of tax on petrol was enhanced to six annas per gallon. This tax amounted

¹ See the Act in the *Fort St. George Gazette*.

² G.O. No. 20, Revenue, dated 6th January 1947.

³ G.O. No. 2563, Revenue, dated 15th September 1952.

⁴ G.O. No. 265, Revenue, dated 16th March 1943.

⁵ G.O. No. 111, Legal, dated 21st March 1939.

⁶ G.O. No. 2090, Revenue, dated 6th September 1947.

⁷ G.O. No. 2228, Revenue, dated 4th August 1959

to Rs. 91,17,933 in the State, South Arcot contributing Rs. 3,03,046.¹

The revenue realised from these new taxes being very considerable, a new department, called the Commercial Taxes Department, was organised to administer them. The general sales tax was from the very beginning administered by this department². A notable feature in the administration of this Act was the constitution of the Sales Tax Appellate Tribunal from 1951 to hear appeals against the Appellate orders of the Commercial Tax Officers and the *suo motu* orders of the Deputy Commissioners of Commercial Taxes. The Sales of Motor Spirit Taxation Act was administered by the Collectors and the Entertainment Tax was administered by the municipalities in municipal areas and the Commercial Tax Department in non-municipal areas till 1943. In that year the working of these two Acts was also placed entirely under the Commercial Tax Department³. This department is under a Commissioner of Commercial Taxes who is a Member of the Board of Revenue and there are three Deputy Commissioners, a number of Commercial Tax Officers, Deputy Commercial Tax Officers and Assistant Commercial Tax Officers under him. There is a Commercial Tax Officer in South Arcot with his headquarters at Cuddalore (Gudalur).

The other revenues administered by the State Government are registration fees and stamp revenue. The history of registration fees and revenue from judicial stamps has already been indicated in the Chapter on Law and Order. The revenue from registration fees amounted to Rs. 80.59 lakhs in the State and Rs. 3,53,913 in the district in 1951-1952⁴. In the same year, the revenue from judicial stamps amounted to Rs. 1,72,40,605 in the State and Rs. 5,78,406 in the district⁵. The law relating to non-judicial stamps is contained in India Act II of 1899 (Stamp Act) as amended by the Madras Acts VI of 1922, VI of 1923, XIII of 1924, VI of 1950, XXV of 1950 and XIV of 1951. The Stamp Act imposes duties on commercial transactions recorded in writing, such as conveyances, bonds, cheques, bills of exchange and the like. The revenue from non-judicial stamps amounted to Rs. 5,47,90,249 in the State and Rs. 22,47,357 in the district in 1951-1952⁶. The administration of the stamp revenue is vested in the Board of Revenue. The management of the stamp revenue in the district is vested in the Collector of the district.

¹ G.O. No. 2162, Revenue, dated 14th August 1951.

² G.O. No. 338, Revenue, dated 12th February 1941.

³ G.O. No. 205, Revenue, dated 16th March 1943.
G.O. No. 20, Revenue, dated 6th January 1947.

⁴ G.O. No. 2651, Revenue, dated 1st October 1952.

⁵ G.O. No. 2889, Revenue, dated 30th October 1952.

⁶ *Idem*.

The revenues which were originally administered by the Madras Government and which are now administered by the Government of India are the revenues from salt, customs and income tax. Salt revenue has had a long and interesting history. From the early days of British rule till to-day salt has been a Government monopoly. This monopoly was established by Regulation I of 1805, by which the manufacture, sale, transit, export and import of salt, except on account of or with the permission of the Government were prohibited, and the assignment of proprietary right to salt pans was resumed and the occupancy tenants were only permitted to continue the manufacture of salt on condition that they handed over the whole produce to the officers of the Government, on receiving the value of their own shares on certain money rents. This system held the field for a long time, till 1876, when on the recommendation of a Government of India Commission, it was abolished and replaced by the excise system all over India. In South Arcot the new system came to be introduced only between 1883 and 1885. Under it salt was manufactured by the licensees and stored by them under the superintendence of the Government, but it could be sold by them without restrictions once they had paid the excise duty. The Government however found it necessary to control the market by maintaining some Government factories; and in these factories the Government followed the excise, the modified excise as well as the monopoly system. The modified excise system was an intermediary stage between the excise and the monopoly systems under which the Government had the power to take over salt from the licensees at a fixed rate of kudivaram whenever they required it for controlling prices.¹

A change came with the advent of the political agitation over the salt tax and the signing of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact (1931), when concessions were given to persons living in villages to collect and make salt from and in adjoining areas for domestic use and sale in their own villages². Another change came on the eve of Independence when, in 1947, the salt imported into or manufactured in India was exempted from the payment of customs as well as excise duties. The excise system of management was continued but the excise duty so abolished was now replaced by a special cess of 3½ annas per standard maund on issues of salt from factories administered by the Government and 2 annas per maund on salt issued from licensed factories in order to cover the establishment charges³. A further change came in 1948, when all small scale manufacture of salt below 10 acres in any area was made free from all restrictions on licenses, storage, transport, distribution, etc., so long as it conformed to the prescribed standard of quality⁴ and large

¹ *Report of the Madras Salt Commission, 1876.*

² *Administration Report of the Salt Department for 1930-31.*

³ *Administration Report of the Salt Commissioner for 1947-52.*

⁴ *Idem.*

scale manufacture of salt was permitted under licenses, the manufacturers being allowed free scope for expansion by assigning to them all available salt-land contiguous to their existing factories on long leases (usually 25 years leases) on payment of a royalty on production. The State lands were to be leased out by the State Government in such cases; but the licenses were to be granted by the Salt Commissioner, an Officer of the Government of India. Co-operative societies were to be given preference over individuals in the matter of assignment of land¹. The final change came in 1955 when the small scale manufacture of salt 'free of licenses' was restricted to 2½ acres instead of the 10 acres as before. This is the present position. It may be stated here that India attained self-sufficiency in salt in 1951-1952.

There are now three important salt factories in the district, all under the Salt Department, at Cuddalore (Gudalur), Manambadi and Marakkanam. The Cuddalore (Gudalur) factory is situated at the headquarters of Cuddalore (Gudalur) Circle in Cuddalore (Gudalur) Old Town. It stands on the backwaters and is about one-fourth mile from the sea-shore and a little more than a mile from the Cuddalore (Gudalur) Railway Junction. It was in existence as early as 1805 and it was managed both under the monopoly system and the excise system. The former was introduced in it in 1805 and the latter in 1885. It is still managed under the excise system but no excise duty is levied, that duty being replaced by the special cess imposed since 1957. There were in 1954, for instance, 29 licensees. The gross area of the factory is 117.61 acres, the occupied area 76.66 acres, the unoccupied area 40.65 acres and the cultivable waste 0.30 acre. The production of the factory in 1951 was 1,89,080 maunds, in 1952, 1,68,608 maunds and in 1953, 1,59,856 maunds. The salt issued from the factory in the same years was 1,97,608 maunds, 1,62,004 maunds and 1,19,490 maunds respectively. The quality of salt produced by the factory is of the prescribed standard, its sodium chloride contents being on an average 92.94 per cent. There is a licensed private factory at Panamkaducheri about two miles north of Cuddalore (Gudalur) and there are also two private factories at Kudikadu village, five miles south of Cuddalore (Gudalur)².

The Manambadi Salt Factory is located partly in Porto Novo (Parangipettai) and partly in Agaram village limits. It is divided into two parts by the Buckingham Canal. The southern boundary for both is the Vellar. The factory is subject to frequent floods, so much so, that the salinity of the soil is washed away in the season. It also suffers from a considerable amount of warmth in the pans, which causes heavy seepage of stored brine. It is 2 miles away from the Porto Novo (Parangipettai) Railway Station and is connected by metalled roads to Chidambaram,

¹ *Administration Report of the Salt Commissioner for 1947-52.*

² *Information gathered from the office of the Deputy Commissioner for Salt,*

Bhuvanagiri, Puduchatram and Cuddalore (Gudalur). It seems to have been opened in 1876 on the closure of the factories then existing in the Kille Division. It was worked under the monopoly system till 1882-1883, when it was leased to Messrs. Best & Co., for ten years under the excise system¹. After about four years, however, the lease was given up by the Company, as the factory proved unprofitable. In 1888, the factory was again brought under the monopoly system for the supply of salt to the French Government at Pondicherry (Puducherry) only to be closed again in 1891, on account of the defective brine supply, poor quality of salt produced, and the scarcity of labour. In 1892, however, Messrs. Parry and Co. took it on lease and worked it successfully till 1918, when the lease was terminated and the factory taken over by the Department². The Department worked it as a demonstration factory for three years and since then it has been leased to private individuals, under the modified excise system. The occupied area of the factory is 106.14 acres, its unoccupied area 3.60 acres and its cultivable area 82.93 acres. The production of the factory in 1953, for instance, was 66,268 maunds and its issue in the same year was 47,614 maunds. Salt produced in the factory is of standard quality, its sodium chloride contents being, on an average, 93.38 per cent³.

Marakkanam factory is situated in Marakkanam village in the Tindivanam taluk. It is 22 miles east of the Tindivanam Railway Station, and is connected by road to Madras, Tindivanam and Pondicherry (Puducherry). It was in existence in 1805, and consisted of Marakkanam, Kandadu and Karamballam pans. It was worked under the monopoly system till 1883, and thereafter under the excise system. The Kandadu pans were worked at irregular intervals and were finally abandoned in 1897⁴. The Karamballam pans ceased to be under cultivation when the excise system was introduced in the Marakkanam factory in 1883 but were reopened in 1889, under the monopoly system. In 1927 some of these pans were brought under the modified excise system, and the rest were brought under the same system only in 1951. There were 79 licensees in this factory in 1954. The occupied area of the factory is 711 acres and 79.5 cents; the unoccupied area 355 acres and 13.5 cents; and the cultivable area 711 acres and 79.5 cents. The production of the factory in 1951 was 5,52,916 maunds; in 1952, 6,60,112 maunds, and in 1953, 6,60,464 maunds. The issues of the factory during these years were, 6,55,594 maunds, 6,54,930 maunds and 5,93,194 maunds respectively. The quality of the salt produced by the factory contains on an average 93.13 per cent of sodium chloride⁵.

¹ G.O. No. 1106, Revenue, dated 11th September 1883.

² B.P.R. No. 3135, Salt, dated 6th November 1917.

³ Information gathered from the Office of the Deputy Commissioner of Salt.

⁴ G.O. No. 353, Revenue, dated 18th May 1897.

⁵ Information gathered from the office of the Deputy Commissioner of Salt.

The supply of salt to the French Settlements in India was, until the merger of these settlements with the Indian Union in 1954, regulated by a Convention between France and England, dated 7th March 1815, modified by two subsequent Conventions entered into in 1818 and 1837 between the Governments of Madras and the French possessions. The joint effect of these as far as South Arcot and Pondicherry were concerned was that the French undertook not to manufacture salt within their territories, while the Madras Government agreed to supply them with such salt as was required by them "for domestic use and consumption" at cost price which they undertook to retail "at nearly the same price" as it fetched in adjoining British territory. And, in consideration of the abstention of the French authorities from manufacture and the adoption by them of all measures within their power to prevent trade in contraband salt, the Madras Government paid them annually four lakhs of Sicca rupees (or Rs. 4,26,666-10-8), and as compensation to the proprietors of the French salt pans which were not to be worked, an additional annual sum of 4,000 star pagodas or Rs. 14,000. The salt was sent to the French Government mostly from the Karamballam pans¹. Those Conventions are no longer in force since the merger.

Salt is manufactured now in all the factories, by what is called the single irrigation method. The brine is drawn either from creeks or from pits by means of manual labour or pumps. Where manual labour is employed, the brine is lifted with the help of picotahs, a contraption which consists of a counterpoised long wooden beam with a leather bucket attached to one end. Where sea brine is used, it is first let into a reservoir from which it flows by gravity into the condensers. In the case of pit brine, however, the brine is charged directly into the condensers. In the condenser the brine is allowed to concentrate to 12° to 15° Beaume before it is fed into the crystallisers. Most of the works are laid out in such a manner that a condenser adjoins a crystalliser or a set of two or three crystallisers. The total area of the condenser is almost the same as the crystallisers, although in some places its individual size varies depending upon the number of crystallisers it feeds. The condenser is generally known as the male pan, while the crystalliser is called the female pan. The size of the crystallisers varies from 30 feet X 15 feet to 15 feet X 10 feet. The salt is scraped off when it forms a one-fourth inch to half an inch crust every third or fifth day, depending on the season. The bitters are only occasionally eliminated and no separate channels are provided for them. They are usually thrown on the bunds of the crystallisers where they are allowed to dry up. Even where separate bitter channels are provided, the bitters partly soak into the soil and partly dry up, there being

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District by W. Francis, Vol. I, 1906, page 236.*

no proper outlet for them. The dry residue of the bitters is often taken out and used for consolidating the ridges and bunds of the crystallisers with the result that the bitters find their way back into the crystallisers and thus contaminate the salt produced¹. The chief markets for the salt produced in the factories are South Arcot, North Arcot, Tiruchirappalli and Salem districts. In 1946, before the excise duty on salt was abolished, it fetched a revenue of Rs. 7,31,250. In 1953, the special cess (which replaced the excise duty), brought in a revenue of Rs. 1,93,940².

There have been several changes in the administration of the Salt Department. In 1805 when the salt monopoly was introduced, the Collector of South Arcot began to administer the revenue under an Agent appointed for the State. In 1808 the post of the Agent was abolished and his duties were entrusted to the Board of Revenue³. In 1878, a Commissioner of Salt was appointed, assisted by two Deputy Commissioners and several Assistant Commissioners. The duties of the Collector now came to be exercised by an Assistant Commissioner⁴. In 1881-1884, the districts in the State were grouped into seven divisions and each division was placed under an Assistant Commissioner and the factories was placed in charge of Inspectors⁵. In 1884, the Commissioner of Salt Revenue came to exercise supervision over the abkari revenue of the State as well and was empowered to employ the salt revenue staff on abkari duties. The department then came to be called the Department of Salt and Abkari Revenue and the Commissioner was, for abkari purposes, appointed an additional member of the Board of Revenue⁶. In 1886, he became one of the ordinary Members of the Board, his designation being changed to the Commissioner of Salt, Abkari and Separate Revenue⁷. In 1900, the Customs Department was amalgamated with the Salt and Abkari Department⁸. In 1910, it was however separated and placed under a separate officer called the Collector of Customs. In 1924, the Fisheries Department took over the control of the fish-curing yards from the Salt Department⁹. Meanwhile, by the Reforms of 1919, salt having become a central subject, the control over the Salt Department was, in 1925, transferred from the Madras Government to the Government of India

¹ *Reports of the Salt Experts Committee*, 1948, pages 215-216.

² Information gathered from the Office of the Deputy Commissioner of Salt.

³ *Report of the Madras Salt Commission*, 1876, paragraphs 13 to 17.

⁴ *Administration Report of the Salt Department for 1878-79*.

⁵ *Idem*, for 1880-81.

⁶ *Idem*, for 1884-85.

⁷ *Idem*, for 1887-88.

⁸ *Idem*, for 1900-1901.

⁹ *Idem*, for 1909-10.

¹⁰ *Idem*, for 1928-24.

with effect from 1926 and the duties of the Board of Revenue in regard to the salt administration were transferred to the Collector of Salt Revenue¹. In 1932, as a measure of retrenchment, the post of the Collector of Salt Revenue was merged with that of the Collector of Customs only to be revived in 1936². The post of the Collector of Salt Revenue was subsequently changed to that of the Deputy Controller of Salt and the latter post was amalgamated with that of the Collector of Central Excise. In 1947 the Salt Department in the State was placed under a Deputy Salt Commissioner and under him were placed two Assistant Commissioners, one with headquarters at Tuticorin and the other with headquarters at Kakinada³. The Assistant Commissioner of Tuticorin has now under him three Superintendents one of whom has his headquarters at Cuddalore (Gudalur). This Superintendent has jurisdiction over the South Arcot factories. The Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Marakkanam factories are each under a Deputy Superintendent, while the Manambadi factory is under an Inspector⁴.

In olden days land customs were levied in this as in other districts on all sorts of merchandise. There were numerous chowkis or customs houses both in the pre-British and in the early British period. In the early British period the right to collect the duties was leased out in the district to a few farmers of revenue who, in turn, sublet them to numerous under-farmers. As the collection of these duties hampered trade and led to a great deal of corruption and oppression, they were abolished throughout the State in 1844. Thereafter, the inland duties in the district were collected only on trade by land with the French Settlement of Pondicherry (Puducherry); and these were abolished only after the merger of the French Settlements with the Indian territories.

The story of these revenues is this. After the restoration of Pondicherry in 1816, import and export duties were levied on all articles of merchandise imported into, or exported from, British territory. In 1817 a concession was however granted by which free export of rice to the French Settlement by land was permitted as a temporary measure, subject to the condition that such rice was not to be exported by sea to foreign countries. After the passing of the Land Customs Act of 1844 this privilege was continued on the French Government guaranteeing to pay export duty to the British on all paddy and rice exported by sea to foreign countries from the Settlement. As a result of this six land customs stations were established on the Pondicherry (Puducherry) frontier for the collection of customs duty. In 1881 a chowki was opened at the Pondicherry (Puducherry) railway station with the consent of the French Government. From July 1882 customs duties were

¹ *Administration Report of the Salt Department for 1924-26.*

² *Idem*, for 1931-1932 and for 1935-36.

³ *Reports of the Salt Commissioner for 1947-51.*

⁴ Information gathered from the office of the Deputy Commissioner of Salt.

abolished on all articles of merchandise except liquors, salt, salted fish and opium, and some of the chowkis were closed; but in 1892 the number of chowkis on the frontier was again increased. In 1894, with the passing of the Indian Tariff Act, the customs duties on general goods were again re-imposed. In 1912 and 1913 still more chowkis were added on the frontier. The imposition of high rates of customs duties which became the general feature of the period after the 1914-1948 was increased smuggling and lead to the passing of the Land Customs Act of 1924. This Act was amended by the Land Customs Amendment Act of 1931 which was designed to strengthen further the protection against smuggling by providing in addition to fine, a penalty of imprisonment for six months for the offence of smuggling prohibited goods across a frontier.

Before the merger of the French territories there were 10 land customs stations or chowkis on the Pondicherry (Puducherry) frontier; they were situated at Kottakuppam, Murratandichavadi, Valudavur, Kandappachavadi, Pallinelianur, Kandamangalam, Nallathur, Thukanambakkam, Madalappatu and Chinnababusamudram. There was also a searching station at Gangakuppam and a chowki at Pondicherry (Puducherry). Besides these stations there were several out-gates to prevent smuggling and to see that traffic passed only along the established routes¹. Under the Customs Union Agreement between the British India and the French India Governments the land customs cordon was lifted on 15th February 1941 and the out-port of Pondicherry (Puducherry) came under the control of the British Indian Customs authorities. This arrangement continued till 31st March 1949 when the land customs cordon was re-introduced on the termination of the agreements. All the chowkis and out-gates were however closed after the land customs were abolished, consequent on the merger, with effect from 10th January 1955². In 1953-1954, just before their abolition the land customs revenue amounted to Rs. 94,870.

As to the sea customs they have been collected from the early days of British rule down to the present under the laws and regulations passed from time to time. The two ports of the district, Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Porto Novo (Parangipettai) are open to foreign trade. The trade of Porto Novo (Parangipettai) has now very much dwindled. In 1953-1954, the Cuddalore (Gudalur) port brought in customs revenue amounting to Rs. 1,33,257, while the Porto Novo (Parangipettai) brought in only Rs. 569³.

¹ *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District*, Vol. II, 1932, pages li-liv

² *Administration Report on Customs out-ports*, Madras Central Excise Collectorate, 1955-56.

³ Information collected from the office of the Collector of Customs.

For a long time both the land and sea customs were administered by the Madras Government. For several years the collection of land customs was in the hands of Land Revenue Officers, while the duty of guarding the frontiers and preventing smuggling was entrusted to the Police Officers. In 1890, the preventive establishments of the frontiers were transferred to the control of the Department of Salt, Abkari and Separate Revenue and in 1900 this transfer was completed by merging the chowki staff with the staff of that department. In 1910, the land customs stations as well as the sub-ports in the State were placed under the control of the Collector of Customs, Madras. He worked under the Board of Revenue. With the passing of the Central Board of Revenue Act, 1924 and the Land Customs Act 1924, the administration and control of both the sea and land customs was transferred from the Madras Board of Revenue to the Central Board of Revenue, which was constituted the chief customs authority for the whole of British India¹. The administration of the customs revenue is still under the Central Board of Revenue. Under this Central Board, the Collector of Customs still continues to administer the sea customs; but, so far as the land customs and out-posts were concerned, they were administered by him till 1936 when they were transferred to the Salt Department and then to the Collector of Central Excise in 1949. As has been stated already, there are no land customs at present.

Income tax was first imposed in India in 1860 in order to meet the financial dislocation caused by the Mutiny. It was levied at the rate of 4 per cent on all income of Rs. 500 and upwards. Since then many changes have been made in the system from time to time. According to the present schedule the first Rs. 4,200 are exempted. In the case of incomes exceeding this amount the tax is levied as follows. On the first Rs. 1,000 in the case of an unmarried person and Rs. 2,000 in the case of a married person, nil; on the next Rs. 4,000 in the case of an unmarried person and Rs. 2,000 in the case of a married person, at 9 pies in the rupee; on the next Rs. 2,500 in both the cases one anna and nine pies in the rupee; on the next Rs. 2,500 at two annas and three pies in the rupee; on the next Rs. 5,000 at three annas and three pies in the rupee; and on the balance at four annas in the rupee. A surcharge of 1/20th of the basic tax is also levied on incomes exceeding Rs. 7,200. In addition a super tax is likewise levied on high incomes, i.e., over Rs. 20,000. Originally the administration of the department was vested in the State Government and was carried on by the Board of Revenue and the Collectors of the districts, assisted first by the ordinary revenue staff and later by Special Deputy Collectors, Tahsildars, Assistant Tahsildars and Inspectors². In 1922, a Chief Commissioner who was a Member

¹ *Madras Land Customs Manual*, 1935.

² G.O. No. 275-276, Finance (Separate Revenue), dated 18th November 1921.

of the Board of Revenue, four Assistant Commissioner, and many Assessors and investigating officers called Surveyors came to be appointed. South Arcot was then placed under the Assistant Commissioner, Central Range. Subsequently, as a result of the 1919 Reforms, the administration of the department was taken over by the Government of India and their own officers.

The district now forms one circle for income tax purposes and is in charge of an Income Tax Officer who has his headquarters at Cuddalore (Gudalur). He is assisted by an Additional Income Tax Officer. The Income Tax Officer has jurisdiction over the Chidambaram and Cuddalore (Gudalur) taluks excluding Cuddalore (Gudalur) Old Town while the Additional Income Tax Officer has jurisdiction over the remainder of the district. The number of assesseees in the district in 1955-1956 was 1865 and the amount of demand was Rs. 8,32,508. The district, as has already been seen, is mostly an agricultural one with very few large scale industries. The principal trades, professions and industries which contribute the tax are handlooms (lungies), arecanuts, groceries, money-lending, pawnbroking, manufacture of groundnut oil, bus service and petrol agencies¹.

Since 1953 the Estate Duty has been introduced into the district. It is levied in accordance with the Estate Duty Act of 1953 (India Act XXXIV of 1953) on the capital value of all property, real or personal, settled or not settled, which passes or is deemed to pass, on the death of any person. In the case of a property which consists of an interest in the joint family property of a Hindu family it is levied as follows. On the first Rs. 50,000 nil; on the next Rs. 50,000 at 5 per cent; on the next Rs. 50,000 at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; on the next Rs. 50,000 at 10 per cent; on the next Rs. 1,00,000 at $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; on the next Rs. 2,00,000 at 15 per cent; on the next Rs. 5,00,000 at 20 per cent; on the next Rs. 10,00,000 at 25 per cent; on the next Rs. 10,00,000 at 30 per cent; on the next Rs. 20,00,000 at 35 per cent; and, on the balance of the principal value of the estate at 40 per cent. In the case of property of any other kind, it is levied as follows. On the first Rs. 1,00,000 of the principal value of the estate nil; on the next Rs. 50,000 at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; on the next Rs. 50,000 at 10 per cent; on the next Rs. 1,00,000 at $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; on the next Rs. 2,00,000 at 15 per cent; on the next Rs. 5,00,000 at 20 per cent; on the next Rs. 10,00,000 at 30 per cent; on the next Rs. 20,00,000 at 35 per cent; and on the balance of the principal value of the estate at 40 per cent. In the case of shares held by a deceased member, however, it is levied thus: if the principal value of the estate held does not exceed Rs. 5,000, nil, and, if the principal value exceeds Rs. 5,000 at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

¹ Administration Report of the Income Tax Officer, Cuddalore Circle, 1955-56.

CHAPTER XVII

GAZETTEER.

CHIDAMBARAM TALUK

Chidambaram taluk lies in the south-east corner of the district on the shore of the Bay of Bengal. It is 404 square miles in extent and has a population of 3,89,002. In many ways it stands apart from all the other taluks of the district and resembles the delta taluks of Tanjore district. It has a heavier rainfall than the other taluks. It is a level plain sloping gently to the sea mostly covered with black alluvial soil. Nearly the whole of this alluvial area is one great paddy swamp watered by the net work of channels which take off from the Lower Anicut across the Coleroon and the Shattatope Anicut on the Vellar. The places of historical or antiquarian interest in the taluk are described below.

Bhuvanagiri (population 10,287) lies four miles north-west of Chidambaram and close to the Vellar which here runs in a deep bed between steep banks which are almost cliffs. During the Anglo-French wars of the eighteenth century it was used by the English as a grain depot and was protected by a small fort of which no traces now remain. In 1753 the Marathas took it, but it was retaken by the English immediately. The village is now a centre of trade with well-attended weekly fair.

Chidambaram (population 34,732) is the headquarters of the taluk and is famous for its temple of Siva which is one of the largest most ancient and most sacred of the temples in South India. This temple covers an area of not less than 39 acres and is built almost entirely with granite which must have been brought from a great distance, the nearest quarry being 40 miles away across the Vellar. It must have been no easy task in those days of poor roads and primitive vehicles to transport all this stone, especially the large blocks, some of which were no less than thirty feet long and three feet square. The main buildings are enclosed within two high walls faced with dressed granite. Outside these run four "car streets" sixty feet wide which are said to cover the site which formerly occupied the ditch surrounding the fortified walls. Between the walls are numerous flower gardens and coconut topes. Through both walls run four main entrances facing the four points of the compass. Above the entrances in the inner wall are four great gopurams (towers) embellished with numerous sculptures representing religious scenes. The gopuram over the northern entrance bears an inscription which shows that it was built by Krishna Deva Raya, the greatest of the Vijayanagar Kings (1509-1530). The eastern gopuram bears inscriptions of Sundara Pandya Deva of

Madurai, who ascended the throne in 1251 and is, therefore, older than the northern one. Of the other two gopurams the one on the west was built by Kopperunjinga, the Pallava King whose capital was at Sendamangalam in the South Arcot district. The southern gopuram is supposed to have been built by one of the Chola Kings. These gopurams, the tallest of which is 157 feet above sea level and therefore about 140 feet above the ground, are visible even from the sea and they and the lights which are lit on them on holy days are well-known landmarks for mariners. The lower portions of the gopurams which are built entirely of stone are decorated with little panels containing dancing figures.

Within the inner wall is a great space 300 yards long and 250 yards wide mostly paved with stone slabs in which stand the various shrines and other buildings. Entering by the southern gate one sees first a big 'Nandi' or sacred bull. To the west of this is a shrine to Ganapathi in which the stone carving is good. Further north close under the west wall, is the shrine of the goddess Parvathi. From the steps of this temple can be obtained a good general view of the various buildings in the enclosure. To the east is the great Sivaganga tank revetted on all sides with stone and surrounded by a pillared cloister. Beyond it is the thousand-pillared mantapam. To the south stands the inner wall round the central shrine and on all four sides the great gopurams round off the scene. Though the Chidambaram temple, like many other temples in South India, has "grown by accident rather than design" and its various buildings are not parts of any one general scheme, the effect from this point is very striking. About the shrine of the goddess, Mr. Fergusson in his *Indian Architecture* says as follows :--

"It is principally remarkable for its porch, which is of singular elegance. The outer aisles are 6 feet in width, the next 8 feet, but the architect reserved all his power for the central aisle which measures 21 feet 6 inches in width, making the whole 50 feet or thereabouts. In order to hoof this without employing stones of such dimensions as would crush the supports, recourse was had to vaulting, or rather bracketing shafts, and these brackets were again tied together by transverse purlins, all in stone, and the system was continued till the width was reduced to a dimension that could easily be spanned. As the whole is enclosed in a court surrounded by galleries, two storeys in height, the effect of the whole is singularly pleasing."

From the top of one of the pillars of the aisle hangs a chain of several movable links cut from one piece of stone. In a corner of the court is a well lined with circular rings of stone about 4 feet in outer diameter, each cut from a single slab.

North of the shrine of the goddess stands the temple of Subrahmanya. This is called the Pandyanayaka Kovil. It is supported on a number of pillars the design of which resembles that of the piers in the Nritta Sabha referred to later.

On the far side of the Sivaganga tank already mentioned is the thousand-pillared mantapam which is some 340 feet by 180 feet. It is one of the five sabhas or halls of the temple which are frequently mentioned, and is called the Raja Sabha or hall of State. Mr. Fergusson says of it, "the pillars are arranged twenty-four in front by forty-one in depth, making 984, but in order to get a central space, four in the porch, then twenty-eight, then two, and again twenty-four, have been omitted, altogether fifty-eight; but, on the other hand, those of the external portico must be added, which nearly balances the loss, and makes up the 1,000. It must be confessed this forest of granite pillars, each of a single stone, and all more or less carved and ornamented, does produce a certain grandeur of effect, but the want of design in the arrangement and of subordination of parts detract painfully from the effect that might have been produced. Leaving out the pillars in the centre is the one redeeming feature and that could easily have been effected without the brick vaults, formed of radiating arches which are employed here—a certain proof of the modern age of the building. These vaults are certainly integral, and as certainly could not have been employed till after the Muhammadans had settled in the south, and taught the Hindus how to use them. . . . The hall was almost certainly erected between 1595 and 1685, at which time, we learn from the Mackenzie Manuscripts, the kings of the locality made many donations to the fane."

The inner enclosure is the most sacred and historically the most important part of the whole temple. It contains the remaining four of the five Sabhas already mentioned, namely, the Deva Sabha where the Dikshitaras, the managers of the temple, hold their committee meetings; the Chit Sabha (or Chit Ambalam, whence the name of the temple) meaning the hall of wisdom, the Kanaka Sabha or golden hall and the Nritha Sabha or hall of the dance. The Chit Sabha or Central shrine is a plain wooden building standing on a stone basement. Siva is worshipped in it in his form of Nataraja or God of the Dance. Behind it is the deity's bedroom, an erection of polished black stone. The part of the roof of the shrine which is immediately over the deity's head is plated with gold. The Lingam of the temple is supposed to be the Akasa (space) Lingam, one of the five Lingams of the elements, and is therefore invisible. It is known as the Chidambara Rahasyam or secret of Chidambaram. It is situated behind the idol and a curtain and a long string of golden bilva leaves are suspended in front of it.

The Kanaka Sabha is also of wood and is roofed with plates of copper. Within it is performed the daily worship to the God in the Chit Sabha in front of which it stands.

The Nritha Sabha or hall of the dance is considered to be the most beautiful and the most interesting part of the temple. It consists of a mantapam, adorned with wheels and prancing horses on either side to represent a temple car, and supported by 56 pillars about eight feet high and most delicately carved from top to bottom

resting on a stylobate ornamented with dancing figures which Mr. Fergusson described as more graceful and more elegantly executed than any others of their class in Southern India.

The great interest of the Sabha is its connection with the legend regarding the foundation of the temple. Chidambaram, says the story, was once a forest of tillai (*Excoecaria agallocha*) trees—the town is in consequence called Tillai in ancient literature—in which was a shrine to Siva (the original oldest shrine above mentioned) and another to the Goddess Kali which was built where the Nritta Sabha now stands. Siva came down to his shrine to manifest himself to two very fervent devotees there, and Kali objected to his trespassing on her domains. They eventually agreed to settle the matter by seeing which could dance the better, it being arranged that the vanquished party should leave the place in the undisputed possession of the other. Vishnu acted as the umpire at the competition and for a long time the honours were divided. At length Vishnu suggested to Siva that he should do his well-known steps in which he danced with one leg above his head. Kali was unable to imitate or surpass this style of dancing, Siva was proclaimed the victor and Kali departed outside the town where her temple is still to be seen and has given rise to the proverb Tillai Kali Ellaikkappale (Chidambaram Kali is beyond the boundary). On a stone slab in a little shrine within the Nritta Sabha is a representation of the closing scene in the competition and this dance has given its name to the sabha. This dance is called Urdhava Tandavam which is different from the Anand Tandavam of Nataraja in Chit Sabha.

An interesting feature about the temple is its system of management. It has no landed or other endowments nor any *tasdik* allowance, and is the property of a class of Brahmins called *Dikshitar*s (those who make oblations) peculiar to the town who are held in great respect. They wear their tuft of hair in front like the Nayars and Tiyars of Malabar and marry only among themselves. Their ritual in the temple resembles domestic worship rather than that which is followed in other large temples. They are sometimes called the "Tillai Muvayirattar" or the three thousand men of Tillai, the legend being that 3,000 of them came to Chidambaram from Banaras. On arriving there, says the story, one of them was found missing and while a search was being made for him a voice from the skies announced that the God himself was the missing one. Theoretically all the married males of the *Dikshitar*s have a voice in the management of the temple and a share in its perquisites. They go round the southern districts soliciting alms and offerings for themselves. Each one has his own clientele and in return for the alms received he makes, on his return, offerings at the shrine in the name of his benefactors and sends them now and again some holy ashes or an invitation to a festival. Twenty of the *Dikshitar*s are always on duty in the temple, all the males

of the community (except boys and widowers) doing the work by turns lasting twenty days each until each one has gone the round of all the different shrines. The twenty divide themselves into five parties of four each, each of which is on duty for four days at one of the five shrines at which daily puja is made, sleeps there at night and becomes the owner of the routine offerings of food made at it. Large presents of food made to the temple as a whole are divided among all the Dikshitaras. The right to the other oblations is sold by auction every twenty days to one of the Dikshitaras at a meeting of the community. These periodical meetings take place in the Deva Sabha mentioned above. A lamp from Nataraja's shrine is brought and placed there by a Pandaram who acts as president of the meeting and proposals are made impersonally through him, so as to avoid even the appearance of any deviation from the principle of the absolute equality of the Dikshitaras in the management of the temple.

The age of the oldest part of the temple is not a matter on which it is easy to dogmatise. The legend goes that the building was founded by a Swetavarma Chakravarthi (white-bodied king) in the sixth century A.D. in gratitude for the cure of his leprosy which was effected by a bath in the Sivaganga tank and after which he became known as Hiranyavarma or the golden-bodied. The work called Kongudesa Rajakkal or Chronicle of the Kongu country (a work of doubtful veracity) says that Vira Chola Raya, a king of the Chera and Karnataka countries, who ruled between 927 and 977 expended great sums of money in building the Kanaka Sabha and that his son Ari Vari Deva (1004) added gopurams, enclosures, shrines and sabhas and gave many jewels to the deity. Mr. Fergusson judging from the architectural evidence, doubts whether any part of the temple is older than the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The walls of the two innermost squares of the temple are of Chola origin, for, in a number of inscriptions relating to the Chola period the walls are designated "Vikrama Cholan Tirumaligai" and "Kulothunga Cholan Tirumaligai". There are numerous inscriptions on these walls relating to gifts of land, jewels, money, etc., to the temple, but none of them shows when the temple was founded. There is, however, some evidence in the eastern inscriptions to show that the Mulasthaneswara shrine close to the Deva Sabha is the oldest building. One of the inscriptions shows that Vikrama Chola built portions of the temple in 1128. He is also said to have covered with fine gold the enclosure, the gopurams, the halls and the buildings surrounding Kanaka Sabha. Several inscriptions relate to Kopperunjinga contemporary of the Chola King Rajaraja III. One of his subordinates named Perumal Pillai, or Solakon, also figures largely in the inscriptions. The thousand-pillared mantapam is stated to have been built by a king named Naralokavira who is identified as Parakrama Pandya of the thirteenth century. The Vijayanagar kings made some additions. After their time no additions or alterations seem to have been made until towards the close of the last century when the Nattukottai

Chettiyars took up the work of renovation on a large scale with the aid of a special fund formed by the members of their community for this and similar purposes by the levy of a fee or four annas on every hundred rupees from all persons who borrow money from them.

Although there is no definite evidence about the age of the temple, it must have existed prior to the ninth century A.D. if not earlier. Manickavachakar refers in his poems to the Chit Ambalam and Ponnambalain and the God who presides over Tillai. The temple seems to have been a centre of pilgrimage even in his time. It was at Chidambaram that Manickavachakar had the greatest triumph of his life when at the request of the three thousand of Tillai he came there from his place of meditation at Pichavaram, a little to the south-east, and refuted the Ceylon Buddhists who had come to the town to overthrow the worship of Siva. His hymn connected with his victory is even now sung in the temple on the anniversary of the event. It was here also that his hymns were taken down from his lips and once a year the God is taken to the spot to the north of the temple where this was done. Finally it was here that he obtained final beatitude. Tirugnana Sambandar, Appar and Sundarar also visited this temple and sang its praises in their sacred poems.

There are other sacred spots in Chidambaram besides the temple of Nataraja. The Homakulam tank is reputed to be the place where Nandanar, the Harijan saint, bathed before he performed the sacrifice preparatory to his transfiguration to Brahminhood. The temple of Ilamaiyakkinar is connected with the well-known story of Tiru Nilakanta Nayanar. The Vaishnavite shrine of Govindaraja swami which stands in front of Nataraja's shrine was the subject of a protracted dispute and litigation. Inscriptions show that this temple has stood there from the middle of the sixteenth century. There are also references to this shrine in certain poems of Kula-sekhara and Tirumangai Alvars and in one of the poems of Manickavachakar. The Chola King Kulothunga II (1136-1150) who was an ardent Saivite is stated to have removed the idol in it and thrown it into the sea, whereupon Sri Ramanuja, who was his contemporary, carried it to Tirupati and installed it in a temple at the foot of the hill there. The metal idol used in processions was also taken to Tirupati. But the massive idol of stone representing Vishnu in a recumbent posture seems to have been allowed to remain somewhere on the precincts. During the fourteenth century Gopanyaya and Kampana of Vijayanagar drove out the Muslims from the south and restored the worship in several temples and at this time Vedanta Desikar, the Vaishnavite apostle, is said to have set up worship in the Govindaraja temple again. Achutha Raya is stated to have established the Vaikanasa form of worship in it. Later, in order to build a Vimana in front of the shrine, part of an old Chola wall was demolished. Krishnappa Nayaka of Gingee (Senji) also carried out certain improvements to the temple in 1594, although

the Dikshitar protested against it and some of them actually killed themselves by falling down from the top of one of its towers. The shrine seems to have in the subsequent period been closed down, evidently on account of the opposition of the Dikshitar, for a parwana of the Nawab of Arcot issued at the close of the eighteenth century ordered the reopening of the shrine which had been closed on account of disputes. When the Nattukottai Chettiyars took up the renovation of the Nataraja temple, the trustees of the Govindaraja temple objected to the construction of a covered cloister which was being put up round Nataraja's shrine. The matter was taken to the courts several times but was settled finally by renovations being executed to both the shrines.

During the Anglo-French wars of the eighteenth century the Chidambaram temple, like several other temples in the district, was formed into a fort and was the scene of some fighting. In 1753 the French and the Marathas captured it from an English detachment which was stationed there. In 1760 it was retaken by the English. In 1780, Hyder Ali's troops occupied the town and temple. Sir Eyre Coote thereupon marched against Chidambaram. He cleared Hyder's troops from the town and forced them to take refuge in the temple. The English effected a breach in one of the gates and entered the temple in large numbers when by accident some straw became ignited and set fire to their clothes and forced them to withdraw in confusion with the loss of a large number of men.

For the pilgrims visiting the place, there are numerous chatrams. To the east of the town is situated the Annamalai University, a monument to the munificence of the late Raja Annamalai Chettiar. The place where it is situated is named Annamalainagar after its founder. It imparts instruction in different branches of learning such as arts, science, music, oriental languages and Engineering.

Erumbur (population 1,531), 16 miles from Chidambaram on the road to Vriddhachalam contains an ancient Siva temple dedicated to Kadambavaneswara. The latter which is in ruins appears to have been a famous temple in ancient days. The inscriptions found in it relate to the Chola Kings Parantaka I and Rajaraja I and II. Tatvarayasami, a great exponent of the Advaita School of Philosophy, who lived about 1,000 years ago, lies buried to the east of the temple in full view of the deity. His tomb remained forgotten until it was discovered about the end of the last century through his works in Tamil. A temple which has been built over it attracts numerous devotees.

Kunjimedu (population 572), standing on the bank of the Coleroon (Kollidam), six miles south by east of Mannargudi, is regarded as the birth place of Purnayya, the famous Minister of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan. It is stated that his father and mother who were Brahmins of Seringapatam, being without children, set out on a pilgrimage to Rameswaram. On the way,

they halted at Kunjimedu, the Brahmins of which place were so impressed with the father's learning that they invited him to come and reside among them on his return. He did so and they gave him a house and some land, the village having been a shrotriem which had been granted in 1681 by the King of Bijapur to a colony of Brahmins. Not long afterwards Purnayya was born to the couple. He was educated at Kumbakonam and afterwards entered the service of the Mysore King.

Mannargudi (population 10,270), situated two miles from the southern end of the bund of the great Viranam tank, is said to have been founded by one Viranarayana after whom the tank is named. It is sometimes called Kattu Mannargudi to distinguish it from Mannargudi in Tanjore, which, to avoid confusion, is known as Raja Mannargudi. There is a Vaishnavite temple here with a local repute for sanctity. The village is said to have been the birth place of the Vaishnava saints Nadamunigal and Alavandar who lived in the tenth and eleventh centuries respectively. They were grandfather and grandson and have small shrines dedicated to them within the temple compound. Nathamunigal is said to have rescued portions of the Tiruvaimozhi from being lost to posterity and was a person of great piety. There is the following legend about him. One day when he was absent from home, a person appeared before his daughter, armed with a bow and arrows and followed by a woman, by another person who looked like his brother and by a monkey. The daughter sent them away saying that her father was not at home. When Nathamunigal returned and learnt what had happened he knew that they were Rama, Sita, Lakshmana and Hanuman and ran after them in the direction in which they had disappeared until he fell down exhausted at a place called Guruvalappan Kovil near Gangaikondacholapuram in the Tiruchirappalli district. Vishnu is then said to have appeared before him riding on Garuda. There is a temple of Rama at this spot. Remarkable stories are told of the learning and occult powers of Alavandar and the origin of his name, which means one who came to rule, is accounted for thus. The Chola king whose capital was at Gangaikondacholapuram promised half his kingdom to anyone who answered four questions put by him, but no one answered them until the young grandson of Nathamunigal came forward and answered them all to the satisfaction of the king and the queen. The latter thereupon took the boy's hand saying, "He has come to rule" and the boy was thereafter called Alavandar.

Palaiyamkottai (population 2,941), five miles east-south-east of Srimushnam near the great Viranam tank formed part of the old jaghir of Sankarapuram granted by the Nawab of Arcot to his minister in 1789. To the west of the village are the ruins of an old mud fort which figured in the former wars of the district. In 1694 when Zulfikar Khan, the General of Aurangzeb, was besieging the Maratha Chief, Rama Raja, in Gingee (Senji) he

threatened Shahji, the Maratha King of Tanjore, and was bought off by the latter by the payment of a large sum of money and the cession of the Palaiyamkottai fort which Rama Raja had pledged to him. When Rama Raja heard this, he seized the fort and defied Zulfikar Khan, but the latter captured it after a few days siege. During the Anglo-French wars of the eighteenth century, the French attacked the fort several times but were unable to capture it. They, however, took the Pettah outside it and collected the revenue of the lands dependant on the fort which was then an appanage of the Nawab of Cuddapah and was commanded by one of his relatives.

Porto Novo (Parangipettai) (population 15,084), situated on the north bank of the mouth of the Vellar was apparently given its name by the Portuguese who were the earliest European settlers there. The town is called Parangipettai (European town). Muslims call it Muhammad Bandar. In ancient times it seems to have been known as Krishnapuri and had a fort with a ditch the site of which is still pointed out as " Kottai-ar ". The place seems to have been first occupied by the Portuguese about the end of the sixteenth century. They were followed by the Dutch who obtained a cove from the Bijapur Governor of Gingee (Senji) in 1643, quitted the place in 1678, returned in 1680 and thenceforth maintained an establishment of greater or less importance until 1825. The Porto Novo (Parangipettai) pagodas which they coined were well known. The ground on which they washed and dried their fabrics for export is still called Vannappalayam (Washermen's hamlet) and, in their old cemetery called Ollander Thottam (Hollander's garden) by the people, lie buried in two massive tombs ornamented with elaborate armorial bearings some individuals of their nation in 1730 and 1737. In 1740 their factory was sacked by the Marathas who carried away plunder estimated at a lakh of pagodas. In 1745 the Dutch transferred to Porto Novo (Parangipettai) their factories at Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Fort St. David and thenceforth the town became their only important establishment in the district. In 1778 Hyder Ali sacked the settlement and captured its Resident. In 1781, war having broken out between the English and the Dutch, the former seized the Dutch factories all along the coast including Porto Novo (Parangipettai). In 1785, the place was restored. In 1795, it was again taken and was restored only in 1818. Finally in 1824 it was handed over to the English along with the other Dutch possessions in India.

The Danes also had a factory at Porto Novo (Parangipettai) which stood on the river bank on a site granted by the Nawab of Arcot on payment of a nazzar of 81 pagodas. The English opened a factory there for the first time in 1683, but in 1688 removed it to Kunjimedu. Later on a minor agency was reopened and continued to exist till the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1749 Chanda Sahib gave the town to Madame Dupleix. In 1760 Byre Coote drove the French out of the place after his victory over them

at Wandiwash. Hyder Ali in his raid of 1780 devastated it. In 1781 was fought the decisive battle of Porto Novo (Parangipettai). Hearing that Eyre Coote was at the place landing some battering cannon sent from Cuddalore (Gudalur), Hyder marched up from the south covering 70 miles in two days and on the night of 27th June 1781 reached Motapalayam, four miles west of Porto Novo (Parangipettai). Here was fought, four days later, the battle from which Hyder Ali was forced to retreat. In 1782, the French and Hyder used Porto Novo (Parangipettai) as a base for their joint attacks on Cuddalore (Gudalur). In 1785, the town was restored to the English by the treaty of Versailles.

The town has a large Muslim population engaged mostly in sea trade. There are several tombs of saints. The most popular of these is that of a person called Malumiyar who was evidently a sea-captain. Legend says that he owned ten or twelve ships and that he used to appear in command of all of them simultaneously. Sailors setting out on a voyage or returning from one in safety usually make an offering at his darga. Another curious darga is that of Araikasu Nachiyar or the "one-pie lady". Offerings made at her darga should not exceed one pie in value. As it is difficult to get any offering like sugar for such a small sum, the devotees often purchase chunam for a pie and smear the walls of the darga with it. Behind the chief mosque of the town are two tombs which stand at an odd angle with one another instead of being parallel as usual. Legend says that once upon a time there was a great saint called Hafiz Mir Sahib with a devout disciple called Saiyad Shah. The latter died and was duly buried and not long after the saint died also. The disciple had always asked to be buried at the feet of his master and so the grave of the latter was placed with his feet opposite to the head of his pupil. But his spirit recognized that the pupil was really greater than the master and when men came later to see the two graves they found that the saint had turned his tomb round so that his feet no longer pointed with lack of respect towards the head of the disciple.

Srimushnam (population 6,696), situated in the north-west corner of the taluk some nineteen miles from Chidambaram is noted for its temple which is one of the eight sacred Vaishnava shrines in the south. According to the legendary account the place was the abode of Dandakeswara, son of Jilika, a sister of Hiranyaksha. God Vishnu, as is well known, took the form of a boar and killed Hiranyaksha who had carried the earth to the lower regions. Afterwards he is stated to have rested at Srimushnam. The perspiration which flowed from his body is said to have formed the sacred Nitya Pushkarani tank of the temple. He is said to have killed Dandakeswara also. The image in the temple which is said to be 'swayam vyakta' or self-created, represents the Varaha Avatar or half-man and half-boar form. The original image which was of white marble is stated to have been carried away by Krishna Raja Odeyar I of Mysore and installed at the Sri Ranganatha temple at Seringapatam.

The temple was originally surrounded by two high walls. The outer wall has now disappeared, some of its stones having been used to revet the Nitya Pushkarani tank. The inner wall has one main entrance facing west with a gopuram over it. This gopuram suffered some damage when Hyder Ali's troops attempted to blow it up. Failing in their attempts they are stated to have mutilated many of the figures adorning the gopuram.

Within the enclosure are two mantapams. One of these is supported by 100 pillars. The other is one of the most beautiful examples of rich carving in all the district. It is about 40 feet square and supported by sixteen pillars of a fine grained black stone, arranged in four rows of four each, all of which are most delicately chased from base to capital. Those at the four corners are composite, being made up of a main pillar and three detached smaller shafts all cut out of one stone, others consist of rearing horses and yalis, and the four central pillars bear human figures which are said to represent Achyutappa Nayaka, a viceroy of Tanjore under the Vijayanagar kings, who is said to have built the mantapam of his three brothers whose names are given as Ananta, Govinda and Kondalu, and of some of their wives and children. The statue of Achyuta contains some scratches on its sides which are believed to represent the healing of a carbuncle from which he was suffering by a boar coming and scratching it in one of his dreams. Two of the chief sculptors are carved on the pillars, one with a cheerful countenance and the other with a sour face said to have been caused by his work having been adjudged as inferior to that of his colleagues. The mantapam stands on a highly ornate stylobate and is covered by an elaborate decorated roof. From this roof formerly hung three chains, one of them two feet long, cut from a single piece of stone. The sculpture consists largely of religious scenes.

The architecture of the temple seems to belong to the Vijayanagar style of the later and most ornate period. Inscriptions in the inner enclosure, dated 1583 say that the then king of Vijayanagar who was living at Penukonda in Anantapur, after the overthrow of his dynasty by the Muslims, endowed the shrine in that year. Another inscription states that certain buildings attached to the temple were put up by a zamindar of Udaiyarpalayam in 1713. Of the many jewels in the temple two are said to have been presented by Mr. Hyde who was the Collector of the district from 1813 to 1826. Two iron chains are also said to have been presented by him for dragging the temple car.

In February-March occurs the chief festival of the temple when the image is taken to Killai on the coast a few miles south of Porto Novo (Parangipettai), to be bathed in the sea. Great crowds follow it to take a bath there at the same time.

There are two ruined temples at a distance of a mile and a half from the village. The existence of these temples shows that the village was more extensive in olden days than at present.

Tirunaralyur (population 1,630), nine miles in a direct line, south-west of Chidambaram. The name means the village of the holy crane. The sthala puranam says that a Gandharva was picking fruit from a tree under which a sage was doing penance and dropped one in front of him interrupting his meditations. The sage was annoyed and cursed him to become a crane which shape he at last got rid of by coming and worshipping at the temple in the village. Another story told in the Periya Puranam is that the image of Ganesa in the village actually ate the food offered to it by Nambi Andar Nambi, who arranged and systematised the Thevaram hymns.

CUDDALORE (GUDALUR) TALUK.

The taluk of Cuddalore (Gudalur) has an area of 448 square miles and a population of 439,082. It lies in the centre of the coast of the district. Its places of antiquarian or historical interest are described below.

Chennappanayakanpalaiyam called also Chinnamanayakanpalaiyam (population 746), eleven miles west of Cuddalore (Gudalur) was, with the neighbouring village of Naduvirapattu, granted as a jaghir to the East India Company in 1762 by Muhammad Ali the Nawab of Arcot. The English established a factory there and stationed a Resident to purchase cloth for the Company's trade. The jaghir was leased in 1807 on a permanent rent of 1150 star pagodas to one Appu Mudali and was by him sold in 1809 to San-kara Nayak, a rich merchant. No istimrar sanad was however issued for the jaghir until 1886.

Cuddalore (Gudalur) population 68,084 situated on the coast is the headquarters of the taluk and the district. The name is supposed to be derived from Kudalur or the place where the rivers namely, the Gadilam and the Uppanar, join. In the seventeenth century it was sometimes called Islamabad. The town can be divided into four parts. The first is the old town, the commercial quarter at the junction of the Gadilam and the Uppanar. The second is the New Town or Tiruppapuliyur (Tiruppadirippuliyur), two and a half miles to the north-north-west and higher up the south bank of the Gadilam. The third is Manjakuppam, the official centre where the public offices are mostly situated, lying due east to Tiruppapuliyur (Tiruppadirippuliyur) on the other side of the Gadilam. The fourth is Fort St. David, a mile and a half to the east near the sea and on the northern side of the mouth of the Gadilam opposite the Old Town. The whole town stands on a level ground none of which is more than a few feet above the ground. Its history is the history of the district and has already been dealt with in the Chapter on Later History. In the early

days of the English settlement the authorities on several occasions started new suburbs or "pettahs" for the weavers on whose industry the profits of the Company so largely depended. Weavers from distant places like Kalahasti were attracted by offers of land and money to come and settle down at the place. One of the best known suburbs so founded is Brookespettah near Bandipalayam founded by Mr. Henry Brooke, Chief of Cuddalore (Gudalur) from 1767 to 1769. Other instances are Lathomspet, named after Mr. Richard Lathon, Chief from 1773-1776, Cumingpet near Tiruppapuliur (Tiruppadirippuliur), called after its founder, Mr. Wills Cuming, Chief from 1778 to 1780 and Kinchantpettah between Tiruppapuliur (Tiruppadirippuliur) and Bandipalayam founded by Mr. Richard Kinchant, the Commercial Resident at Cuddalore from 1798. Cumingpet was devastated by Tippu Sultan in 1783 and its weavers "fled to the woods", but the name still survives. Kinchantpettah has long been cultivated land.

Cuddalore (Gudalur) was a fortified place until 1803 when its fortifications were all demolished and the only buildings in it which still survive to bear testimony to its former importance are a church called the Christ Church and a building called the Factory house. The church formerly belonged to the Jesuits but was taken from them in 1749 and given to the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge on the ground that the Jesuits had been helping the French in the war which was then going on. In it and the cemetery behind it are several old graves of English men. The Factory House has been in existence from 1764. It was built near the site of an earlier Factory House with godowns on the ground floor and apartments for the Chief in Council in the centre of the upper storey and for the Second and Third in Council in the wings on either side thereof. Before the apartments for the Second in Council were finished, orders were received from England to stop the work on the ground that the expenditure incurred in the construction of the building had been out of all proportion to its utility. The house was occupied later on by the Collectors and the Commercial Residents and was also used as the Auxiliary Court and Jail. It was likewise used as the Civil and Sessions Court until a separate District Court was built at Manjakkuppam. Finally in 1886 it was sold to Messrs. Parry & Company for Rs. 10,000 in whose possession it still continues. An old gun was unearthed by them when they were digging for some foundations and this is exhibited on a raised platform in the compound.

The New Town of Tiruppapuliur (Tiruppadirippuliur) was in ancient days a great centre of the Jains. The present temple there is large and important and is mentioned in the Thevarams. The village is referred to in them as Padirippuliur. The deity is referred to as Pataleswara. There were several inscriptions in the temple relating to the Chola Kings and a grant of land by one of the Pandya rulers, but the stones containing them are stated to

have been displaced or lost while the temple was renovated by the Nattukottai Chettiars. Among the valuables owned by the temple are a silver car, several silver vahanams, a silver vimanam, a gold palanquin and gold kavachams for the god and goddess.

Manjakuppam is the official centre of Cuddalore (Gudalur). In the midst of it lies a fine open maidan which is referred to in the old records as "the lawn" or "the green" or "the esplanade". It is surrounded on all sides by roads shaded by fine avenues. Round about the maidan stand several old buildings. Of these the most ancient is the Collector's residence. It was formerly known as "the Garden House" and was used by the officers of the East India Company at Fort. St. David. Built near the site of an older "Garden House" its construction was completed in 1733. The building was the scene of some fighting during the Anglo-French wars. When the French took Fort St. David in 1758 they destroyed it partly. It was subsequently repaired and rebuilt and used at first by the Commercial Residents and afterwards by the Collectors. Another interesting building facing the maidan is the District Court house built in 1866. Behind it is a tank with a dilapidated tower in its middle which might have belonged to some old temple.

The history of Fort St. David from the date of its purchase in 1690 until it was razed to the ground by Lally in 1758 has been sketched in the Chapter on Later History. After its destruction it was never again a military post. The ruins of the old fort consist of two brick bastions facing the Gadilam, the moat, the remains of the glacis outside this and the central part of the fort within the moat.

Parvatipuram (population 1,696), situated near Vadalur railway station on the Cuddalore (Gudalur)—Virdachalam line is connected with the famous Ramalinga Swamigal who lived in the last century. Born in 1823 of Sir Karunegar parents in humble circumstances he developed, while still little more than a boy, an undeniable talent for versification and his poems brought him to notice. These dealt with religious matters; some of them, like those of the famous Saivite saints of old, were composed in praise of the deities of certain temples like those of Tiruttani and Tiruvottiyur: others took for their subject the beauties of the higher life. It was these that led to his becoming gradually a spiritual guide and teacher. After visiting many of the well-known sacred places of the South he finally settled at Karunguli a village adjacent to Parvatipuram. His influence over the people was great and several of his admirers are said to have changed their residences and gone to live where they could be constantly near him. About 1872 he erected with the aid of subscriptions an octagon-shaped *sakha* or temple with a domed roof at Vadalur, a hamlet of Parvatipuram. It is said that the spot was chosen because from it are visible the four great towers of Nataraja's shrine at Chidambaram. The temple is dedicated to Nataraja in the form of a light; at Chidam-

baram he is in his form of space or Akasa. The inner sanctum is separated from the main hall by seven screens of which only three are removed on ordinary days. All the seven screens are removed on "darsanam" day in December-January which is attended by thousands of pilgrims. The water in the wells near the temple is whitish in colour and is regarded as possessing healing qualities especially in the case of leprosy.

Ramalinga Swamigal held the belief that a person does not really die when his last breath leaves the body and that to burn or bury him immediately is as sinful as murder. He advised burial after some days and this advice was followed by many persons, including Brahmins, until after his disappearance when the practice also disappeared. In 1874, he locked himself in a room in Mottukuppam, a hamlet of Karunguli, which he had been using for his meditations and instructed his disciples not to open it for some time. He was not seen afterwards and the room is still locked. It is believed by his followers that he was miraculously made one with God and that he will reappear at a future date. At his mutt in the village his picture is kept and the poor are fed daily. His songs have been published and are valued for their fine style and high philosophy.

Tirthanagari (population 1,792), twelve miles south-south-west of Cuddalore (Gudalur) contains an ancient temple with numerous inscriptions relating to Pallava, Chola, Pandya and Vijayanagar kings. One of them is a grant, dated 1517 by Krishna Deva Raya and recounts his victories in the south. On the southern wall of the temple are a series of sculptures depicting the following story. Once upon a time Siva appeared as a sanyasi before a ryot who was ploughing his land and asked for food. The ryot who had just finished his meal went on ploughing. When, however, the Sanyasi implored him to take pity on a starving man he went home and finding there nothing but the seed grain, asked his wife to cook it. When the couple returned to the field with the repast they found a splendid crop of waving corn where but an hour ago there had been nothing but bare earth. They heard the voice of the sanyasi scaring away the birds. When they searched for him they could just see him disappearing down a well which is still shown near the temple and is called the tirtha-kulam. Realising that the sanyasi must have been Siva himself they decided to take their lives in order to atone for the discourtesy shown to him. The ryot raised his reaping hook and was about to cut off his wife's head when Siva appeared from the well and snatched the weapon from his hand. He then accepted the food they had brought and afterwards disappeared into the heavens whence he sent down his divine chariot and the faithful couple were borne off in it to Mount Kailasa. Some of the other carvings in the temple represent Appar, Sundarar, Tirugnana Sambandar and Manickavachakar. Of these, Sundarar celebrated this temple in one of his sacred hymns. The place is mentioned as Tiruthinainagar in his Tevaram.

There is evidence in Periyapuranam to show that Tirugnana Sambandar and Appar also visited this temple and sang its praises.

Tiruvadi (population 5,283), lies fourteen miles west of Cuddalore (Gudalur) on the road to Panruti. It is some times called incorrectly Tiruvidi meaning holy street. In the Thevaram songs the place is called Tiru adigai and in the inscriptions which date from the Pallava king Nripatunga Varma (854-880 A.D.) as Adhirajamangalyapuram. As far back as the eighth century it was the chief town of a principality the rulers of which were Jains and who bore the title of Adigaimans. They seem to have held their sway as far as Dharmapuri and Kambayanallur in Salem district. The 'Kalingattuparāni', a chronicle of the Chola advance against Kalinga, refers to the place as a 'managar'. In Vijayanagar times the place was the chief town of the province of that name.

This is one of the Ashta Viratta Sthalas of Lord Siva. It was here that Appar was cured of his affliction of pain in his stomach by the grace of God and re-embraced Saivism. Later when Sundaran came to visit this temple, he refrained from treading upon the place which had been sanctified by the divine services of Appar. The Siva temple in the village contains several inscriptions relating to the Pallava, the Chola and the Pandya times. Besides the lingam in the temple, there are numerous lingams in the fields round about. All the lingams are of Pallava design. Two Jain statues were discovered in the fields near the village. One of these is kept within the main enclosure of the temple. The other was taken to Komarappanayakanpettai, east of Tiruvendipuram, and kept in the compound of a chatram.

During the Anglo-French wars, the temple was used as a citadel commanding the large pettah which in those days surrounded it and was taken and retaken several times. In 1750 Dupleix attacked it and took it without resistance. Muhammad Ali, the Nawab of Arcot, who tried to retake it with the help of a large army was routed by the French and escaped with difficulty to Arcot. In 1752 Muhammad Ali and Major Stringer Lawrence marched past Tiruvadi on their way to Fort St. David and the place surrendered to them at the first summons. Lawrence then made it into a sort of cantonment from which he made incursions into the country round about to enforce the Nawab's authority. The French and the Marathas tried to retake it but could not do so. In 1753, when Lawrence was compelled to march to Tiruchirappalli, the place was repeatedly attacked by the French and ultimately forced to surrender. The English, however, re-took it without a fight in 1760. The tower of the temple was damaged during these wars but was repaired towards the end of the last century by the local mutt.

Tiruvendipufam (population 8,812), stands on the brink of the Gadilam, four and a half miles west of Cuddalore (Gudalur). It is called Tiruvayindirapuram in the Nalayiraprabhandham. Vedanta

Desikar, writer of the well-known commentary on the works of Sri Ramanuja, lived in the village for fifteen years and his residence is even now marked by a fine mantapam to which the deity of the Vishnu temple is taken in procession during important festivals. This temple dedicated to Devanayakaswami is well known. It stands on the very edge of the Gadilam river close under the high escarpment of the Mount Capper plateau, on a sort of terrace which seems clearly to have been made (or at least enlarged) to hold it. Below it, is a picturesque bathing ghat leading down to the river. The temple must be very old as it is mentioned in the Nalayiraprabbandham. There are numerous inscriptions in it relating to Chola and Pandya kings. One of them narrates the rescue of Rajaraja III who had been seized and confined by one of his feudatories called Kopperunjingadeva, by the Hoysala king Narasimha II. The temple has been the cause of a series of disputes and land suits first between the Vadagalai and the Tungalai sects and later on among the Vadagalais themselves.

In Tirumanikuli, a village adjoining Tiruvendipuram, is an ancient Siva temple which is mentioned in the Thevaram songs. It contains a number of inscriptions relating to the Chola, Pandya and Rashtrakuta kings.

Tiyagavalli (population 2,438) on the bank of the Uppanar (Paraxanar) eleven miles south of Cuddalore (Gudalur) contains a temple which for many years was buried under the sands of the dunes which are so numerous in this part of the taluk. Its existence is stated to have been discovered by a learned man who located its site with reference to the description given in the Thevaram songs. The removal of the sand is said to have been effected by Komarappa Nayaka and his son Sankara Nayaka who was the proprietor of Chennappanayakanpalayam in the beginning of the last century. The building contains several inscriptions of the Chola and Pandya kings.

Venkatampettai (population 2,681), fourteen miles south-west of Cuddalore (Gudalur) contains two interesting mantapams. One of them is in the outer courtyard of the Venugopala temple. This is about 50 feet square and is upheld by a number of pillars some of which though well carved are left unfinished. Among the sculpture is a representation of Ranganatha sleeping on Adishesha. The other mantapam faces the same temple and is far finer. It consists of a square erection with a porch at either end all built of cut stone. The main building stands in a commanding position on a masonry terrace seven feet above the ground. It is 60 feet square and is supported on sixteen huge monolithic pillars, in four rows of four each, which are six feet square at the base and as much as 34 feet in height. The spaces between them are filled in masonry and the flat roof is formed of great stone slabs laid upon cross beams of stone which rest upon the tops of the pillars. The four central pillars are excellently carved and the building is one

of the most striking in all the district, but, as in the case of the other mantapam, the work seems to have been left unfinished. It is now in a dilapidated condition, but its top is used as a Trigonometrical station. Local tradition says that both the mantapams were built by one Venkatamma, after whom the village is apparently named, who was the sister of one of the kings of Gingee. One of the Mackenzie manuscripts mentions a Venkatapathi of Venkatampettai, a Kavarai by caste, as ruling over the Gingee (Senji) country about 1478 A.D. and vigorously persecuting the Jains round about and Ananda Ranga Pillai the diaryist calls the village Venkatammalpettai.

GINJEE (SENJI) TALUK.

Gingee (Senji) taluk was formed in 1921 out of the old Tindivanam taluk and a few villages of the Villupuram and Tirukkoyilur taluks. It lies in the north-west corner of the district. It has an area of 410 square miles and a population of 244,851. Except for the picturesque Gingee (Senji) hills and a few smaller elevations, it is a fairly level plain draining towards the Gingee (Senji) river and its numerous tributaries. Its places of antiquarian or historical interest are described below.

Dalavanur (population 587), six miles south by east of Gingee (Senji) is noteworthy as containing the best of the three rock-cut shrines in the district (the other two are Tirukkoyilur and Mandagapattu), an excavation made in the southern side of a small hill called the Panchapandava Malai at a point where the rock drops vertically in a miniature precipice. The shrine stands some four feet above the level of the ground which heightens its effect and consists of a rectangular chamber 19 feet by 21 feet, out of one side of which opens an inner cell 7 feet by 8 feet containing a lingam. A little porch stands in front of this cell. The roof of the chamber is supported on four pillars 7 feet high two of which are inside and uphold the corners of the little porch, and the other two are placed on the outer edge of the excavation and from part of the facade of the shrine, standing one on each side of the principal entrance to it. The entire shrine is cut out of solid rock.

The entrance to the inner cell is flanked on either side by a standing figure five feet high, wearing a tall head-dress, with one hand on the hip and the other upraised. The two outer pillars are square in section and measure about two feet each way. Parts of their corners have been chamfered off and the square faces thus left are ornamented with lotuses. Above the pillars, on the outer facade of the shrine and over the central entrance, is an elaborate piece of sculpture, representing some figures riding on highly ornamental yalis the scroll-work of which nearly meets over the top of this central entrance and frames a figure in a sitting position. Above this is a row of five heads, each some three feet from the next. At each end of the facade are dvarapalakas cut in deep

relief in the rock which are more than life size. Inscriptions in the shrine show that it was excavated as a temple to Siva under the name of Satrumaleesvara in the time of a king who is referred to as Satrumalla and Tondaiyan. The excavation seems to have been made during the time of the Pallava king Mahendravarma I. The shrine thus dates as far back as the beginning of the seventh century and the inscriptions are the oldest yet discovered in the district.

Behind the temple, a set of narrow steps leads up the great mass of rock out of which it is excavated to a little natural terrace situated immediately above it; and there, at a point from which a beautiful view of the country round is obtained, and among enormous boulders weighing thousands of tons apiece, are cut on the surface of the rock the geometrical figures which are used in the game of "the fifteenth tiger" and other pastimes of the same kind. These, says tradition, were used by the five Pandava brothers when they halted here in the midst of their wanderings. Another story declares that Avvaiyar, the famous Tamil poetess, was born among these huge boulders. A little further north, about half way up the same hill is a cleft in the rock in which there is always water, even in the driest season. This is reached by a very steep flight of steps cut in the rock.

Gingee (Senji) (population 8,221), is the headquarters of the taluk. It is famous chiefly for the historic fort which rises about a mile to the west. This fort stands on three hills, steep, rocky and covered with such enormous boulders that they are almost unclimbable—arranged in the form of a triangle. Each of the three is fortified on all sides with line above line of stone walls which are flanked with bastions, fitted with embrasures for guns, loop-holed for musketry, and pierced only by narrow and strong gateways; and from each to the next, connected with these defences, runs a great stone-faced rampart nearly 60 feet thick with a ditch over 80 feet wide outside it. The triangular space thus enclosed (which is about three miles round) forms the lower fort, and the three hills are the citadels. The lower fort is entered by two gates—one on the north, called the Arcot (or Vellore) gate, and the other on the east known as the Pondicherry gate. East of this last, and just outside the walls of the lower fort, was formerly a pettah (or small town) which was defended by a weaker wall with bastions.

Up each of the three citadels leads, from the lower fort, a steep flight of steps of hewn granite built with much skill on and among the great boulders with which the sides of the hills are strewn. The citadel on the north is called Krishnagiri, that on the south Chandrayan Durg, and that on the west, the highest and most inaccessible of the three, is named Rajagiri, or "the king of hills". There is also a smaller and less important fortified hill, Chikkarin Durg, to the south of this last.

Rajagiri, the most invulnerable part of this almost impregnable fortress, consists of a long and high ridge, covered for the most part with gigantic boulders, which at its northern end rises suddenly into a great rocky eminence with almost sheer sides, the top of which stands 968 feet above the sea, some 800 feet above the plain below it, and probably 400 feet above the rest of the ridge of which it forms the highest part. This was the chief citadel of the fortress. The portion of the triangular lower fort which lies immediately below it is occupied by an inner fort surrounded by a high wall protected by bastions fitted for guns and a deep ditch, and the only path to Rajagiri leads through this and up the ridge. The ridge is defended by a series of lines of walls one above the other, through which the only way of ascent runs upward to a small level plateau right under the sheer sides of Rajagiri; whence begins the path up Rajagiri itself.

Even before any fortifications were ever constructed on this spot, this last hill must, from its precipitous nature, have been utterly inaccessible (except to birds and monkeys) on all sides but one—the south-west. Here a steep and narrow way leads with difficulty up it from the little plateau. This way the builders of the fortress rendered almost impregnable by constructing across it, one above the other, three lines of walls about 25 feet high, the loop-holes in which command almost every point of it. The path passes up the hill through three gates in these walls, turns round to the north side of it and at length scales a mass of rock the top of which is nearly level with the summit of the citadel. But at this point a great natural chasm, some 24 feet wide and 60 feet deep, lies between this mass of rock and the citadel itself. This chasm the engineers artificially lengthened and widened and they made the only entrance to the citadel pass across a narrow bridge thrown over it, the further end of which leads to a stone gate commanded by more embrasures and loop-holes. Orme says of this point that it could be held by ten men against ten thousand.

The early history of the spot is buried in obscurity. The place is called "Senji" in Tamil and the origin of the name is variously given. To derive it from Sanjiviparvatam, which Hanuman is said in the Ramayana to have carried from the Himalayas to Ceylon to bring to life hosts of Rama's dying warriors, is far fetched. Local tradition is that Senji Amman was one of the seven virgins who were guardian deities of the village, and that as her temple was in the central hill the village under it came to be known as Senji-amman-kottai, or Senjikottai and Senji for brevity.

Gingee (Senji) was not apparently an important place in Chola times, for an inscription of the time of Aditya Chola II, a brother of Raja Raja the Great (985-1014) only refers to Singapura Nadu and not to Senji or Gingee (Senji) which must then have been an insignificant village. This part of South India was under the

Cholas from the time of Aditya I (871-907) and the district contains several inscriptions of the Chola kings. On the disruption of the Chola empire in the thirteenth century, various parts of it were overrun by the later Pandyas, Pallavas and Hoysalas, and Gingee (Senji) must have had its origin as a fortified place in the insecure times that followed the decline of the Chola power. The complete history of the Carnatic kings (Karnataka Rajakal Savithara Charitam) found among the Mackenzie manuscripts contains a history of Gingee (Senji) for 200 years after its foundation written by one Narayanan, a descendant of the Ananda Kone race of Gingee (Senji).

According to this story, Gingee (Senji) was fortified about 1200 A.D. by a shepherd chief by name Ananda Kone. This man found a treasure in one of the cavities of the western hill where he used to graze his sheep. He then placed himself at the head of a band of men, defeated the petty chiefs of Devanur, Jayagondan and Keelacheri (or old Gingee or Senji) and built a small fortress in Kamalagiri which he named Anandagiri after himself. He flourished for about fifty years and was succeeded by one Krishna Kone, who fortified the northern hill, called it Krishnagiri and built the Gopalaswami temple on its top. Pulia Kone, the fourth and the last in the Kone line, is said to have dug tanks and built choultries on the roads leading out from Gingee (Senji). A Kurumba who was a neighbouring chief captured Gingee (Senji) about 1350 A.D. His name was Kotilingam and he built the brick fort at Sendamangalam in Tirukkoyilur taluk and dug channels and tanks which exist to this day. It was in his time that the country was brought under the Rayar of Vijayanagar. One of its earliest chiefs was Gopanarya, a Brahmin, who in 1371, defeated the Muslims (Tuluskas), recovered from them the images of Sri Ranganatha and his two consorts, and brought them from Tirupati to Singavanam near Gingee (Senji) and restored them to the temple at Srirangam in 1371-72. He was an officer under Chikka Kampana Udayar who captured Madurai from which he drove the Muslims.

Gingee (Senji) as a province is first referred to in the Alampundi grant of Virupaksha (1382), but a regular viceroyalty was not established till about a hundred years later. A copper plate grant of 1464 says that Venkatapathi Nayaka was the Raja of Gingee (Senji) and he was perhaps the king who was responsible for the cruel persecution of the Jains in those parts in 1478. About 1480 Saluva Narasimha, who later on usurped the kingdom, was ruling over the North and South Arcot districts and Chingleput which comprised the central division of the empire, and he built the forts at Vellore and Chandragiri. About the close of the century a number of Kavarai or Vaduga Sirdars of Vijayanagar were sent to the south to strengthen the Raja's authority there, and Vaiyappa, Tubaki Krishnappa, Vira Vijaya and Venkatappa Nayakas came

and settled in Gingee (Senji). The first two settled here permanently and began the fortifications of three hills of which Anandagiri was named Rajagiri by them in honour of their suzerain. They also built the temples wherein their sculptures can still be seen. The big granaries, and the Kalyanamahal and the thick walls enclosing the three hills were built by Krishnappa. His successor Achuta Vijaya Ramachandra built the temples at Tiruvannamalai and Tindivanam. Krishnappa's successors were able administrators and patrons of learning and they constructed the numerous buildings in the forts and the huge encircling walls. They also made elaborate additions to the temple at Vriddhachalam. Local tradition says that the Nayakas of Gingee (Senji) had able ministers of the Vellala caste, the most famous among them being Nandagopala Pillai who served the last among them.

Gingee (Senji) continued a province of Vijayanagar even after the battle of Talikota, and though this subordination was only in name, the rulers concealed their real position and referred to the Rajas of Chandragiri or Penukonda as their sovereigns and paid tribute to them. This nominal subordination continued till the death of Venkatapathi Raja at Chandragiri in 1614.

There can be little doubt that it was the rulers of this line who constructed the greater part of its wonderful fortifications. They had ample experience of such matters, for their own capital at Hampi in the Bellary district was defended by very similar works constructed on very similar hills; they were the only dynasty which held the place in peace and quiet for a period sufficient for the carrying out of such a vast undertaking; a general similarity of the fortifications shows that they were mostly constructed at about the same time; the inscriptions in the temple to Venkataramana mentioned later prove that it was in existence in Vijayanagar days; and, as will be seen below, the place had clearly been rendered exceedingly strong before the Vijayanagar kings were overthrown. That some of the buildings in the fort are built in the Muslim style does not show that they were erected when the fort was under Muslim occupation. The same style is common at Hampi, which was never held by Muslims, and was clearly a fashion of the time.

Gingee (Senji) was considered worthy to be the residence of provincial viceroy of the Vijayanagar kings, who was powerful enough to rank as an equal of the similar governors of Madurai and Tanjore. After the Vijayanagar empire had been overthrown in 1565 at the battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi (Talikota) by a combination of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda and other Muslim kings of the Deccan, these three viceroys threw off their allegiance to their sovereign and assumed independence.

About 1644 the king of Golconda, having demolished almost the last fragments of the power of the Vijayanagar dynasty, set himself to capture the territories of these local governors, who had declared themselves independent. He began with Gingee. The viceroy of Madurai, the famous Tirumala Nayaka, hastened to do

his utmost to assist his comrade in the threatened fortress, and took advantage of the well-known jealousy between Golconda and Bijapur to persuade the latter to help him. Bijapur sent him a large body of cavalry, and with these and his own foot-soldiers Tirumala set out to relieve Gingee (Senji). He had hardly reached the place, however, when the whole of the Bijapur troops deserted him, joined their co-religionists of Golconda, and aided in besieging the fortress they had been sent to deliver.

But the Golconda king was soon afterwards recalled by trouble in other parts of his new conquests, and Tirumala seized the opportunity to throw his troops into the beleaguered fort. His men however, were of different castes to those of the garrison, daily quarrels consequently occurred, and at last a general riot took place. During the confusion which resulted, the forces of Bijapur gained possession of the fort almost without a blow and proceeded to pillage it of all the enormous wealth it contained. This was in 1648.

They renamed the place Badshabad and held it uninterruptedly for the next thirty years. In 1677, however, the famous Maratha chief Sivaji captured it by a ruse. He was nominally in the service of the Bijapur kings and drew pay from them, but in secret he nursed the ambition of driving the Muslims from the Carnatic and seizing that country for himself. He approached Gingee (Senji) with all the outward appearance of passing through a friendly country; and assuring the officer sent to communicate with him by the killadar of the fort, Ambar Khan, that he, like the killadar, was serving the Bijapur king, he prevailed upon the old man to pay him a visit of friendship, accompanied by his sons and relations, at his tents. There they were all treacherously seized and the great fortress fell into Sivaji's hands without a blow.

That the Bijapur kings during their tenure of the place had done something towards the strengthening of its defence is proved by two inscriptions in Persian on the south wall of the inner fort which stands under Rajagiri. One of these, dated in Hijra 1063 (which began on November 22nd 1652) says that the Husan bastion was built in that year and the other, though not dated refers to improvements effected by the killadar, Ambar Khan. A letter of 1678 by the Jesuit priest, Andre Freire, also says that Sivaji "constructed new ramparts round Gingee (Senji), dug ditches raised towers and bastions, and carried out all these works with a perfection of which European skill would not have been ashamed."

In 1683 the emperor Aurangzeb of Delhi marched to reduce the South of India to his rule, and having blotted out Bijapur and Golconda, turned his arms against the Marathas. Rama Raja the son of Sivaji fled to Gingee (Senji); and that place became a rallying point for the broken Maratha forces. Aurangzeb accordingly resolved to capture it, hoping thereby not only to crush the Marathas once for all but to obtain a strong centre for the Government of his conquests in the south.

In 1691, he despatched against it his general Zulfikar Khan and his son Kam Baksh. The protracted siege of the place which followed and its ultimate capture by Zulfikar Khan have already been described in the Chapter on Later History. The fortress, however, turned out to be so unhealthy that in 1716 the headquarters of the Muslim forces in the south were permanently removed to Arcot.

A great part of the troops had already been cantoned there for some time, and Gingee (Senji) was ruled by a local governor whom Zulfikar Khan had appointed—a Rajput from the north named Sarup Singh. The troubles which arose between him and the English at Fort St. David have been referred to in the Chapter on the Later History.

He was succeeded by his son Tej Singh, who declined to acknowledge the authority of the Nawab of Arcot or to pay him any tribute. Sadat-ulla Khan, who had been made Nawab in 1713, accordingly marched against him in the same year to bring him to his senses. The story of the fight which occurred is a great favourite with the ballad-mongers of the southern districts—though, curiously enough, it is in less demand in the immediate neighbourhood of Gingee (Senji) itself than further afield—and, adorned with many poetical embellishments, is sung or acted on many a village holiday. The tale relates how Desing, as he is called in the south, invoked the blessing of the God Ranganatha at Singuvaram (his tutelary deity) and set out to meet the Nawab with all his force. His parting with his maiden bride is pathetically told: through the curtain which separated them she thrust one braceleted arm to hand him the parting pansupari and bade him do his devoir gallantly as became one of Rajput blood. The battle was fought only four or five miles from Gingee. At first Desing, who was assisted by his friend Muhabat Khan, was successful and “was very near killing the Nawab, having cut the harness of his elephant with his own hands”. But the Nawab’s men rallied, Desing’s horse was hamstrung, and he and Muhabat Khan were at length overpowered and slain. His body was burnt, it is said, on a little masonry platform on the northern bank of the Chettikulam in the fort (*see* below) by the head of the flight of steps which leads past a little shrine to Ganapati, down to the water’s edge. His girl-wife committed sati on his pyre and Sadat-ulla Khan was so struck with admiration at her fortitude that on his return to Arcot he founded in memory of her the town which is still known by the name Ranipettai (‘Queen Town’) which he gave it. On the wall of the Gingee (Senji) fort near the Pondicherry (Puducherry) gate is an inscription in Persian commemorating Sadat-ulla’s victory over the Hindus and his capture of the fort, and giving the date as Hijra 1125, which began on January 17th, 1713. Inscriptions in Persian on the mosque in the lower fort and on the water tower adjoining it show that these were erected by Sadat-ulla in A.D. 1717 and 1722–23 respectively.

In 1750, Gingee (Senji) was captured from the Muslims by a detachment of French under the gallant Bussy; D'Auteuil being second in command. It was an almost incredibly daring exploit, and did much to establish in the minds of the Indian troops of the south that terror of the French arms which stood Dupleix in such good stead in his long struggle with the English.

The Subedar of the Deccan marched south to retake the place, but was met on the way, by a force of his Indian opponents which, with the aid of the French, repulsed and slew him.

Gingee (Senji) remained in French possession until after the fall of Pondicherry (Puducherry) to Eyre Coote's force in 1761. While the siege of that town was progressing, Gingee (Senji) was blockaded by a force under Captain Smith to prevent it from sending in provisions to the beleaguered garrison, and as soon as Pondicherry (Puducherry) had surrendered Smith attacked and captured it.

The place appears for the last time in history in 1780, during Hyder Ali's invasion of the Carnatic. It was then held by the troops of Muhammad Ali and some English troops. In due time Hyder's men appeared before the place and attacked and captured it.

In 1803 Mr. Garrow, the Collector, writing to the Board of Revenue upon the question of the demolition of the forts of the district, recommended that, in view of the proximity of the place to Pondicherry (Puducherry) and its great natural strength, its fortifications "should be totally destroyed"; but fortunately the suggestion was not adopted.

The existing remains of the fort and its appurtenances consequently consist of the defences and buildings on the three great hills above referred to, the long rampart and ditch connecting them, the lower fort inside these and the inner fort within this close to Rajagiri. It is impossible to refer to all the numerous bastions, temples, mantapams and other buildings which are scattered all over this great area, but a few of the more noteworthy may be indicated. Many of the temples have been damaged by searchers after hidden treasure and parts of others are said to have been carried away to decorate neighbouring shrines. A report of 1860 says that until a few years before the date the neighbourhood of Gingee (Senji) "was considered deadly feverish, a shelter for thieves and a den for wild beasts" and that it was whilst it "remained an isolated spot dreaded by all that the fort and buildings became a prey to anyone who coveted the valuable store of finely worked ornamental stones" it contained.

On Chandrayan Durg, the only building (besides the lines of defences) is the mantapam which can be seen from below. This is of no particular interest.

On Krishnagiri, are two stone-built granaries, a mantapam of no special merit, an empty temple to Ranganatha and a brick and plaster edifice known as the Audience Chamber. This last is built in the Muhammadan style, its domed roof being supported on a series of graceful little pointed arches. Under the dome is a square platform with a pillar at each corner, and round this runs an arcade built on more pointed arches, in the middle of each of the four sides of which is a kind of bay window with a window-seat. The chamber is open to all the winds of heaven and commands glorious views in every direction. Below it is a sort of mantapam fitted for swings, where bygone rulers are supposed to have been in the habit of whiling away their time.

Rajagiri is reached from the little plateau on the ridge above referred to by the fortified path and narrow bridge already mentioned.

The walk up to the plateau is picturesque, the grey granite steps running through thick green jungle. On the plateau, close under the sheer side of Rajagiri, which rises like a huge wall above it, is a tank with reveted sides, a reservoir for water deep down in the bowels of the ridge—a visit to which at once reveals to one the inner anatomy of these odd bouldery hills—and a shrine to the goddess Kamala Kannu Ammal. To this deity buffaloes were used to be sacrificed formerly at the foot of the hill. In front of her shrine is a stone slab $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet carved in a most uncommon manner. It bears representations of a bow, five arrows, a buffalo's head, a ram's head and four human heads and it is locally declared to refer to the sacrifices of men and animals which in olden days were made at this spot to appease the goddess. It is said that her temple stood here long before the fort was ever built.

On the top of Rajagiri is a fairly level space on which are a temple to Ranganatha, a mantapam, two big granaries, a masonry, flag-staff, a building of unusual design which is supposed to have been a magazine, and another with a deep chamber under its floor which is called "the treasury". Under some of the boulders are two hollows in the rock in which there is always water, even in the driest season. These are deep clefts in which the rain collects, and which always contain water because their shape and shaded situation result in the annual evaporation being less than the annual supply. A little lower down the hill, in a small mantapam on its southern side, is a big cannon eleven feet long and some seven feet in circumference at a breech, which must have cost no small effort to carry to this elevated position. On the breech end is some lettering in English and Grantha characters.

The lower fort, as has been said, is surrounded by a wall and ditch and includes within it an inner fort lying close under Rajagiri. The ditch still contains water, which is used by the adjoining ryots for irrigating their crops.

Outside and east of the eastern (on Pondicherry or Puducherry) gate in the wall, stood in former days the "pettah" of Gingee (Senji). The plan of the place given in Orme's history shows that this ran from the foot of Chandrayan Durg to beyond the gate, that it was crowded with houses and was surrounded by a wall with bastions. Not a vestige of it now remains and much of the site is cultivated. The habitations must have once run much further south than this. If one follows the forest line which runs under the eastern flank of Chandrayan Durg, one passes the remains of many mosques, tanks and temples, and in about a mile reaches the ruins of the temple of Pattabhi Ramaswami mentioned below, which must have once been one of the Gingee (Senji) temples.

In the fifties of the last century the road from Tindivanam to Tiruvannamalai was made, and this was led straight through the lower fort by two gaps made in the walls. It is by these gaps that the fort is now usually entered, and the old gateways are hardly used except by cattle and foot-passengers.

Starting from the Pondicherry (Puducherry) gate, one comes upon the remains of the quarters and the batteries built by the French. The aggressively modern gate posts outside the Pondicherry (Puducherry) and Arcot gates, the curious little brick and chunam sentry-boxes (shaped like pepper-casters) and the brick embrasures which may be seen all about the fortifications would seem to have also been their work. From the Pondicherry (Puducherry) gate a roadway leads westwards straight to Sadat-ulla Khan's mosque. This was once lined with an avenue of trees.

To the south of it, close under Chandrayan Durg, are the ruins of the largest temple in the fort—that dedicated to Venkataramana. It was from this building that the tall monolithic pillars which stand round Dupleix statue at Pondicherry (Puducherry) and the "ter mutti" at sittamur were taken. There is little now left in it which is of much architectural interest. The best carving is perhaps in the long panels on either side of the gateway under the entrance tower, where are representations of well-known religious scenes.

The Pattabhi Ramaswami temple mentioned above is built on much the same general plan as this shrine. The only part of it worth notice is the twelve-pillared mantapam in front of it. This is perhaps the counterpart of that from which the Pondicherry (Puducherry) pillars were taken. It consists of a well-carved platform 4 feet 6 inches high on which stand twelve very graceful monolithic piers 24 feet long, tapering and fluted, which, if less ornate, are perhaps more quietly beautiful, than those at Pondicherry (Puducherry). The Collector suggested in 1858 that these pillars should be removed to Madras to form a setting to the Neff statue which was then being erected there.

Passing westwards from the Venkataramanaswami temple in the fort, two tanks are reached. They lie at different levels in the

valley between Chandrayan Durg and Rajagiri, the lower and larger one being called the Chettikulam and the upper the Chakrakulam. The former has a sluice and is used to irrigate a few fields in the fort. In the northern corner of its embankment is the masonry platform abovementioned on which it is said that Desing Raja's body was burnt and his young wife committed sati. Between this tank and the Chakrakulam, under a tottering mantapam, is a big image of Hanuman. It is buried in the ground up to the knees, but the part which is visible is eight feet in height.

On the top of the ridge of the Rajagiri above the Chakrakulam is a prominent boulder 15 or 20 feet high surrounded at the top with a lower circular brick parapet. This is called "the prisoners' well". It has a natural hollow passing through it like a well and the bottom having been blocked up with masonry and the upper edges smoothed with a little masonry work plastered with chunam, a natural dry well was formed into which prisoners are said to have been thrown and left to die of starvation.

West of the Chakrakulam, close under the Rajagiri ridge, there is the spot holy to the goddess Kamala Kanni Ammal above mentioned, where are placed some images and symbols of her, and where were formerly performed some of the rites connected with the sacrifices of buffaloes which were made to her.

Turning northwards, one passes by a gateway into the inner fort already mentioned. Just west of the gate is a little-known shrine to Venugopalaswami. In this, faced by a broad smooth slab which is supposed to have been used for the reception of the offerings to the deity, is a remarkable piece of sculpture cut about eighteen inches in relief on the side of a mass of rock about 14 feet long by 6 feet high which stands there. In three panels on this are some fine carvings.

Close by, is the largest of the several granaries within the fort. In the middle of it is a spacious entrance passage, beyond which is a room 81 feet by 28 feet and 39 feet high and on either side of which are two other rooms 81 feet by 28 feet and of the same great height. The walls are $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick and the echo inside is remarkable. In the roof are apertures, reached by narrow steps, for filling the rooms to the very top with grain, and around this roof is a parapet loop-holed for musketry. The decoration shows that the place was erected by the Hindus. Adjoining is another building which was either a granary or a gymnasium, and is 82 feet by 29 feet and $46\frac{1}{2}$ feet high to the crown of its arched roof.

Further east are two great slabs of polished stone, called the Raja's and Rani's bathing stones. The latter measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet and is 9 inches thick and the former (which is much cracked) is 15 feet each way and a foot thick. North of these is a long row of buildings which were apparently used as barracks.

East of them is the **Kalyāṇa Mahal**, in some ways the most curious building in the fort. It consists of a rectangular court surrounded by rooms, said to have been used by the ladies of the Raja's or Governor's household, in the middle of one side of which rises a square tower of eight storeys, built of stone, plastered over, which is some 80 feet high and has a somewhat pyramidal roof. It is the most conspicuous building in all the lower fort. The plan of each of the storeys is the same, and consists of a single room about 8 feet square surrounded by a verandah built on arches; from which, on either side, two narrow stairways lead upwards and downwards. Some of the verandahs have disappeared.

Malaiyanur or Mel Malaiyanur (population 3,430), eight miles north-west of Gingee (Senji), contains a temple dedicated to **Angalamman**, the special deity of the **Sembadavars**. Her festival occurs in February-March. A special feature of this festival is the **Smasana Kollai**. The people who attend the festival cook large quantities of grain of various kinds and set them out in the burning ground and offer them to the goddess who is brought there. Then at a given signal all those who are present scramble wildly for the food and each carries off as much of it as he or she can seize. At this festival are also cast out devils from persons who are supposed to be possessed of them. The latter may be seen throwing themselves about until they are absolutely exhausted.

Mattur Tirukkal (population 781), thirteen miles north by west of Villupuram, contains a natural cave. This is situated on a hill to the west of the village and has been converted into a temple by a wall across its mouth. It contains five "Pandava beds" or narrow rectangular spaces slightly hollowed out on the surface of the rock.

Melacheri (population 2,109), three miles north-west of Gingee (Senji), was in olden days known as "Old Gingee (Senji)" and was apparently fortified. Near the drinking water tank of the village is a stone marking the site of a sati. On it are cut three female figures with the sun and moon above them to signify that the stone shall bear witness as long as they last. The shrine of the temple to **Maddilesvara** to the north of the village and the lingam in it are cut out of the solid rock of a low hill there.

Melacheri was once the chief village of a jaghir known as the Melacheri or Gingee (Senji) jaghir and traces of the old palace of the jaghirdars are still to be seen. The estate was one of the biggest in the southern districts and was granted in olden days by the Emperor of Delhi to a Rajaput called **Sivanath Singh**. It consisted of seven taluks. When the authority of Delhi fell into the hands of the Nawabs of Arcot, the jaghir was shorn of taluk after taluk until at length in 1804 it was reduced to 11½ villages which were granted for life to **Tejonath Singh**, the son of **Sumernath Singh**, by the Government of Lord William Bentinck. The grantee

died in 1817 and a pension of Rs. 500 per annum was given to his dependants for life.

Singavaram (population 1,224), two miles north of Gingee (Senji), contains a shrine to Ranganatha sleeping on Adishesha cut out of the solid rock half way up a small hill and is approached by a steep flight of steps. This god is said to have been the tutelary deity of Desing Raja of Gingee (Senji) and his image, which is well carved, is about 24 feet long. The head is turned away and the story goes that the god turned it away sorrowfully when Desing persisted in going to fight Sadat-ulla Khan on a day which was disapproved by the god. There are several other shrines near the Ranganatha temple. These contain a number of inscriptions of the Cholas and Pandyas and one of Kopperunjinga who trapped the Chola King Rajaraja III.

On a little rocky knoll at the end of the Sirukadambur tank bund are some interesting Jain remains. They consist of a sitting figure $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high cut out on a big boulder, which has subsequently been split in two so as to destroy it, and, on a huge mass of rock which is too big to be split and is unclimbable on all sides, a standing nude figure and a row of images of the 24 Tirthankaras which are cut in deep relief and are as sharp as they were on the day they were executed. Two inscriptions on this knoll record the commitment by two Jain teachers of *nisidaka*—apparently religious suicide by fasting—the one living without food for 30 and the other for 57 days.

Sittamur or **Mel Sittamur** (population 2,479), ten miles in a direct line west by north of Tindivanam, is the chief centre of the Jains of the district. It contains an important Jain temple and is the residence of the high priest in charge of the Jains of south of Madras. The temple is most of it of recent date. The local Jains say that the original shrine is the small one which stands north of the village and contains a long slab bearing images of some of the Tirthankaras and that this was built in accordance with an express permission granted by one of the kings of Gingee (Senji).

The most notable thing in the larger temple is the "ter mutti" or mantapam in which the processional image is placed after it has been taken round the village. This was brought from the Venkataramana temple at Gingee (Senji) in the sixties of the last century by a Jain Deputy Collector named Sri Baliah, and is a fine piece of work, the great stone elephants at the foot of it being especially noteworthy. In the northern part of the country and of the shrine is a large Jain image which is said to have been brought from Mylapore in Madras. The temple had formerly a collection of old palm leaf manuscripts, but none of these is now forthcoming.

Tondur (population 966), eight miles from Gingee (Senji), in a direct line on the northern edge of the taluk, contains an old Jain hermitage. This is situated on a hill called the Pancha Pandava.

Malai. There are on this hill two caves out in the rock and communicating with each other. On the floor of these are some "Pancha Pandava beds". By their side on the wall of the cave is a Jain image with a hooded serpent over it. There are some of these beds higher up the hill. North of the village on a big boulder is carved a sleeping figure some ten feet long, above the head of which is also a hooded serpent.

KALLAKKURICHCHI TALUK.

Kallakkurichchi taluk lies along the western border of the district and includes part of the Kalrayan Hills. It has an area of 873 square miles and a population of 8,69,049. It is the most picturesque and diversified of all the taluks and contains the largest extent of forest. Like the rest of the district it drains eastwards towards the sea, but the land on the west immediately under the hills is fairly high and the fall is thus more rapid than elsewhere. The place of historical or antiquarian interest here are described below.

Brahmakundam (population 2,757), eighteen miles in a straight line west of Tirukkoyilur, is said to have been so named because Brahma is supposed to have performed a sacrifice there. From a small mound near the village is dug a white earth which is used for making sect marks. This earth is believed to be the ashes of the sacrifice.

Chinna Salem (population 9,680), nine miles south-west of Kallakkurichchi on the Salem-Vriddhachalam railway line, was formerly a mukhasa belonging to Gangada Nayanar, one of the palayagars, entrusted with kaval or police duties. When the British took over the police duties, the village was resumed and a pension was granted to the palayagar. There is a Siva temple in the village containing two separate shrines. It is stated that the lingam in one of them which was built first was placed over a dead man and that therefore no Brahmin would perform the puja at it. The palayagar who built the temple thereupon installed another lingam in another shrine. Worship is now going on at both the shrines.

Chinna Thirupathi or Thirupathi (population 57), situated on the Kalrayan hills, possesses an ancient temple dedicated to Venkatesa. The deity is identical with the one at Thirupathi and this is the reason why the place is called Chinna Thirupathi. Some copper plate grants of the time of the Vijayanagar King Achyuta relating to this temple, two dated 1519 and two dated 1532, are stated to have been produced at the time of an enquiry made in 1872. The Kalrayans are referred to in them as Anaimalai or Gajagiri. The annual car festival of the temple held in December-January attracts many people from the plains. Daily worship at the temple is performed by a Malayali, but a Vaishnava Brahmin is specially brought up from below to perform the puja at the time of the festival. The temple has a reputation for granting success to those who make vows to it. Many parents perform the first shaving of the heads of their children at it.

Kallakkurichchi (population 11,073), is the headquarters of the taluk. To the east of the taluk office are the remains of an old mud fort known as Khan Sahib's fort. The ballad of Desing of Gingee (Senji) says that this Khan Sahib of Kallakkurichchi was one of the adherents of the Nawab and that in the great battle in which Desing was killed Khan Sahib was cut into pieces before the hero himself was slain. A beautiful view of the Kalrayan hills can be obtained from the ramparts of the fort.

Kugaiyur (Population 1,437), on the bank of the Vellar in the extreme south of the taluk, contains an old temple dedicated to Swarnapureswara. The carving in the shrine of the goddess attached to the temple is excellent, a curious point about it being that the undersides of the stone caves are cut to resemble bamboo work, even the nails being represented. There are several inscriptions in the temple.

There are also three other temples in ruins and the traces of a fort. Local tradition says that the village was once the capital of an ancient king called Malangan. The remains of some old kistvaens have also been discovered near the village.

Ravuttanallur (population 2,342), sixteen miles north of Kallakkurichchi, is believed by the local people to have been the place from which God Siva, in the well-known story, set out with the jackal horses to deliver Manickavachagar from confinement. The story is, however, too far-fetched, as the place is far from Madurai where the horses were delivered and as there were no Ravuttars (Muslims) in those days.

Rishivandiyam (population, 4,300), eleven miles in a direct line north-east of Kallakkurichchi, contains an old temple dedicated to Ardhanariswara. It is said that, when honey is poured over the lingam in this temple, an image of woman, previously invisible, appears in it. There is a richly carved mantapam on the right side of the main entrance. This is supposed to have been built by the great Tirumala Nayak of Madurai. Among the carvings in the temple is one of a rearing yali, enclosed in the mouth of which is a ball of stone which can be turned in any position by the hand, but not removed.

Sankarapuram (population 4,122), eleven miles north of Kallakkurichchi, possesses the ruins of an old fort. The village gave its name to an old jaghir called Sankarapuram jaghir. This jaghir was originally granted to one Malik Muhammad Ali Khan, Killadar of Mustaphanagar by a royal firman, but it was resumed by Hyder Ali in 1780 and the jaghirdar and his family were kept as prisoners at Seringapatnam until the fall of Tippu Sultan in 1799. In the meantime Nawab Muhammad Ali of Arcot had granted the Jaghir to his minister Saiyad Muhammad Azim Khan Bahadur in 1789, and he continued to hold it even after the family of the

original jaghirdar was released. It was, however, resumed in 1830 an account of quarrels in the family and pensions were granted to his several members

Sittalur (population 2,906), eight miles east-south-east of Kallakkurichchi, is known for its festival of Angalamman, the special goddess of the Sembadavars, in February-March at which women afflicted by devils go to the burning ground and pretend to gnaw the human bones found there. There is a tomb of a fakir named Shah Abbas Birani who is said to have been a religious preceptor of the Nawab of Arcot. At his urus numbers of fakirs from distant parts assemble at the place.

Tiyaga Durg (population 1,463), eight miles east of Kallakkurichchi, is known for its fortified hill. This hill is only some 740 feet in height and the space on the top of it is small and cramped, but being situated at the intersection of the old road from Arcot to Tiruchirappalli with the road from Cuddalore (Gudalur) to Salem and commanding the Attur pass from Salem it was of great importance in the wars of the eighteenth century. It was the scene of severe fighting on several occasions. It consists of two knolls, joined by a somewhat lower saddle, the more western of which is slightly the higher of the pair. The way up to it starts from Tiyaga Durg village and passes up the northern side. The plan of the place in Orme's history shows that the village was itself fortified in the old days. A mud wall provided with seven bastions and a strong gateway ran along what is at present the southern side of the main street and enclosed a number of buildings constructed on what is now for the most part waste ground containing no buildings but the old granary of the fort. North of this wall was a second and outer defence with two gates and six bastions which surrounded almost the whole of the present village site and ran out nearly as far as the little rocky knoll which lies east of the road to Tirukkoyilur.

The upper fort is reached by a path which leads through three gateways one above the other and among boulders lying about in great confusion. Local tradition says that it was built by a chieftain called Lal Singh. Nothing is remembered about this chief. That the original architect of the fort was a Hindu is, however, clear from the fact that on the fallen ruins of the uppermost gate which leads through the ramparts themselves may still be seen, carved on the stone, the figures of Gajalakshmi and Subrahmanya.

On the western knoll of the hill, which is reached by clambering over the ruins of the defences and then up some steps roughly cut in the rock, are the ruins of a strong battery which is said to have been made by the French. Below these is an old cannon marked with a royal crown and the monogram G.R. Down among the great boulders nearby is a brick and chunam building which is known locally as the treasury but which, from the care with which

it has been placed in a position where no shells could possibly reach it, was more probably a powder magazine. On the eastern side of this knoll facing the other part of the hill, is a hill which is called 'Suryan Parkkada Kinar' or the well which never sees the sun. It is situated under big boulders and is said never to run dry. In the great drought of 1876, when water was very scarce down below, there was a good supply in it.

On the eastern part of the fort is another big cannon. The defences on this side completely command the whole of the village, or pettah, below. On the face of the flat sheet-rock here are a number of holes which are variously said to have been made for pegs for pitching tents or for hollows in which to grind grain.

The place was attacked by the French in 1756. Their cannon and musketry could not clear the matchlock men out of the impenetrable hedge, which then surrounded the pettah and after two days' fighting they withdrew. Three years later in 1759 Lally sent a strong detachment against it because the constant ravages of Krishna Rao, the Killadar whom the English had put in charge of it, had reduced the revenues of the country round Pondicherry (Puducherry). The French forced one of the gates and brought their guns into the town, but shortly afterwards had to issue out to meet the English and the Nawab's forces which were coming to relieve the place. The latter fell into confusion before any real fighting took place and were almost all of them killed or taken prisoners. Tiyaga Durg now surrendered to the French, the besieged being allowed to depart with their arms and baggage. In 1760 the French made over the place to Hyder Ali. It was too far from Pondicherry (Puducherry) for them to hold it conveniently and Hyder Ali wanted some point in those parts to which he could retire when necessary. Hyder promised to help the French who were then being besieged at Pondicherry (Puducherry) but was forced to withdraw to his own country where he was hardpressed. The French thereupon occupied the place on his account. In 1761 the English retook the place after blockade of 65 days. In 1781 the place fell into the hands of Hyder Ali's troops but it was recovered by the English when they left. In 1790 when Tipu Sultar was retreating from Tiruchirappalli with General Meadows after him, he passed by Tiyaga Durg. The whole population of the surrounding country had taken refuge under the fort which was in command of Captain Flint. Tipu made demonstrations for a regular siege, but when Flint beat off two attacks on the pettah, he moved away.

After the cession of the district to the British, the defences were destroyed as it was considered unsafe to leave it without a garrison.

TINDIVANAM TALUK.

Tindivanam taluk lies in the north-east corner of the district. It is a fairly level plain standing at a higher general level than the

rest of the district and draining south-eastwards into the Gingee river and its numerous tributaries. It has an area of 561 square miles and a population of 3,18,106. Its places of historical or antiquarian interest are described below.

Kunimedu (population 2,908), thirteen miles north of Pondicherry and a mile from the coast. The English established a factory here as early as 1682, but abandoned it after they acquired Fort St. David. In 1704 the Dutch wished to take possession of the remains of it, but the British refused to give them up. The factory stood on a sand hill about 600 yards from the sea and was about 400 feet square. Its outlines can still be traced, though they are mostly covered with sand. A raised platform which evidently held the flagstaff and a Dutch tomb stone are well preserved.

Mallam (population 2,762), eight miles east by south of Tindivanam, is chiefly known for its temple to Subrahmanya built on an eminence. The place is supposed to be named after the peacock which is the god's vahanam. The temple is a conspicuous object for many miles round and is the scene of three big festivals in January, March and July. The second of these is attended by great crowds who come from this and the adjoining districts. The pilgrims bring the Kavadis which are always associated with the shrines of Subrahmanya and several of them shave their heads.

Marakkanam (population 9,309), twenty-two miles east of Tindivanam on the coast, contains an ancient Siva temple of fair workmanship with many inscriptions.

Perumukkal (population 1,869), seven miles east of Tindivanam, was the scene of fighting on several occasions during the wars of the eighteenth century. The place lies under a steep rocky hill rising about 300 feet above the surrounding plain. This eminence is the most considerable for many miles around. It was fortified and the ruins of the defences on the summit are still visible. In 1760 Lally, while retreating from Wandiwash, put a party of his men into it. Coote who was following re-took it after some fighting. In 1781 Hyder Ali tried in vain to take it, but in the next year it fell before the combined forces of Hyder and the French. In 1783 General Stuart's army re-took it and it was subsequently dismantled. It remained a post of observation till 1791 when it fell to Tipu sultan after a siege of two days.

Legend has been busy with the hill. Its name which is only a corruption of perumkal or big stone (its Sanskrit name is Mukyachala) is declared to be Perumukkal or the great travail. Sita is said to have given birth to her twins in a cave on the hill during her banishment by Rama. The adjacent villages of Nalmukkal and Palamukkal are connected with the story. Janakipettai, another village nearby, is believed to have been named after Sita whose maiden name was Janaki. Vittalapuram further on is stated to have been so named because it was here that Sita's sons

let go of the sacrificial horse. Kattalai, another village, is regarded as the place where the horse was tied up. A cave and a pool on the top of the hill are pointed out as the places where Valmiki lived and bathed. The whole story is too fanciful to be believed and seems to have arisen from the existence of a temple near the pool mentioned above dedicated to Valmikeswara or the God discovered under an ant hill.

Tindivanam (population 29,651) is the headquarters of the taluk. The name is supposed to be a corruption of Tintrinivanam or the tamarind jungle. There are two temples, one dedicated to Trintriniswara and the other to Lakshmi Narasimhaswami. In the first is a grant dated in the tenth year of the Chola King Rajaraja I giving some land to a musician to play the vina in the temple and to a singer to accompany the instrument.

In the Vishnu temple is an inscription recording the erection in 1632 by Khan Alisan Ambar Khan Sahib (perhaps the Ambar Khan) who was the Killadar of Gingee (Senji) in 1677, of certain buildings in the fort. Except a small square mud erection, the remains of which stand not far from the road leading to Gingee (Senji), the only fort in the place is that in Kedangal, one of the revenue villages included in the town, near the surplus weir of the big tank. Parts of its bastions and ditch still remain though covered up with jungle. It is no doubt an ancient erection as there was a havildar of Tindivanam as far back as the days when Rama Raja ruled at Gingee at the end of the seventeenth century. Inside the fort is an ancient Siva temple. An inscription in this states that in the reign of Kulothunga I, the father of a boy of six years who accidentally killed another boy of seven years while cutting wood with a sickle expiated the sin by an endowment to Bhaktaparadiswara.

There are three Jain images in the town. One of these, a seated figure, is stated to have been brought from Gingee (Senji) and is kept in the park lying to the north of the town. Another which is also seated is kept in a hostel for Jain boys. The third stands in a garden near the Sub-Collector's bungalow, an old building opposite to a fine tank.

A festival to the village goddess is conducted every year. To this festival all the villages included in the town contribute their shares. As the principal procession entered the boundary of each village a goat used to be sacrificed in former days and 64 coconuts and 64 limes used to be offered to the deity and afterwards broken up and scattered through the village. The totis of the various villages march in front of the procession wearing round their neck garlands of flowers.

Tiruvakara (population 966) lies thirteen miles in a direct line north-west of Pondicherry (Puducherry) on the bank of the Gingee

river. In the olden days it was an important town and its ancient streets can still be traced in the vicinity. Its Siva temple dedicated to Chandramoulisvara, which stands in a commanding position on the bank of the river, is a striking construction with a tower of seven storeys 151 feet above the sea-level. In front of it is a stone Nandi some six feet high which is probably the largest in the district and near it are two big images of Ganesa and a large lingam. The temple was constructed by the famous Chola queen, Sembiyan Madheviyar. It was formerly much bigger and had a thousand-pillared mantapam. There are numerous inscriptions on the walls and the gateways mostly relating to gifts of gold, sheep or cows for maintaining lights, and lands for the upkeep of the temple. The thousand-pillared mantapam and the gopuram were built by one "Ammayappan Sambuvarayan who took the Pandya country", perhaps a local chieftain who assisted Kulottunga Chola III in his conquest of the Pandya Kingdom. A second mantapam and gopuram were built by one Gangeyan in 1130. The fame of the temple has been sung by Tirugnana Sambandar.

TIRUKKOYILUR TALUK.

The Tirukkoyilur taluk lies in the centre of the district. It has an area of 584 square miles and a population of 3,82,221. Its places of historical or antiquarian interest are dealt with below.

Arakandanallur on the bank of the Ponnaiyar facing Tirukkoyilur, has a striking temple with an eight-storeyed tower built on a great hummock of rock on the edge of the stream. This temple is dedicated to Oppilamaniswara. Tirugnana Sambandar is said to have worshipped this god and Arunachaleswara on the Tiruvannamalai Hill. His footprints are shown near the flagstaff. The temple contains several inscriptions relating to the Pallava, Chola and Pandya times.

To the east of the temple is a pool in the rock which Bhīma is said to have made with his club. On the western edge of the pool a shrine has been hollowed out of the solid rock. This is about 30 feet in length, above 12 feet in width and about 7 feet in height and consists of two rude aisles supported on pillars forming part of the rock. Five openings lead into the shrine and consequently it is also said to have been the work of the Pandavas. There are no idols in the shrine.

Devanur (population 2,082), two miles north by east of Tirukkoyilur across the river, contains a number of kistvaens or box shaped pre-historic burial places. They are scattered over some four or five acres of ground and among them stands a huge upright slab of granite, shaped like a round-headed tombstone, which is about fourteen feet out of the ground, eight feet wide and six inches thick and is locally known as the kacheri kaL. The kistvaens are of the usual pattern consisting of a square

chamber walled, floored and roofed with stone slabs, very roughly hewn to the size required and having usually a small circular opening facing the east. The most remarkable thing about them is the great size of the stones used in them. The land on which they stand has evidently been often flooded by the Ponnaiyar and most of them are almost buried in alluvium. It is also now cultivated and many of the structures have in consequence been ploughed over and others have had their roof slabs removed. Some of them which were opened in 1875 contained fragments of bone, scraps of iron and some odd terracotta sarcophagi, about four feet long, fifteen inches wide and nine inches deep, supported on fifteen earthenware legs. Earthen pottery was also discovered in quantities. Formerly the kistvaens were surrounded by concentric rings formed of slabs of granite sunk into the earth, but these have now disappeared.

Similar kistvaens are stated to exist over an adjacent area of five or six square miles extending from the bank of the Ponnaiyar near the village and across the railway line, but most of them have been broken up by the ryots and used in building houses or wells.

Various accounts have been given by the people to explain the existence of these kistvaens. Some say that they were built as a shelter for the people during a deluge of fire which occurred long ago and which had been prophesied before hand. Others say that they were the dwellings of a race of pigmies or that they were used by the Vedars or Kurumbars as a refuge for their wives and children against wild beasts or that they were the places in which in olden days, when people lived so long as to be a burden to themselves and their relations, the aged members of the community were put in the sarcophagi and provided with a supply of food to end their days peacefully. Lastly it is said that they were the dwellings of a race of monkey-like men who were contemporaries of Rama. In the Tirukkoyilur sthalapuram and by local tradition the kistvaens are declared to have been the homes of a race called Valakhilyas or monkey-men and the raised ground on which they are found is still called Valakhilyamedu.

Elavanasur or Pidagam (population 5,136), lying 2 miles south of Tirukkoyilur on the Cuddalore (Gudalur)-Kallakurichchi road, was in former days called Iravanariyur and Cholakerala Chathurvedimangalam. The Siva temple in it has two peculiarities. One is that the lingam stands on a higher level than the rest of the inner shrine on the top of a square erection of masonry and is said to be the top of a large boulder of which the rest is built into this masonry. The other is that the Nandi in front of the shrine faces away from the lingam instead of towards it as usual. The reason for this is stated to be that the king of the place was so constantly interrupted in his worship by a demon that he appealed to the god who ordered Nandi to face round and keep off the demon.

There are inscriptions in the temple relating to the Pallava, Chola, Pandya and Vijayanagar periods. These show that it is at least a thousand years old. The district is described in these inscriptions as Maladu, and its capital as Kiliyur near Tirukkoyilur, the chief of which bore the title of Malayaman.

South-east of the village is a boulder surmounted by a small tower on which is carved a figure of Hanuman about ten feet high. Under his feet is Ravana's son and round his neck the string of pearls which Rama presented to him.

The place has played some part in the wars of the eighteenth century. It had a fort and ditch the remains of which are still seen. It was seized by an adventurer called Mir Husain Khan Sahib and was confirmed to him by the Nawab of Arcot. He kept a force of men whom he paid by ravaging the country round about. He was especially fond of seizing persons of wealth and confining them until a ransom was forthcoming. In 1757 the French under D'Auteuil attacked him. He sallied out and assailed their force and had all but routed it when he was himself wounded. His men then ceased fighting and carried him back to the fort. D'Auteuil sent for re-inforcements from Gingee but the day they arrived Mir Sahib died of his wounds and his people evacuated the fort. To the west of the village is a small mosque which is said to have built on the site of a temple to Mariamman to whom he prayed in vain for the life of his infant son who was afflicted with smallpox.

Gramam (population 1,623) stands on the Malattar about a mile above the point where the river is crossed by the Villupuram-Vriddachalam railway line. Close to the river is a temple of great antiquity which was partly covered with sand until it was cleared by a Nattukottai Chettiyar. This temple which is dedicated to Sivalokanatha was built by a Kerala general Rajaditya Chola.

Kuvvakkam (population 1,270), fourteen and a half miles in a direct line south-east of Tirukkoyilur, is noted for its festival to Aravan (more correctly, Iravan) or Kuttandar which is largely attended. The ceremonies at it are rather curious. Aravan was the son of Arjuna one of the five Pandava brothers. According to the local tradition, when the great war between the Pandavas and the Kauravas was about to begin, the Kauravas sacrificed a white elephant to bring them success. The Pandavas were unable to find a similar elephant. Arjuna then volunteered to offer up Aravan and, the latter agreeing, was duly sacrificed. When the Pandavas became successful in the war Aravan was deified. Since he died in his youth before he was married, it is believed that he would be pleased if men, even though grown up and already married, come dressed like women and offer to espouse him. Men afflicted with diseases take a vow to marry him at his annual festival in the hope of being cured.

The festival occurs in May and for eighteen nights the *Mahabharata* is recited by a Pillai, large numbers of people, especially of that caste, assembling to hear it read. On the eighteenth night a wooden image of Kuttandar is taken to a *tope* and seated there. This was formerly the signal for the sacrifice of thousands of fowls brought by the devotees. At the same time all the men who have taken vows to be married to the deity appear before him dressed like women, offer a small sum to the Palli officiating as priest and give into his hands the 'talis' brought by them. The priest ties these round their necks. The god is brought back to the temple the same night and when in front of the building, he is hidden by a cloth being held before him. This symbolises the sacrifice of Aravan and the men who have just been 'married' to him set up loud lamentation at the death of their husband.

Manalurpettai (population 3,460) lies eight miles west by north of Tirukkoyilur on the north bank of the Ponnaiyar. On the first five days of the month of Tai the Ganga is supposed to flow into the river and bathing in it is considered to be meritorious. Here, as elsewhere along its course, there are festivals on those days. That held here has a special importance as the god from the great Tiruvannamalai temple is brought down to this village for the bath and the number of persons who attend is generally very large.

Sendamangalam (population 5,544), twelve miles in a direct line west by south of Panruti, contains a Siva temple in which are inscriptions of the Pallavas and Pandyas and one of the great Krishna Devaraya of Vijayanagar recounting his victories. It was evidently once fortified and parts of the defence, and of the ditch round them still remain as well as ruined sculptures. The place was apparently the capital of Kopperunjinga and it was within its walls that he imprisoned his suzerain, the Chola King, until he was released by the Hoysala king, Narasimha II.

Tirukkoyilur (population 16,695) is the headquarters of the taluk. It has been described as one of the most beautiful places in the district, lying as it does, on the bank of the Ponnaiyar and having a fine view of the Kalrayan and the Tenmalai hills on one side, the Tiruvannamalai peak on another and the Gingee (Senji) hills on the horizon on another side. It possesses an ancient Vaishnava temple. This stands in the middle of the town and its lofty gateway towers are landmarks for miles around. A cart road runs under the tower on the eastern side which is the tallest and leads to the main part of the temple through a long straight street. The temple is now dedicated to Trivikrama Perumal, although originally it seems to have been dedicated to Krishna for whom there is even now a shrine. The image of Trivikrama is of wood. The architecture is of the Vijayanagar style. The fact that Hanuman, a favourite figure in the Bellary temples, has been carved in numerous places, that on the base of many of the pillars in

sculptured the squatting lion so characteristic of Vijayanagar architecture and that in one or two places are friezes formed of girls dancing the "kolattam" in exactly the same attitudes as are represented in many places in the ruins at Hampi, the old Vijayanagar capital, would perhaps show that much of the carving was done by artisans brought from that city.

The finest part of the temple is the mantapam in front of the Amman shrine. This is 55½ feet long and 31½ feet broad and is the largest of its kind in the State. The sculptures on the pillars of this mantapam have almost all been deliberately chipped. Hyder Ali's troops are stated to have done this.

According to the Vaishnava tradition the first three Alvars met at this place. An inscription in the building says that in the sixth year of the reign of the Chola king Rajendradeva Narasimha Varman, chief of Maladu, the ancient name for the country round the town, rebuilt of stone the central shrine and while doing so caused copies of the inscriptions on the old shrine to be engraved on the new. There are several other inscriptions relating to the Chola and Pandya times.

The temple was used as a fort in the wars of the eighteenth century and was taken by the English in 1758 and successfully defended by them against some Mysore troops in 1760.

Kilaiyur or Kilur, a revenue village included within the limits of the town, possesses an ancient Siva temple built of a close-grained black stone and contains some well-carved panels. This is dedicated to Tiruvirattaniswara and the village was the capital of the Malayamans of Maladu or Malainada in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Inscriptions in it show that Rajaraja I and his queen, Lokamadevi, made liberal endowments to it. One of the inscriptions says that in the Vijayanagar times the king issued orders prohibiting his officers from levying exactions from the heads of the right hand and left hand factions, a practice which had resulted in the emigration of the people from the village.

Tirunamanallur or Tirunavalur (population 2,479), ten miles west of Panruti on the road to Kallakkurichchi, is famous among the Saivites as the birth place of Sundaramurthi Nayanar. He is said to have been born in a house opposite to the temple and the anniversaries of his birthday and date of death are still celebrated with much ceremony. The Siva temple in the village is shown by inscriptions to have been built by Rajaditya, the son of the Chola King Parantaka I (907-955). It contains images of Sundara and his consorts. The village is referred to as Tirunavalur (in the inscriptions).

Tirunirankonral (population 489), known also as Tirunarungondai or Tirunarungunram, lies twelve miles south-south-east of Tirukkoyilur. North of the village is a picturesque little

some sixty feet high on the top of which are two boulders. Leading up to these is a flight of steps. On one of the boulders is cut an image about four feet high of the Jain Tirthankara Parswanatha. He is standing upright and above his head is the out-stretched hood of a serpent. On the top of the boulder has been built a small bower. On the other rock is an inscription. Alongside is a small temple in which are some Chola inscriptions, and round the whole has been built a walled terrace to increase the available space. One of the Mackenzie manuscripts says that the image was discovered by chance by a man of the Vedar caste who had gone up the hill to look for healing herbs and that thereupon a local king built the temple. This temple was famous as a seat of learning and it is stated that the Ramayanam of Kambar was first approved by Jain scholars here.

At the foot of the steps leading up to the top of the hillock is a Jain image of the Tirthankara Vrishabha stated to have been brought from Pavandur, nine miles south-east of Tirukkoyilur.

Tiruvennanallur (population 4,316), on the south bank of the Malattar about fourteen miles south-east of Tirukkoyilur, is considered by many as the place where Kambar is stated to have lived. His patron Sadaya Mudali to whom he refers in his works is stated to have lived in a house the site of which is now occupied by a house called the Chatram. Meykanda Devar who translated into Tamil the famous Sanskrit work Sivagnanabodham is also said to have lived here. There is a shrine over his tomb.

There is a Siva temple dedicated to Kripapurisvara here which is connected with the story of Sundarar's proposed marriage. The aged Brahmin, who opposed it and who was Siva in disguise, is stated to have taken him and the other people who were with him to this temple and disappeared within its shrine. Some inscriptions belonging to the Chola times have been discovered in it. It has been repaired by the Nattukottai Chettiars. An image of Sundara which was located in a small building in the village was removed to a new shrine erected inside the temple during the course of the repairs. The temple was fortified in the olden days and was captured by the English in 1760.

Ulundurpet (population 6,854), a station on the Villupuram-Vriddhachalam railway line, was once the home of a palayagar. The remains of his mud fort are still to be seen. The Siva temple in the village is dedicated to Ulundandar or the Lord of the blackgram. The story goes that a merchant was once halting there with a consignment of pepper when a man came up and asked what was in the bags. The merchant lied and said it was blackgram to which the stranger replied 'Let it be so'. At the next stage the man found that his goods had actually been changed into blackgram and returning to the spot where he had told the lie he found the stranger still there, realised that he was Siva and built a temple for him.

VILLUPURAM TALUK

Villupuram taluk lies in the centre of the district. It is an almost level plain sloping gradually to the sea. It has an area of 352 square miles and a population of 3,16,989.

Ennayiram (literally eight thousand) (population 737), five miles from Peranai railway station, is the centre of a group of villages well known in Chola times as the seat of a great educational institution founded by the king and maintained by the village assembly out of funds or estates endowed by the king. That this part of the country was thickly peopled in those days is clear from the large number of half-ruined temples, tanks and wells found in it. **Brahmadesam**, about a mile from Ennayiram, contains two important Siva temples, both partly ruined. **Rajendra Chola** who was a great builder of tanks (the tank at **Gangai-kondacholapuram** which fed the big **Viranam** tank was constructed by him) was known also as **Panditha Chola** on account of his great learning and the encouragement which he gave to the study of the **Vedas** and the **Prabhandhas**. An inscription in the **Vishnu** temple at Ennayiram, dated 1036 mentions the names of thirteen temples in that village, of which only three now exist, and refers to the foundation of a college and a free boarding house for the scholars and reciters of the **Vedas** and **Prabhandhas**. Provision was made for teaching 340 students, the four **Vedas**, the **Vedanta**, the **Mimamsa** and grammar. There were 14 professors paid partly in kind and partly in money. The management of the institution was left in the hands of the village assembly of **Rajarajachaturvedi Mangalam** by which name Ennayiram was known in those days. Not a trace is however now left of the institution.

It has been suggested that Ennayiram was the original home of the sect of **Smartha Brahmins** known as **Ashta Sahasram** (eight thousand) and that, wherever the Brahmins of this sect settled in later times, they were distinguished by the name of the village from which they came in the same way as certain **Brahacharanam** Brahmins are to this day known by the names of **Pazhamaneri**, **Mangudi**, **Satyamangalam** and **Kandramanickam** villages.

Kolliyanur (population 2,810) four miles east of Villupuram, contains an old Siva temple with inscriptions and the ruins of Jain temple. In the **Mariamman** temple of the village hook-swinging used to be practised in olden days.

Mandagapattu (population 924) eleven miles north by west of Villupuram on the road to Gingee (Senji), contains a shrine cut out of the solid rock of a small hill which is somewhat similar to the rock-cut temple at **Dalavanur**. It stands some four feet above the ground level and consists of a rectangular chamber 19 feet by 15 feet and about 9 feet high supported on four pillars each two feet square. At the back of the shrine are three little open niches. The floor, the ceiling and pillars are neatly finished but the inside

of the shrine contains no sculpture of any kind. Outside it, however, are two *avarapatakas* cut in high relief on the rock. They are seven feet high and about a foot in relief. One of them stands in a most aggressive attitude with one hand on his hip and another on a huge club round which coils a cobra. Round his head and shoulders is another cobra. The other is in a different pose and has no snakes. Both wear tall head-dresses of an unusual shape. The shrine is supposed to have been cut by the Pallava king Mahendravarman I.

Panamalai (population 2,885), thirteen miles west of Villupuram near the south end of the Gingee (Senji) hills, lies in a picturesque country among small boulder-strewn heights and a striking point about it is the rocky elevation in the middle of its bund on the top of which is placed a Siva temple. It is a rock cut cave and contains an inscription of the Pallava King Rajah Simha otherwise known as Narasimha Varman II.

Paraliyapuram or Parayavaram (Population 1,681), six miles north by east of Villupuram, contains an ancient Siva temple which was visited and eulogised by Tirugnana Sambandhar. The village is referred to by him as Panamkattur (palmyra forest village) and a tradition, recorded in carving on the gateway, says that the lingam of the temple was found miraculously under a palmyra tree. The present name of the village therefore seems to be a corruption of Panayapuram. During the first seven days of the month of Chiturai the sun's rays fall directly on the lingam and, later in the day, on the image in the goddess's shrine. The temple is dedicated to Netrodharakesvara or the god that lights our eyes. There are two inscriptions in it relating to the time of Kulottunga Chola I and his successor.

Tiruvamattur (population 1,879) lies three miles north-west of Villupuram. Some accounts say that it was here that Appar renounced the Jain faith, although the Periyapuramam locates the event at Tiruvadi. The temple is dedicated to Abhiramesvara and the three Tamil saints have sung about it in the Thevaram. The one of them described it as situated on the western bank of the river (Gadilam) instead of the eastern bank. The river is in consequence said to have changed its course to the other side of the temple so that the words of the saints might not be falsified. The Gaddam is known to have changed her course several times. The temple contains a large number of Chola inscriptions.

Valudavur (population 1,896), ten miles west-north-west of Pondicherry (Puducherry), is considered to have been the headquarters of Muhabat Khan, the friend of the famous Desing Raja of Gingee (Senji). The old mosque in the village is said to have been built and endowed by one of the Nawabs of Kurnool. It was one of the principal outposts of Pondicherry in the wars of the eighteenth century, one of the gates of that town being called after

it. It was here that in 1750 the English joined the forces of Nazir Jung and Muhammad Ali and the first action in the war between the English and the French was fought. It was taken in 1760 by Eyre Coote before the siege of Pondicherry (Puducherry) and was an important post throughout the siege.

Vikravandi (population 4,058), eight miles north by east of Villupuram, was the scene of some fighting between the English and the French in 1752 in which the former suffered a defeat.

Villupuram (population 35,684) is the headquarters of the taluk. It contains a Siva temple with three inscriptions of the time of Krishna Devaraya. This temple formed the citadel of a small fort in the wars of the eighteenth century. The fort was taken by the English in 1752 from the French but the latter re-took it at once and demolished the defences. In 1760 when Coote was proceeding to Pondicherry (Puducherry) to lay siege to it he took Villupuram and posted a force there under Krishna Rao the well-known killadar of Tiyyaga Drug. The fort was demolished in 1803. It is said that two of the big eighteen pounder guns which were too heavy to be removed were buried under ground near the temple.

VRIDDHACHALAM TALUK

Vriddhachalam taluk lies in the south-western corner of the district. Its area is 576 square miles and its population 1,17,487. The places of historical or antiquarian interest in it are described below.

Kattuparur (population 1,116), eleven miles north-north-west of Vriddhachalam, has a temple to Kesavaswami, visitors to which sometimes take vows to cut themselves with swords and knives of which some are always kept in the temple. The weapons are generally blunt and harmless. The devotees strike their stomachs with one of the weapons while calling out 'Kesava! Kesava!'

Mangalam (Ko) (population 3,490), three miles from Puvanur railway station, has a temple of Kali at which large numbers of buffaloes used to be formerly sacrificed at the time of the annual festival in May-June. This has led to the place being sometimes described as Maduvetti Mangalam (buffalo-sacrificing Mangalam). Persons who were ill, used to consecrate the animals to the goddess and 14 of these animals used to be sacrificed and the rest sold, for the benefit of the temple. The Paraiyars had a curious share in the ceremonies. Eight of them used to be chosen from eight adjoining villages and one of them was selected as the leader. On each of the ten days for which the festival lasts this man had to go round some part of the boundaries of the eight villages and he was fed gratis on all these days. On the day of the sacrifice he used to go in front of the puiari as he killed the animals. The carcasses were taken by the Paraiyars of the eight villages.

Besides Kali there is the image of another goddess called Mangalayaichi. Animal sacrifices being abhorrent to her, a blanket used to be hung in front of her at the time of the sacrifice.

Mangalur (population 2,535), twenty-two miles west of Vriddhachalam, was formerly the headquarters of a taluk before the district was occupied by the British. This taluk was granted as a jaghir by Sadatullakhan, Nawab of the Carnatic from 1710 to 1732 for a peshkash of Rs. 10,000. Subsequently the jaghir was transferred to one Muhammad Hussain Khan who gave the original grantee two villages as a mukhasa. Shortly after the British took over the country they resumed the grant.

Nallur (population 1,511), ten miles west by north of Vriddhachalam at the junction of the Manimukta and the Mayura rivers, is considered to be a holy bathing place. It is often called Vriddha Prayaga or 'old Allahabad'. On an island in the stream is a picturesque temple built on slightly rising ground and surrounded by vilva trees. The leaves of these are locally believed to cure persons bitten by snakes. The five Pandava brothers are said to have lived at Aivadugudi about a mile to the north-east of the village, the name being declared to be a corruption of Aivargudi (the residence of the five). Lingams which they are said to have made are still pointed out.

Parur (population 4,653), six miles north-west of Vriddhachalam, was in former days the station of kavalgar. In the hamlet of Konankuppam is a Roman Catholic Church which is stated to be the very first church built by the famous missionary Beschi. It is said that, when it was completed, Beschi asked the Bishop of Mylapore to procure for it from Manilla an image of the Virgin in Indian dress and bearing the child Jesus in her arms, after a model he has made. The image eventually arrived and was set up in the temple. It is a life size statue made of wood and painted. In honour of it and of the church Beschi composed the well-known Tamil poem called *Tembavani*. The annual festival of the church attracts considerable crowds.

Pennadam (population 6,787), two miles from the railway station of the same name on the Villupuram-Tiruchirappalli chord line, contains a Siva temple dedicated to Pralayakalesvara (Siva of the deluge time). The Nandi in front of it faces away from the god, instead of towards him as usual. This is said to be due to Siva having told him to turn round and stop the flood which was approaching.

The name Pennadam is connected with a legend. According to this legend the name is really Pen-avu-kadam or 'maiden-cow-elephant'. India's maidens, his cow and his elephant are stated to have been so charmed by the beauty of the blossoms at this place that they forgot to return to him with them as ordered by him. It is said that the flowers of the village are even now out of the ordinary. The place was celebrated by Tirugnana Sambandar and Appar in their *Tevarams*.

Tittagudi (population 9,044), about twenty miles south-west of Vriddhachalam on the bank of the Vellar, contains an ancient Siva temple. This temple was built by a Chola king who was blind but gained his eyesight by worshipping at this shrine which is dedicated to Vydiathanaswami. There are several inscriptions in the temple relating to the later Chola and the Vijayanagar periods. They refer to the place as Vasisthagudi or Vidyaranyapuram and the present name, Tittagudi is supposed to be derived from Vatittagudi, the Tamil form of Vasisthagudi. On the ceiling of the temple have been painted a series of frescoes illustrating the contest between the sages Vasistha and Visamitra. The Nataraja Sabha in the temple is supported by nine carved pillars of particular beauty.

Vriddhachalam (population 11,362), the headquarters of the taluk, possesses an ancient Siva temple which has been celebrated in the Thevaram. This is dedicated to Vriddhagirisvara or 'old hill-Siva' the Tamil form of which is Palamalinathar. The legend about the name of the place is as follows. When the universe was in a state of chaos there issued from Vishnu's ears two giants who challenged him twice to battle. He was defeated and offered to grant them any request they might ask, but they replied that as the vanquished party it was for him to ask a boon. Vishnu asked them to allow themselves to be destroyed, to which they assented and were destroyed accordingly. Their remains were thrown into the water and were turned into earth by Siva, at the request of Brahma. The mass hardened and increased in size till it almost reached the skies. This was the first mountain and was called the Vriddhagiri. It occupied so much of the earth that the other hills which were subsequently created had no space. Siva, thereupon at the entreaty of Brahma sunk Vriddhagiri into the earth and only the top of it is now said to be visible near the place.

The temple is built on the usual Dravidian plan. It has a high enclosing wall pierced by gateways facing the four points of the compass and surmounted by tall gopurams. Within this wall is a second wall surrounding the central shrine and the lesser buildings grouped around it.

There are shrines to two goddesses within the building, one to Vriddhamba or 'the old goddess' and the other to Balamba or 'the young goddess'. The story accounting for this peculiarity says that, when Sundarar, the poet-saint, came to the place he became weary of its ancient air; everything in it was called old, the town, the hill, the god and the goddess. He therefore went away without singing any of his usual hymns, in praise of the shrine. He had not gone far when the god in the shape of a man of the Vedar caste stopped him and robbed him of all that he possessed. He returned to the town and on his arrival found that the god had just then moved a certain pious individual to set up

an image of Balamba. Repentant, he chanted verses in praise of the place and its deity and went his way. The spot where he is supposed to have been robbed lies on the road to Pennadam about a mile and a half outside the town and is marked by a Vedapparkovil or Vedar's temple. A festival in the month of Tai keeps the event in memory.

The most noticeable thing architecturally in the great temple is the mantapam which stands just west of the principal entrance and within the first enclosure. On each side of it are wheels and horses to show that it was a vehicle of the god. The ceiling is divided into panels with unusual figures upon them and its twenty four pillars are delicately carved in a manner foreign to this part of the country and some of them stand on odd squatting yalis, a design which is very unusual in South Arcot but occurs in some instances at the Seven Pagodas in the Chingleput district.

The popular legend about the construction of the temple says that it was erected by one Vibhajit. During his wanderings he came to the town and was resting in a grove when a company of celestial damsels came to bathe in a pool closeby. One of them was the daughter of Kubera, the god of wealth, and before entering the water she took off a priceless jewel, a gift of the gods, which she was wearing. A bird, mistaking it for a fruit, flew off which it into the tree under which Vibhajit was sitting and dropped it into his lap. The owner of the jewel soon discovered her loss, and suspecting her companions, offered all her other ornaments to any one who would restore the one she had lost. Vibhajit took her the gem and was rewarded by a gift of all the others, with the proceeds of which he built the temple. His image stands under an ancient tree within the enclosure and it is declared that, while the temple was being built, the workmen used to go daily to this tree and that from its branches dropped the exact amount of each man's wages.

There are several inscriptions in the temple relating to the Chola, Pandya and Vijayanagar periods. They show that the temple, the mantapams, the gopuram, the covered verandah all round and the surrounding shrines were built by the famous Sembiyan Madeviyar, the mother of Uttama Chola and the queen of Gandaraditta. One of the inscriptions of Kopperunjinga, the Pallava Viceroy of the Cholas, states that he presented a gold forehead plate set with jewels to the deity in expiation of his sin of killing his enemies at a battle fought at Perambalur and seizing their treasure and women. Extensive repairs have been made to the temple by the Nattukottai Chettiyars.

The chief festival occurs in the month of Masi (February-March) and is attended by great crowds. Bathing in the river during the feast especially on the full moon day is regarded as meritorious particularly if done at the place called 'Purva maduvu' from which the gilded pinnacles of the temple are visible. Among

some castes the bones of dead persons are thrown into the stream on this day and widows who have lost their husbands in the preceeding twelve months remove their tails for the first time.

In the town on the road to Pennadam, is a Komara Devar's math which has some local fame. Komara Devar is said to have been a king of the Kannada country who came here on a pilgrimage and was fed by the goddess herself as he lay exhausted under a tree in front of the temple. The math was built by one of his admirers and contain frescoes depicting the above and other scenes in his life. The lingam of the temple attached to it is stated to have been set up over his tomb.

The big temple, like so many others in the district, was turned into a fort in the wars of the eighteenth century. Its importance lay in its position on the road from Cuddalore to Tiruchirappalli. In 1751 it was surrendered to the English by Chanda Sahib's troops. In the same year it was invested by the troops of the neighbouring palayagar, who was however driven off by an English force proceeding to Tiruchirappalli. Mr. Pigot (later Lord Pigot) and Clive, then a civilian volunteer, were with this force and after the fight they returned to Fort St. David with a small escort. On the way they were attacked by the palayagar's men and escaped only by the speed of their horses. In 1753, the place surrendered to a combined force of the French and the Marathas. In 1760 it came into the hands of the English again and remained in their possession until the fortifications were destroyed in 1803. The worship in the temple which had all this time been interrupted was resumed thereafter.

Vriddhachalam was made the seat of the Judge of South Arcot in 1806. It had only a population of 200 at the time and was such a small place that the Government had to grant advances to the Judge's clerk and servants to build houses for themselves. This they did on the other side of the Vellar and this area is now called Pudupet. In 1821 the court was abolished and the court-house which was occupied by the Sub-Collector is no longer in existence.

The name of Charles Hyde, who was the Collector of the district from 1813 to 1826, is connected in several ways with Vriddhachalam. He founded a chatram known even now by his name. He presented two iron chains to the temples for dragging the cars. They still bear his inscription. A silver pot which is used in the temple bears a similar legend. On a slab in the pavement round the inner enclosing wall of the building which is still called Hyde's pavement is a damaged inscription on which his name can yet be made out.

PONDICHERRY (PUDUCHERRI).

The town of Pondicherry (Puducherry), the capital of the former French Settlement of the same, lies on the east coast of the State 105 miles by road south of Madras, fourteen miles

north of Cuddalore and 24 miles by a branch line from the Villupuram junction on the Southern Railway. It is surrounded on all sides but the east—where it faces the Bay of Bengal—by the South Arcot District.

The word Pondicherry is a European corruption of Puducherri or 'new hamlet'; by which name (and also by the alternative term Pudukkottai, 'new place'), the town is still ordinarily known to the people.

Besides its capital, the three chief villages in the Settlement are Villianur, Bahur and Ariankuppam. Villianur possesses a temple which contains inscriptions of the Vijayanagar dynasty and which was treated as a historical monument by the French and was restored in 1880. It was fortified by the French in 1756 as a kind of outpost to Pondicherry, but its garrison surrendered to Eyre Coote in 1760 when he advanced to besiege Pondicherry (Puducherri). In Bahur stands an ancient shrine containing inscriptions of the Chola and Rashtrakuta kings. In Ariankuppam are a weather-beaten Jain image and the remains of the historic fort the possession of which was so keenly contested during Boscawen's siege of Pondicherry (Puducherri) in 1748.

Pondicherry (Puducherri) first became a French possession in 1674. Some years before this, French pioneers had founded an establishment at Surat on the Bombay side, but not caring for the place had captured Trincomalee from the Dutch. Driven from thence, in 1672 they took San Thome, near Madras from the Dutch but lost it again two years later to the same nation.

Francois Martin, one of the officers of the factory, then gathered together some sixty Frenchmen, the wreck of the settlements there and at Trincomalee, and betook himself to Pondicherry where it would appear, French merchants had already located themselves. The place was then an insignificant village, containing only a few fishermen's huts and (it is said) the shrine to Ganapati which still stands in the present town.

Martin obtained leave from Sher Khan Lodi, the Sultan of Bijapur's governor at Gingee (Senji), to establish himself there and erect fortifications; but his earliest efforts must have been modest as we are told that the cost of them was only 700 crowns. In 1690, sixteen years after the settlement was founded, it consisted of a new irregular oblong enclosure which possessed only three indifferent round towers and only one proper bastion, and was armed with only 32 guns, none of which were more than eight-pounders. On the west there was nothing but a brick and stucco wall, in bad repair and without ditch or glacis. The Europeans, who numbered about 200, lived within this 'fort' and the Capucins had begun a church there.

In 1691, Martin obtained eighteen larger guns for two bastions which Sivaji's vice-regent at Gingee (Senji) had allowed him to build on the sea face of the fort.

Two years later the Dutch, who were then at war with the French, attacked the place, landing heavy artillery; and after a brave struggle it fell. In 1699, in accordance with the treaty of Ryswick, the Dutch restored it, but not before they had forced Martin to pay them 16,000 pagodas for the improvements they had effected in it and the additions they had made to the fortifications.

In 1701 the indefatigable Martin began to erect, in the centre of the irregular oblong already mentioned and on the site of what is now the open square known as the 'Place du Gouvernement', a proper fort built in the form of a regular pentagon with five bastions at the five angles. This was subsequently known as Fort Louis. It was completed in 1706.

While Fort Louis was being built, a canal was partly cut along a line parallel to the sea and just west of the fortress. This exists to this day, and separates the Ville Blanche (White Town) formerly occupied exclusively by the Europeans from the Ville Noir (Black Town) to which the Indians were formerly confined.

In 1724 in spite of prohibitions against extending the fortifications levelled at them by the Nawab of Arcot, the council of Pondicherry resolved to enclose with proper defences the whole of the Ville Noir. With the consent of the chief inhabitants a special tax was imposed to help defray the cost, and the Directors of the Company (unlike those of the English Company at this period) encouraged the enterprise and contributed largely towards it. The Engineer being incompetent, the work was done according to the designs and under the superintendence of a Capucin, Father Louis, who had already built the chapel of Saint Louis. He worked with immense energy from morn till night until the council began to fear for his health, and by 1736 the work was considered finished and the special tax which had been imposed to partly meet the expense was abrogated. Beyond the new walls, and at some distance from them, ran an outer hedge of thorny plants and trees which seems to have marked the boundaries of the Settlement and is called "the Bound Hedge" in the history books. There were redoubts at the angles of this. The beginnings of the outlying fort at Ariankuppam to the south were also built about the same time and numerous other buildings—including a new residence for the Governor, a hospital, barracks, a powder-magazine and a bastion facing the sea—were also erected, most of them under the direction of the same energetic Capucin. Churches were also constructed by the Jesuits and the Capucins.

After the death of Martin, the best known of the Governors of Pondicherry (Puducherri) was M. Dumas, who took charge in 1735.

His character is well indicated in the answer he sent to the Marathas when they demanded tribute of him; he replied that in Pondicherry (Puducherry) there were neither gold mines nor silver mines, but that there was plenty of iron and that this iron its possessors were quite ready to use against those who molested them. He was followed in 1742 by the famous Joseph Dupleix, who up to then had been Governor of Chandernagore.

In 1744 the War of the Austrian Succession broke out in Europe between England and France, and Pondicherry (Puducherry) and Madras became embroiled. In 1745 an English fleet harassed the French commerce, but in the next year the famous Mahe de Labourdonnais, who was then Governor of Mauritius and Bourbon, appeared with a rival fleet and not only checked these depredations but captured Madras. The Governor of that town, Nicholas Morse (a descendant of Oliver Cromwell), and his Council were brought into Pondicherry in a humiliating procession and the English were compelled to make Fort St. David their headquarters on the Coromandel Coast. Dissensions had however arisen between Dupleix and Labourdonnais, and the latter soon afterwards sailed back to Mauritius, and thence to France. On the 2nd March 1748 he was thrown into the Bastille in consequence of a number of charges made against him by Dupleix. In the months which followed his departure, Dupleix made several unsuccessful attacks on Fort St. David and Cuddalore (Gudalur).

In July 1748 a new English fleet under Admiral Boscawen (a grand-nephew of the famous Marlborough), the most powerful that had ever appeared in Indian waters, arrived off Fort St. David; and on the 8th August a force set out from thence to attack Pondicherry (Puducherry).

A month after the termination of the operations, news arrived that in April a cessation of arms had been proclaimed between France and England, so that the whole time the attack was progressing the two nations were really at peace.

During the next six years Dupleix and the French, by a happy mingling of clever diplomacy and fearless daring, passed, in spite of temporary reverses due to the genius of Clive, from success to success until they reached the height of their power. The principal events of the period have already been outlined in the chapter on Later History. Chief among their diplomatic triumphs was the position they gained for themselves in the councils of the Subadar of the Deccan and the Nawab of Arcot, which enabled them to nominate more than one successor to the latter post (Dupleix was, indeed himself created Nawab) and obtained for them large grants of territory in the Northern Circars. Of their martial exploits none surpassed in brilliancy the storming, on a dark night, by a handful of Europeans commanded by the intrepid Bussy and by D'Auteuil, of the famous rock-fortress at Gingee.

In 1754, owing to intrigues at the corrupt court of Louis Quinze, Dupleix was recalled. He was coldly received in Paris; repayment of the large sums (some £240,000) which he had lent the Company was consistently refused in spite of his many urgent appeals; and he died in penury ten years later. "I have sacrificed" he wrote in his *Memoirs* three days before his death, "my youth, my fortune, my life, to enrich my nation in Asia . . . My services are scouted as fables, my demand is denounced as ridiculous, I am treated as the vilest of mankind. I am in the most deplorable indigence. I am compelled to ask for decrees for delay in order not to be dragged to prison."

His immediate successor at Pondicherry, M. Godeheu, set himself deliberately to destroy the fabric Dupleix had been at such pains to construct in India. But a few years later the Directors in Paris realised the mistake they had made in not supporting Dupleix, and they sent out Count Lally, an Irishman by birth and a rising soldier, to take up the reins. He arrived in 1768. In the same year he captured Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Fort St. David and razed them to the ground and the next year he besieged Madras. This latter attack was unsuccessful and from that time forth the French power, which owing to the Seven years' War was now but little supported from France, began to decline.

To assist in the operations against Madras, Bussy had been recalled from the court of the Subadar of the Deccan, where his influence did much for the French cause, and M. Moracin had been summoned from the Government of the Northern Circars. An English force from Calcutta captured the latter provinces almost immediately afterwards, and English influence became predominant in the councils of the Indian courts. In 1760 Eyre Coote inflicted on the French a great defeat at the famous battle of Wandiwash, and followed it up by the capture of Pondicherry (Puducherry) as has already been described in the Chapter on *Later History*.

The court of France had directed Count Lally to destroy the maritime possessions of the English which might fall into his hands and he had carried out these orders in the case of Cuddalore (Gudalur) and Fort St. David. The instructions had been intercepted and, in consequence of them, the Directors of the English Company had ordered their Presidencies to retaliate in like manner upon the French possessions. Accordingly, when Pondicherry fell, not only its fortifications but even the other buildings within it were pitilessly levelled to the ground, so that by the end of the year hardly a roof was left standing within it.

Lally was eventually convicted in Paris of having betrayed the interests of the King and Company and was taken from the prison in which he had been confined and carried to the scaffold in a dung-cart, gagged and guarded.

In 1765 Pondicherry (Puducherry) was restored to the French in accordance with the treaty of Paris and M. Lay of Louriston became Governor. Efforts to rebuild the town were at once begun and in 1769 the erection of fortifications was set in hand. News of the declaration of war between France and England reaching India in 1778, these latter were then pushed on with vigour, 5,000 men being employed upon them.

But in August of that year General Sir Hector Munro, the hero of Bazar, appeared before the place and after a gallant defence of several weeks, the Governor, M. Bellecombe, capitulated in October. In recognition of their brave defence, the garrison were allowed the honours of war. In the following year, however, the fortifications of the town were once more destroyed.

In 1785 Pondicherry (Puducherry) was restored to the French by the treaty of Versailles of September 1783, the district of Bahur and Villianur being made over to them in addition to the territory round about their capital of which they had formerly been in possession.

In 1789 the French were instructed by the Directors of their Company to evacuate India, but the order was only partly carried into effect when it was stopped by the French Revolution.

Four years later arrived news of the outbreak of another war between France and England, and in July 1783 Colonel Braithwaite laid seige to Pondicherry (Puducherry). It capitulated in August and its fortifications, arsenals and barracks were demolished by a corps of English Pioneers. Thence forward it was governed by English officers. In 1803, in virtue of the Peace of Amiens, steps were taken to restore it to the French. Before these were completed, intelligence arrived of a renewal of hostilities and the English resumed charge of the place.

By the treaty of May 1814 between England and France all the possessions in India which had belonged to the French on the 1st January 1792 were restored to them, and they bound themselves not to erect any fortifications on the continent of India and to keep in their establishments only such troops as were "necessary for the maintenance of the Police". By a convention come to in the next year the English agreed that in the event of an outbreak of war with France neither the civil nor military inhabitants of the establishments should be treated as prisoners of war but should be allowed "to remain three months to settle their personal affairs" and should be granted "the necessary facilities and means of conveyance to France, with their families and private property".

The campaign of 1815, however, prevented the restoration of the possessions for some time and it was not until December 1816—after they had been in British occupation continuously for twenty-three years—that they were actually handed over.

A bronze statue of Dupleix stands in the middle of an open ground called the Place Dupleix. It was erected in 1870 and stands amidst sculptures brought from Gingee including four stone pillars and is backed by a broken gun-wheel and two or three sandbags. Dupleix is in court dress, with long riding boots, and the face is a fine one, gazing out towards the sea with 'a mingled look of cleverness, enthusiasm, energy and disdain'.

There is also a group of pillars carved with Vaishnavite emblems and figures which were brought by the French from the Venkataramanaswami temple at Gingee (Senji) when that fortress was in their possession. More of the Gingee (Senji) sculptures are to be found round the tall clock-tower in the Ville Noir. This tower was presented to the place by a private citizen in 1852. Just south of it is the Rue Rangapoulle containing the house of Ranga Pillai, the famous Diarist which contains a portrait of him and a clock which was given to him by Louis XV.





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GLOSSARY.

Adigāṭṭal	Officers of trust in the army as well in general administration.
Ahanikams	..	..	..	Daily religious observances.
Alankāravilakku	..	..	..	Ornamental lamp.
Alungānam	..	..	..	Ruling group of a village.
Amāni	..	..	..	Collection of revenue direct from the cultivators by the officers of Government.
Amātya	..	..	..	Finance Minister.
Ammā	..	..	..	Mother.
Anaiyātkal	..	..	..	Elephant corps.
Ānda-agattalār	..	..	..	Fort garrisons.
Ankurārpana	..	..	..	Seed sowing ceremony during marriage.
Annaprāsanaṁ	..	..	..	Food giving ceremony to a child.
Arathi	..	..	..	Waving of lights, and water mixed with turmeric and chunam to ward off the evil eye.
Āru Kādu	..	..	..	Six forests.
Bāram	..	..	..	One candy.
Bhajana	..	..	..	A congregation where devotional songs are sung.
Bhattavṛithi	..	..	..	An assignment of revenue or lands granted to Brāhmins.
Bhōga	..	..	..	Land held by service inam tenure holders.
Bondhu	..	..	..	Strings of unbleached cotton.
Bottu	..	..	..	Marriage badge.
Brahma yāgna	..	..	..	Daily worship of fire.
Brahmādayam	..	..	..	Any grant or perquisite appropriated to Brāhmins.
Chauth	..	..	..	A payment of the fourth part of the assessed income to the Marathas to secure immunity from their attacks.
Chekku	..	..	..	Country oil press.
Choulam	..	..	..	Tonsure ceremony.
Dandam	..	..	..	Special war levy.
Dāradattam	..	..	..	Giving away the bride.
Dārōgha	..	..	..	The head of a police, custom or excise station.
Desatikada	..	..	..	Head of a taluk.
Devapuja	..	..	..	Daily worship of God at home.
Dēvadāna	..	..	..	Lands or allowances for the support of a temple.
Dhāra	..	..	..	Pouring water.
Dharmāsana	..	..	..	King's seat of justice.
Dharmāsana bhatta	..	..	..	Learned Brāhmins versed in law.
Dhonige	..	..	..	Cloth roller.
Dufar inam	..	..	..	Tax-free gardens situated in the farm of Fort St. David.
Dvārapalakas	..	..	..	Gate keepers
Enādi	..	..	..	Distinguished title of Civil officers.
Fatwā	..	..	..	Written opinion of the Muslim law officer of a Court.
Foujdāri Adālat	..	..	..	Company's Supreme Court of Appeal (Criminal).
Garbhadānam	..	..	..	Impregnation ceremony.
Ghatika	..	..	..	College of learned Brahmins.
Gōdānam	..	..	..	Presentation of cows.
Gōtra	..	..	..	A tribe, primitive spiritual head.
Grāma dēvatās	..	..	..	Village deities.
Hōmam	..	..	..	Sacrificial fire.
Irai	..	..	..	Taxes and dues.
Jāghir	..	..	..	A tenure by which the revenues of a tract of land were made over to a servant of the State.
Jātakarmam	..	..	..	Naming ceremony.

Jivita	Land held by <i>servicei nam</i> tenure holders.
Jōdi	An inam subject to a quit-rent.
Kacherikal	Stone of audience.
Kadāgams	Cantonments.
Kadamai	Duty, tax.
Kalavāsam	Hire or fee given to labourers.
Kaltacchar	Stone mason.
Kankanam	Ceremonial wrist thread.
Kannār	Brass smith.
Kannikādanam	Presenting the girl without claiming the bride's price.
Karumār or Kollar	Blacksmith.
Kaṣṣar	Water-rate.
Kathāprasāṅgam	Telling of puranic stories accompanied by music.
Kattubadi	An inam subject to a quit-rent.
Kavalai	Leather bags used for bailing water.
Kavalgārs	Village watchmen.
Kāzi	Muslim law officer.
Kodāchamani	Hooked jewel; necklace of gold beads presented to a girl by her maternal uncle.
Kodikkāl	Land in which betel vine is grown.
Kōttams	Ancient territorial divisions in the Province of Tondamandalam.
Kudavilakku	Pot lamp.
Kudiraiceevagar	Cavalry.
Kudivāram	Share of the produce which is the right of the cultivator.
Magamai	A percentage of the land custom duties.
Malaiyadi	Foot of the hill.
Malligai	Jasmine.
Mamūl Nazzur	Customary presents.
Mānagar	Great City.
Manai Māfs	Rent-free house sites.
Manavāri	Rain-fed lands.
Mandalam	Province.
Māngalyūdhāranam	Tying the tali or bottu.
Manjanir pillai	Adopted son.
Mantri	Home member.
Mārayan	Military title indicating distinction won on the field of battle.
Māuther Sangham	Ladies' Association.
Mēras	A portion of the crop given as a perquisite to the holders of a proprietary right in the village lands.
Mufti	Muslim Law Officer.
Mūkhāsa	Village given for the personal subsistence of a palayagar.
Mulapāl Kuli	Bride's price or the price of suckling.
Muthugunirkuththaal	Pouring water on the back.
Nāmakaranam	Naming ceremony.
Nattam	Village site.
Nazzur	Presents.
Nischayathārtham	Betrothal.
Nyāyādish	Chief Justice.
Padaitalais	Leaders of armies.
Palayagār	A petty chieftain.
Pāligai Viḷakku	A Ceremonial lamp surrounded by seedlings.
Panakkarās	Monied men.
Pānigrahanam	Bridegroom taking over the hand of the bride.

Pānsupāri .. .. .	..	..	..	Betel and arecanut.
Pant Sachiv .. .. .	..	..	..	Accountant.
Pāppārakkōlām .. .. .	..	..	..	Brāhmin disguise.
Parādēsupravēsam .. .. .	..	..	..	Mock pilgrimage to Banaras, which is a part of the Hindu marriage ceremony.
Parisappanam .. .. .	..	..	..	Bride's price.
Pāshana sthāpanam .. .. .	..	..	..	Stone fixing in funeral ceremonies.
Pavalemkatti .. .. .	..	..	..	Wearers of Coral.
Payakāris .. .. .	..	..	..	A temporary cultivator who cultivates the land of another for a stipulated period.
Peishwa .. .. .	..	..	..	The Maratha Prime Minister.
Pērāriyan .. .. .	..	..	..	Titles conferred on officers occupying very high civil positions.
Prathindhi .. .. .	..	..	..	Representative.
Pūjeri .. .. .	..	..	..	Priest.
Pamsavanam .. .. .	..	..	..	Ceremony performed during 7th or 9th month of first pregnancy.
Punya-naduvu .. .. .	..	..	..	Pool of bliss.
Purakudis .. .. .	..	..	..	Cultivators brought from outside.
Ruṣṣum .. .. .	..	..	..	Grant of fees in grain.
Sabhā .. .. .	..	..	..	An assemblage of persons of rank or respectability.
Sadarwārd .. .. .	..	..	..	A charge borne by a village for stationery and management.
Sadr Adālat .. .. .	..	..	..	Company's Supreme Court of Appeal (Civil).
Sadr Amīns .. .. .	..	..	..	A class of native Civil Judges.
Samskāras .. .. .	..	..	..	Hindu religious rites.
Saptha Kanniar .. .. .	..	..	..	Seven virgins.
Sapthapathī .. .. .	..	..	..	Taking of the seven steps by the married couple.
Saranjami .. .. .	..	..	..	Grant made to the Marāthā Sardars of the territories that they might conquer from the Moguls.
Sardōshmuki .. .. .	..	..	..	A payment of the additional tenth of the revenue to the Marāthās to secure immunity from their attacks.
Sēnāpathi .. .. .	..	..	..	Commander-in-chief.
Sendalais .. .. .	..	..	..	Red-headed men.
Sevikāram .. .. .	..	..	..	Service home for girls.
Sevvai .. .. .	..	..	..	Mars.
Sigo Kazhippu .. .. .	..	..	..	Warding off the evil eye.
Sīmantham .. .. .	..	..	..	Ceremony performed during seventh or ninth month of first pregnancy.
Sirdār .. .. .	..	..	..	Commander.
Smasānakollai .. .. .	..	..	..	Cremation ground.
Sradhā .. .. .	..	..	..	Memorial rites.
Sūbah .. .. .	..	..	..	One of the larger subdivisions of the Mogu dominion.
Sumangali .. .. .	..	..	..	Married woman with husband.
Sumant .. .. .	..	..	..	Foreign minister.
Swatantrams .. .. .	..	..	..	Hereditary right for a fee.
Tacchar .. .. .	..	..	..	Carpenter.
Taniyūr .. .. .	..	..	..	A town apart.
Tarapadi maniams .. .. .	..	..	..	Rent-free grants of land.
Tarpana .. .. .	..	..	..	Oblations of water.

Tattār	..	..	..	..	Goldsmith.
Thāmbūlam	..	..	..	..	Presenting of betel leaves and arecanut.
Thānādār	..	..	..	..	A petty police officer subordinate to a Darōgha.
Thattu	..	..	..	..	Plate made of bamboo or cane.
Thatly	..	..	..	..	Screen.
Tīrthakulam	..	..	..	..	Sacred tank.
Tirva	..	..	..	..	Money assessment of revenue on land.
Tojjakādu	..	..	..	..	Ears with big holes.
Ulkudis	..	..	..	..	Ryots who reside on the farm.
Uris	..	..	..	..	Hanging stands for keeping vessels.
Uru maniyam	..	..	..	..	Grants to village officers.
Vapitta	..	..	..	..	Head of a village.
Vāran	..	..	..	..	Sharing of the crop.
Vari	..	..	..	..	Revenue taxes and dues.
Vartansi	Money endowments granted by the State.
Vellikkai	Silver hands.



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Map of SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT

Scale 1 inch = 6 Miles

NORTH ARCOT

CHINGLEPUT

BAY OF
BENGAL

TIRUCHIRAPPALLI

THANJAVUR

REFERENCE

GINGEE

REFERENCE (Contd.)

Taluk name	-----
State boundary	-----
District boundary	-----
Division boundary	-----
Taluk boundary	-----
Village with 5000 inhabitants and Upa	-----
Other Important Village name	-----
Village site	-----
National Highways with mile stone	-----
State Highways with mile stone	-----
Major District roads	-----
Other District roads	-----
Village roads	-----
Metalled, Unmetalled or Gravelled, Kutties and Paved roads	-----
Railway line with station (Main Branch)	-----

River with stream, Channel, Bridge and Arroyo

Barometer level area

Cane

Vertical Ridge (approximate)

Police station, Police out-post

Traveller's bungalow or rest house

P. W. D. Inspection bungalow or rest house

Local Post Choultry

Private Choultry, Bazaar-pug ground

Publicatory time

S. O.

R

B

L

C. D.

P.S.